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MODERN EGYPT

AND

THEBES:

BEING

A DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT;

INCLUDING

THE INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR TRAVELLERS IN THAT COUNTRY.

BY

SIR GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S.
M.R.S.L. F.R.G.S. &c. &c.
AUTHOR OF "MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS."

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—Wah el Hayz.—Faráfreh.—Oases of the Blacks.—Wah E'Dakhleh.—Temple near El Kasr.—Other Ruins.—Villages and Population of the Oasis.—Great Oasis of El Khargeh.—Ruins and Great Temple.—Its old name, Ibis or Hebi.—Temples of Kasr el Goáyta, Kasr e' Zayán, and Doosh.—Distances.—Population.—Oasis of Siwah.—Fountain of the Sun.—Temple of Ammon, and other ruins.—Dates.—Customs and language - - - - - - - Page 353

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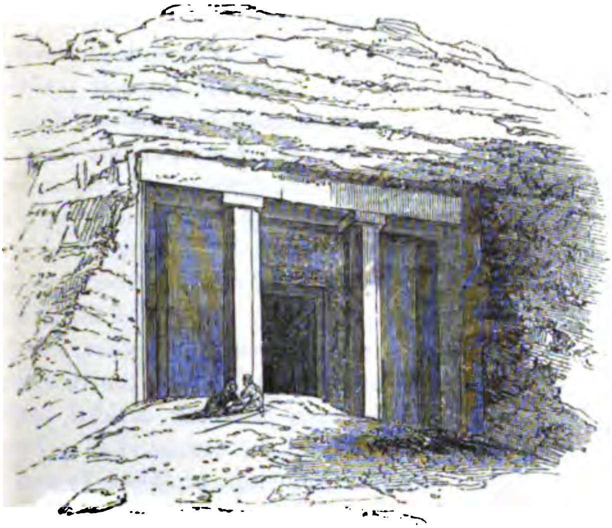
MODERN EGYPT AND THEBES.



Exterior of a Tomb cut in the rock at Beni Hassan.

SECTION V.

THE SĀEED (SĀÏD), OR UPPER EGYPT; AND ITS DIVISIONS.

ACCORDING to Aboolfeda, the Sāeed begins at Fosṯáṯ, or Old Cairo; all to the south of that city having this name, and the northern part of the country being called Reef. I may, however, observe, that the latter word, at the present day, is applied to all "the cultivated land," in contra-distinction to "the desert."

The whole of Egypt is styled in Arabic *Ard-Musr̲*, or simply *Musr̲* (*Mis̲r*), a name given also to Cairo itself; which recalls the old Hebrew Mizraim מצרים (*Mizrim*), "the two Mizrs." In the ancient Egyptian language it was called *Khemi*, or "the land of Khem," answering to the land of "Ham" or Khem (חם), mentioned in the Bible; and in Coptic ⲭⲙⲏ or ⲭⲏⲙⲓ. According to Arab tradition, Mizraim*, the son of Ham, had four sons, Oshmoon, Athreeb, Sa, and Copt. The last of these peopled the country between Asouan and Coptos; Oshmoon that to the north, as far as Menoof† (Memphis); Athreeb the Delta; and Sa the province of Baháyreh, as well as the land of Barbary. Copt, however, having conquered the rest of Egypt, became sovereign of the whole country, and gave it his name.‡

The two sides of the valley seem at all times to have been distinguished, generally with reference to their position E. and W. of the river. By the ancient Egyptians, the desert on each side was merely styled "the eastern and western mountain;" and, at a later period, "the Arabian and Libyan shore;" parts of the mountain ranges having always had certain names attached to them, as at the present day. They are now called "the eastern and western shore;" and it is remarkable, that the Arabs of the eastern desert have substituted the term Bur-Agem "the *Persian*," for the old name "*Arabian*, shore," applying it to the space between the Nile and the Red Sea.

Egypt, under the Moslems, has been divided into provinces, or *bey-liks* §, each under the command of a bey; or, according to their new titles, *Mamoór*, or *Modeér* ||; and in the time of the Memlooks, the whole country was governed by twenty-four beys, including the Delta; the divisions of which, in ancient and modern times, have been already mentioned.¶

In the time of the Pharaohs, Egypt consisted of two great regions, the upper and lower country, both of equal consequence; from which the kings derived the title "lord of the two regions." ** Each of these had its peculiar crown, both which, at his coronation, the monarch put on at the same time, showing the equal rank of the two states, while they seem to argue the existence of two distinct kingdoms at an early period. The precedence, too, always given to the upper crown, and to the expression "upper and lower country," in the hieroglyphic legends, may also suggest the prior antiquity of the Thebaïd as a kingdom, — a name by which the upper country is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman writers.

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* Or Misraïm. † Me-nouf, Ma-nouf, or Menofre. See below, p. 4.

‡ Wansleb, from Macrizi.

§ Whence the word Beylik, "government," pronounced Bayleég by the Cairenes.

|| See Vol. I. p. 438. ¶ See Vol. I. pp. 420. 422.

** Or, "lord of the two worlds." See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 73.

Egypt was then divided into thirty-six nomes (departments or counties), from Syene to the sea.[*] In the time of the Ptolemies and early Cæsars, this number still continued the same; "ten," says Strabo[†], "being assigned to the Thebaïd, ten to the Delta, and sixteen to the intermediate province." The geographer adds, "some say there were as many nomes as chambers in the labyrinth, which were under thirty. These were again subdivided into *toparchiæ*[‡], and these too into smaller portions."[§] The number of chambers in the labyrinth is not quite certain: Herodotus, Pliny, and Strabo, do not agree on this point; and it is probable, that as the number of the nomes increased, other places were added for their reception; the labyrinth being the building where the nomes met, and each having its own apartment. Pliny[‖] gives forty-four nomes to all Egypt, some of them mentioned under other names; a change to which he himself alludes.

The triple partition of the country described by Strabo, varied at another time, and consisted of Upper and Lower Egypt, with an intermediate province, containing only *seven* nomes, and thence called Heptanomis. Upper Egypt or the Thebaïd then reached to the Thebaica Phylace (Φυλακη) now Daroot e' Sheréef; Heptanomis thence to the fork of the Delta; and the rest was comprehended in Lower Egypt. In the time of the later Roman emperors[¶], the Delta or Lower Egypt was divided into four provinces or districts — Augustamnica Prima and Secunda, and Ægyptus Prima and Secunda; being still subdivided into the same nomes: and in the time of Arcadius, the son of Theodosius the Great, Heptanomis received the name of Arcadia.[**] The Thebaïd too was made into two parts, under the name of Upper and Lower, the line of separation passing between Panopolis and Ptolemaïs-Hermii.[††] The nomes also increased in number, and amounted to fifty-seven[‡‡], of which the Delta alone contained thirty-four, nearly equal to those of all Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs.

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[*] A nome has been thus defined: "*Νομος δε λεγεται . . . πολις και αι περιοικιδες αυτης και αι υπ' αυτη κωμαι.*" Clar. Cyrillus Alexandr. in Esa. c. 19.

[†] Strabo, 17.

[‡] "Local administrations," like the k̲áshef's or názer's district of the present day.

[§] Strabo. 17. p. 541.

[‖] Plin. 5. 9.

[¶] About the end of the fourth century.

[**] Arcadius succeeded his father, A.D. 395.

[††] See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 80.

[‡‡] See D'Anville.

The nomes of Upper Egypt, or the Thebaïd, and Heptanomis, beginning from the north, were: —

Province.	Nome.	The Chief City.	Its Modern Name.	Its Coptic Name.	Bank of Nile.	Division of Modern Egypt.
Heptanomis.	1. Memphites	Memphis*	Mitrahenny	ⲙⲉϥⲓ, ⲙⲉⲙϥⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛⲟϥⲣⲉ, ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ, &c.	W.	Sâeed.
	2. Aphroditopolites	Aphroditopolis	Atféëh	ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲓⲉϩ, ⲧⲡⲏϩ	E.	
	3. Arsinoïtes	Arsinoë, or Crocodilopolis	Medeénet el Fýoóm	ⲡⲓⲟⲙ	W.	
	4. Heracleopolites	Heracleopolis	Anásieh	ϩⲛⲏⲥ	W.	
	5. Oxyrhynchites	Oxyrhynchus	Béhnesa	ⲡⲉⲙϫⲉ	W.	
	6. Cynopolites	Cynopolis	El Kays	ⲕⲁⲓⲥ, or ⲕⲟⲉⲓⲥ	W.	
	7. Hermopolites	Hermopolis Magna	Oshmoonaýn	ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ, or ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲃ̄	W.	
	8. Antinoïtes †	Antinoë	Shekh Abádeh, or Insiné	ⲁⲛϯⲛⲱⲟⲩ, ⲃⲏⲥⲁ?	E.	
	("In which are included the two Oases." ‡)					
Thebaïs, or Egyptus Superior. Lower Thebaïs.	9. Lycopolites	Lycopolis	Osioot	ⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲧ, ⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲑ	W.	
	10. Hypselites	Hypselis	Shodb.	ϣⲱⲧⲡ	W.	
	11. Antæopolites	Antæopolis	Gow (or K̲ow) el Kebéer	ⲧⲕⲱⲟⲩ	E.	
	12. Aphroditopolites	Aphroditopolis	Itfoo	ⲁⲧⲃⲱ	W.	
	13. Panopolites	Panopolis	Akhmim, or Ekhmim	ϣⲙⲓⲛ, ⲭⲙⲓⲙ, or ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ	E.	

Thebaïs, or Ægyptus Superior.	Upper Thebaïs.	14. Thinites	Ptolemaïs Hermii §	Menshéëh	ⲡⲥⲱⲓ	W.	Säeed.
		15. Diospolites	Diospolis Parva	How	ϩⲱ, ϩⲟⲩ, or ⲁⲡⲟ	W.	
		16. Tentyrites	Tentyra, Tentyris	Dendera	ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ, ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ	W.	
		17. Coptites	Coptos	Koft, or Kobt	ⲕⲉϥⲧ, ⲕⲉⲡⲧⲱ	W.	
		18. Thebarum	Thebæ, Diospolis Magna (“Egyptian Thebes”)	Karnak and Luxor	ⲧⲁⲡⲉ, ⲑⲁⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ	E.	
		19. Pathyrites ‖	(The Libyan or western part of Thebes.)	Koorna	ⲧⲁⲡⲉ	W.	
		20. Hermonthites	Hermonthis	Ermént	ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ	W.	
		21. Latopolites	Latopolis	Esné	ⲥⲛⲉ	W., E.	
		22. Apollinopolites	Apollinopolis Magna	Edfoo	ⲁⲧⲃⲱ	W., E.	
		23. Ombites	Ombos	Kôm-Ombo	ⲙ̀ⲃⲱ	E., W.	

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* See above, Vol. I. p. 371.

† A new nome added to the previous seven.

‡ Ptolem. Geog. 4. 5. He includes the Antinoïte nome in Heptanomis.

§ According to Ptolemy; but *This* was the old capital of the nome. Abydus was also a celebrated city in the Thinite nome.

‖ Ptolemy writes Tathyris, instead of Pathyris. See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 387. Pathyris and Tathyris both mean “belonging to Athor (Athyr).” In the same manner Papa is put for Tapa, the name of Thebes; one with the masculine, the other with the feminine definite article.

Ammianus Marcellinus says, "Egypt is reported to have had three provinces in former times, Egypt Proper, the Thebaïd, and Libya; to which posterity added two others, Augustamnica, an offset from Egypt, and Pentapolis separated from Libya." *

I have already had occasion to observe that the Thebaïd was from the earliest times the most important part of the country, from its wealth, its military power, and the glory it acquired abroad; and to such a point was the opinion of its superiority carried by strangers, that some, as Herodotus † and Aristotle ‡, have asserted that "the Thebaïd was formerly called Egypt," or that "Egypt was of old called Thebes." Hence it may be supposed that Lower Egypt was annexed to the Thebaïd, and hence the precedence of the upper country in the hieroglyphic legends.§ But though the inference derived from this is, that the Thebaïd was even in early times superior to any part of what was afterwards known under the general name of Egypt, it does not follow, nor indeed appear probable, that the Thebaïd was ever exclusively *called* Egypt. This name at first denoted only the Delta, of which it continued to be the provincial designation to the latest time; and the assertion of Herodotus would signify that the Thebaïd was *considered*, rather than *called*, Egypt, or the most important part of the country known at a later period under that general name. This too will accord with the idea that the Thebaïd was sometimes confounded with Ethiopia, and was mentioned under that name, in contradistinction to Ægyptus, or the lower parts about the Delta.‖

The northern part of Ethiopia, or of what is now called Nubia, had the name of Dodeca-Schœnus, or "12 schœnes," and comprehended the district from Syene to Hierasycaminon, now Maharraka.

The schœne, according to Strabo, varied in different parts of Egypt. In the Delta it consisted of 30 stadia; between Memphis and the Thebaïd of 120; and from the Thebaïd to

---

* Amm. Marcell. 22. 16. † Herodot. 2. 16.

‡ Aristot. Meteorol. 1. 14.

§ See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 12.

‖ Ibid. vol. i. p. 11.

Syene of 60. The Itinerary of Antoninus reckons 80 miles or 640 stadia from Syene to Hierasycaminon; the schœne was therefore (at 8 stadia to a Roman mile) of $53\frac{1}{3}$ stadia above Syene.*

Some of the towns on the two banks of the Nile are mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

1. *Alexandria to Hierasycaminon* (*in Nubia*) *on the west bank.*

	M. P.
Alexandria to Chereu	24
Hermupoli	20
Andro	21
Niciu	31
Lêtus	28
Memphi	20
Peme	20
Isiu	20
Cene	20
Tacona	20
Oxyrhyncho	24
Ibiu	30
Hermupoli	24
Chusis	24
Lyco	35
Apollonos Minoris	18
Hisoris	28
Ptolemaida	22
Abydo	22
Diospoli	28
Tentyra	27
Contrà Copto	12
Papa	8
Hermunthi	30
Lato	24
Apollonos Superioris	32
Contrà Thmuis	24
Contrà Ombos	24
Contrà Syene	23
Paremboli	16
Tzitzi	2
Taphis	14
Talmis	8
Tutzis	20
Pselcis	12
Corte	4
Hierasycamino	4

2. *On the east bank from Heliopolis to contrà Pselcis.*

	M. P.
Heliopolis to Babylon	12
Scenas Maudras	12
Aphrodito	20
Thimonepsi	24
Alyi	16
Hipponon	16
Musæ	30
Speos Artemidos	34
Antinou	8
Pesla	24
Hieracon	28
Isiu	20
Muthi	24
Anteu	8
Selino	16
Pano	16
Thomu	4
Chênoboscio	50
Copton	40
Vico Apollonos	22
Thebas	22
Contrà Lato	40
Contrà Apollonos	40
Ombos	40
Syene	30
Philas	3
Contrà Taphis	10
Contra Talmis	10
Contra Pselcis	24
Hierasycamino	11

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* See Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, c. 3.

CAIRO TO BENISOOÉF.

Between Cairo and Benisooéf, a distance of eighty-three miles, there is little to arrest the attention of the traveller. After passing the palaces of K̲asr D̈ubarra, and K̲asr el Aínee, the island of Rhoda, and Old Cairo to the left, and the towns of Embábeh and Geezeh on the right, he may be said to enter the Sāeed. A short distance beyond the old capital and the mounds of the still older Babylon, is the picturesque mosk of Attar e' Nebbee, situated on a projecting point of the eastern bank, at the end of an avenue of fine trees.

Attar e' Nebbee, or "the prophet's footstep," is so called from the sacred relic it contains, an impression of the footstep of Mohammed, which is looked upon with great veneration. A large sand-bank has now been formed before it, so that boats only pass close to the mosk during the inundation. A long reach of the river extends thence to the village of e' Dayr, "the convent," inhabited by Copt Christians; and inland on the east is the village of Bussateen, once famed for its gardens, whence its name, but now scarcely known, except as the resort of a troublesome set of Arabs, the Nëām, who encamp upon the plain in the vicinity. Near it on the south-east, in the sandy plain below the limestone hills of the Mok̲uttum, is the burial ground of the Jews.

The mountain range here appears rent asunder, and a broad valley called Bahr-bela-me, "the river * without water," comes down from the eastward, measuring from its head about eight miles. The name Bahr-bela-me (or -ma) is applied to several broad deep valleys, both in the eastern and western deserts, the most noted of which lies beyond the Natron lakes.† One of the Suez roads, called Derb e' Tarabéen, passes over this part of the Mokuttum, and comes down to the Nile by this valley to the village of Bussateen; and immediately above the brow of the cliff on its north side is the plain of petrified

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* Bahr, properly "sea," is applied in Egypt to the "river." Nahr is properly "a river" in Arabic.

† It is also called Bahr el Fargh. See Section IV. Vol. I. p. 398.

wood already mentioned[*], as well as an ancient road that led from Heliopolis over the hills to this part of the country.

On the right, the majestic pyramids seem to watch the departure of the traveller when he quits the capital, as they welcomed his approach from the Delta; and those of Abooseer, Saḵkara, and Dashóor, in succession, present themselves to his view, and mark the progress of his journey. A little below Toora, on the east bank, are some low mounds of earth, probably ancient walls of decayed crude bricks, belonging to an enclosure, once square, but now partly carried away by the river; and to the east of it is another long mound, through which a passage led to the plain behind. The name of Toora signifies "a canal," but it is more likely to have been originally derived from that of the ancient village that once stood near this spot, called Troja, or Troïcus pagus; the conversion of an old name into one of similar sound[†] in Arabic being of common occurrence in modern Egypt.

The wall stretching across the plain to the hills, and the fort above, were built by Ismáël Bey, during the turbulent times of the Memlooks, which I shall have occasion to notice hereafter in the history of the country.[‡] A short distance to the south of the fort, on the top of the same range of hills, are the ruins of an old convent, called Dayr el Bughleh[§], which is mentioned by Arab writers, and was discovered a few years ago by M. Linant.

El Mās̱arah[‖], or Toora-Mās̱ara, about 1¾ mile further to the south, and 9 miles from Cairo, claims, with Toora, the honour of marking the real site of the Troïcus pagus, which, according to Strabo, stood near to the river and the quarries. Strabo and Diodorus both report that it was built and named after the Trojan captives of Menelaus[¶], with what probability it is difficult now to decide; and some ancient Egyptian name of similar sound is as likely to have been changed by the Greeks and Romans into Troja, as by the modern Arabs into Toora. The mountain to the eastward is evidently the Troici lapidis mons, or Τρωικον ορος of Ptolemy and Strabo; and from it was taken the stone with which the second pyramid was cased*, not built, as the latter geographer supposes. It is to the same mountain that Herodotus† and Diodorus allude, when they say the stone for building the great pyramid came "from Arabia," or the eastern side of the Nile.

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[*] See above, Vol. I. pp. 295. 300. 302.
[†] The name Troja having been also corrupted from the Egyptian name.
[‡] See Section VII., on the History, and above, Vol. I. p. 288.
[§] "Of the mule."

[‖] Properly el Mās̱arah معصرة "the press.

[¶] Strabo, 17. p. 556. Diodor. 1. 56.

The quarries are of great extent; and that they were worked from a very remote period is evident from the hieroglyphic tablets and the names of kings inscribed within them. Those to the north, to which a railway has been laid down by the Pasha, are sometimes distinguished by the name of the quarries of Toora, those to the south, of Mās̱arah. At the former are tablets bearing the names of Amun-m̄-gori, of Amunoph II. and III., and of Neco: at the latter are those of Ames, Amyrtæus, Acoris (Hakori), and Ptolemy Philadelphus, with Arsinoë; and some have the figures of deities, as Athor and Thoth, and the triad of Thebes—Amun, Maut, and Khonso, without royal ovals. In one of the tablets at the quarries of Māsarah, sculptured in the 22d year of Ames or Amosis, the leader of the 18th dynasty, who ascended the throne in 1575 B.C., is the representation of a sledge bearing a block of stone, drawn by six oxen. The hieroglyphic inscription above this is much defaced; but in the legible portion, besides the titles of the king and queen "beloved of Pthah and Atmoo," we read "in the 22d year of his beloved majesty the king, son of the Sun, Ames, to whom life is given, was opened the door .... the chambers ..... freestone‡, hard and good, to build the hall of assembly, which is .... the temple of Pthah, the temple of the god (and) the temple of Amun in Thebes .... he has caused .... with oxen .... of the good god the king, who lives ...." In another quarry towards the south, is a larger tablet representing king Amyrtæus offering to the triad of the place, Thoth, the goddess Nehimeou, and Horus (Nofre-Hor, "the lord of the land of

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* I use this conventional term for the outer tier of stones.

† Herodot. 2. 124.

‡ The same word is used for limestone and sandstone.

Bahet"), and below the king stands a small figure, in the act of cutting the stone with a chisel and mallet. Besides the hieroglyphic ovals of the kings, are several names and inscriptions in enchorial; and here and there are various numbers, and quarry-marks, frequently with lines indicating the size of each stone. The name of the place appears to be Benno. The quarries are not only interesting from their extent, or from having furnished the compact stone for the exterior of those venerable monuments, the pyramids; but from their showing how the Egyptian masons cut the stone.

They first began by a trench or groove round a square space, on the smooth perpendicular face of the rock; and having pierced a horizontal shaft to a certain distance, by cutting away the centre of the square, they made a succession of similar shafts on the same level, after which they extended the work downwards in the form of steps, removing each tier of stones as they went on, till they reached the lowest part or floor of the quarry. The same was also done on the opposite side, in the same face of the rock, till at length two perpendicular walls were left, which marked the extent of the quarry; and here again, new openings were made, and another chamber, connected with the other, was formed in the same manner; pillars of rock being left here and there to support the roof.* These communications of one quarry, or chamber of a quarry, with the other, are frequently observable in the mountains of Māsarah, where they follow in uninterrupted succession for a considerable distance; and in no part of Egypt is the method of quarrying more clearly shown. The lines traced on the roof, marking the size and division of each set of blocks, were probably intended to show the number hewn by particular workmen. Instances of this occur in other places, from which we may infer that, in cases where the masons worked for hire, this account of the number of stones they had cut served to prove their claims for payment; and when condemned as a punishment to the quarries, it was in like manner a record of the progress of their task; criminals being frequently obliged to hew a fixed number of stones according to their offence. The mountain of Māṣarah still continues to supply stone for the use of the metropolis, as it once did for Memphis and its vicinity; and the floors of the houses of Cairo continue to be paved with flags of the same magnesian limestone, which the Egyptian masons employed 4000 years ago.

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* See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. pp. 321. and 323.

The occasional views over the plain, the Nile, and the several pyramids on the low Libyan hills beyond the river, which appear through openings in the quarries, as you wander through them, have a curious and pleasing effect; and on looking towards the village of Māsarah, you perceive on the left a causeway or inclined road, leading towards the river, by which the stones were probably conveyed to the Nile.

Helwán, a village on the east bank, is known as having been the first place where the Arabs made a Nilometer, under the caliphate of Abd el Melek, about the year 700 A. D. It was built by Abd el Azeez, the brother of the Caliph; but being found not to answer there, a new one was made by Soolayman, his second successor, about 16 years afterwards, at the Isle of Roda, where it has continued ever since.* Aboolfeda speaks of Helwán as a very delightful village, and it was perhaps from this that it obtained its name; Helwa signifying "sweet;" though, as Norden observes, it possesses nothing more to recommend it on this score than its opposite neighbour. Nearly opposite Helwán, on the W. bank, and a little way from the shore, is Bedreshayn; and 1½ mile to the westward is Mitrahenny †, the site of Memphis. Its lofty mounds may be seen from the river, half way between the village of Sakkára and the Nile; and about 4 miles farther up the stream, you pass Shobuk, and the pyramids of Dashóor, 4 miles inland to the right. About 2 miles to the westward of Masghóon, is el Kafr, a small village, from which one of the principal roads leads to the Fýoóm, across the desert.

El Kafr is the residence of a native chief of great wealth, whose hospitable house is the resort of all who pass that way. He has the title of Khabeéree, "the guide," which has been hereditary in his family since the time of Sultan Selim, who gave it to his ancestor, as a reward for his services in that capacity, when he took possession of the country after the defeat of the son of el Ghoree.

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* See above, Vol. I. pp. 279. 284.

† Mit is supposed to be an abbreviation of miniet.

In this neighbourhood, probably near Dashóor, were "the city of Acanthus, the temple of Osiris, and the grove of Thebaic gum-producing Acanthus," mentioned by Strabo *; which last may be traced in the many groves of that tree (the sont, or Acacia Nilotica), which still grow there, at the edge of the cultivated land. The town of Acanthus was, according to Diodorus †, 120 stadia, or 15 M. P. from Memphis, equal to $13\frac{5}{6}$, or nearly 14 English miles ‡, which, if correct, would place it much farther south, to the westward of Kafr el Iyát; though it is generally supposed to have stood near Dashóor.

In the hills near el Kafr, are some small tombs, not worth visiting.

On the same bank, and near Kafr el Iyát, at the extremity of a large bend of the river, is, as I suppose, the site of Menes' Dyke, which I have already mentioned.§ The river, before his time, ran below the Libyan hills; but in order to conduct it through the centre of the valley, he ordered a new channel to be made, at nearly an equal distance between the two parallel ridges of mountains, that border it on the east and west; and having diverted its course, he built the city of Memphis in the bed of the old channel. This change was effected by constructing a dyke about 100 stadia ($12\frac{1}{2}$ Roman, or about $11\frac{1}{2}$ English miles) above the site of the projected city, whose lofty mounds and strong embankments turned the water to the eastward, and effectually confined the stream to its new bed. The dyke was carefully kept in repair by succeeding kings; and even as late as the Persian occupation of Egypt, Herodotus tells us that a guard was

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* Strabo, 17. p. 556.

† Diodor. l. 97.

‡ Reckoning 610 feet to a stadium, 600 stadia being equal to a degree, the general calculation is 600 feet. If 367·196 feet be allowed to a degree, the stadium will measure $611\frac{58}{60}$, or 612 feet. See above, Vol. I. p. 375.

§ Above, in Vol. I. p. 374.

always maintained there, to overlook the necessary repairs, and to watch over the state of its embankments. For, adds Herodotus, if the river were to break through the dyke, the whole of Memphis would run a risk of being overwhelmed with water, especially at the period of the inundation.[*] Subsequently, however, when the increased deposit of the alluvial soil had heightened the circumjacent plains, these precautions became unnecessary; and though we may still trace the spot where the diversion of the Nile took place, which is pointed out by the great bend it makes about 14 miles above the site of ancient Memphis, the lofty mounds once raised there are no longer visible. The accumulated deposit of the river has elevated the bank about Kafr el Iyát to the level with their summit; and a large canal runs, during the inundation, close to the villages of Sak̲k̲ara and Mitrahenny, which occupy part of the old city, without endangering their security.[†] From this spot are descried the two ruined pyramids of Lisht, built of small blocks of limestone; which were probably once covered with an exterior coating of larger stones.

Three miles to the N.W. is a conical hill resembling a pyramid. It is, however, merely a rock, with no traces of masonry; and in this part of the low Libyan chain, are a great abundance of fossils, particularly oyster-shells, with which some of the rocks are densely filled, in some instances retaining their glossy mother-of-pearl surface.

Wady Ghomýer (or el Ghomeir) opens upon the Nile at E'Suf on the east bank. By this valley runs the southernmost of the roads across the desert of Suez. At Atféëh are the mounds of Aphroditopolis, or the city of Athor, the Egyptian Venus. It presents no monuments. The Coptic name is Tpêh, or Petpieh (ⲧⲡⲏϩ or ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲓⲉϩ), easily converted into the modern Arabic Atféëh. It was the capital of the Aphroditopolite nome, and noted, as Strabo tells us, for the worship of a white cow, the emblem of the Goddess.[‡]

W.S.W. from Rigga, on the opposite bank, is a pyramid, called by the Arabs "Háram el Kedáb," or the "false pyramid," from the erroneous idea that the base is merely rock, and that it does not form part of the building itself. It is built in stories, or degrees, and differs in this respect from the two great pyramids of Geezeh, as well as in the position of the stones, which lie nearly *at the complement of the exterior angle*, and not horizontally, as in other monuments. The mode of building in stories is, however, common to other pyramids, instances of which occur in the smaller ones of Geezeh, at Sakkára, and Abooseer.

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[*] Κινδυνη πασῃ Μεμφι κατακλυσθηναι εστι. Herodot. 2. 99.

[†] Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. pp. 89, 90.

[‡] See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 390. A spotted cow was particularly sacred to Athor.

At Maydoon, which stands on the canal, opposite the false pyramid, are lofty mounds of an ancient town; and opposite Zow′yeh, at the north corner of the low hills overlooking the Nile, is Broombel, where mounds mark the site of an old town, probably Ancyronpolis. This city is supposed to have owed its name to the stone anchors said to have been cut in the neighbouring quarries.

Zow′yeh appears to be Iseum, in Coptic Naêsi (Ⲛⲁⲏⲥⲓ), the city of Isis, which stood near the canal leading to Pousiri, or Nilopolis, and thence to the Crocodilopolite nome. This canal on the north, with part of the predecessor of the Bahr Yoosef on the west, and the Nile on the east, formed the island of the Heracleopolite nome*; and the city of Hercules was, according to Strabo, towards the southern extremity of the province, of which it was the capital. And this agrees with the position of Anásieh, or Om el Keemán, "the mother of the mounds," as it is often called by the Arabs, from the lofty mounds of the old city, which are seen inland about twelve miles to the westward of Benisooef.

Nothing of interest is met with on the Nile between Zow′yeh and Benisooef.

Inland, about nine miles to the south-west of the former is Abooseer, the site of Busiris or Nilopolis, in Coptic Pousiri (Ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ), upon the canal already mentioned, bounding the Heracleopolite nome to the west. The position of the city of the Nile, at a distance from the river, was evidently chosen in order to oblige the people to keep the canal in proper repair, that the water of the sacred stream might pass freely into the interior, and reach the town where the god Nilus was the object of particular veneration; a motive which M. de Pauw very judiciously assigns to the worship of the crocodile in towns situated far from the river.

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* See below, Section VI. on the Fyoom.

Zaytoon has succeeded to an ancient town, called in Coptic Phaǹnigôit* (Φⲁⲛ̀ⲛⲓϫⲱⲓⲧ). It was in the district of Poushin† (Ⲡⲟⲩϣⲓⲛ), the modern Boosh, which is distant about three miles to the south, and is marked by lofty mounds. It is remarkable that Zaytoon, signifying "olives," is an Arabic translation of the old name Pha-n̄-ni-gôit, "the place of olives," as has been observed by the learned Champollion‡, who, however, is in error when he applies to the Heracleopolite what Strabo says§ of the Arsinoïte nome. The words of the geographer are: "Next comes the Heracleopolite nome, in a large island, by which is a canal, on the right, towards Libya, (running) to the Arsinoïte nome, so that the canal has two mouths and intersects part of the island. This nome excels all others in appearance, in goodness, and in condition; for it is the only one which produces olive trees of a perfect and large kind, bearing fruit; and if care were taken in gathering the olives, the oil would be excellent, though, from neglect in this point, they only extract a large quantity of a rank flavour. But the rest of Egypt is destitute of olive trees, except the gardens of Alexandria, which, too, only supply the fruit, and no oil. It produces abundance of wine, corn, vegetables, and many kinds of grain; and has also a wonderful lake, called 'of Mœris,' like a sea in size and colour." From this last it is evident that he alludes to the Arsinoïte nome, or modern Fýoóm; and the superiority of its productions indicates a peculiarity of soil, which is fully borne out by its character to the present day, and could not be looked for in the Heracleopolite district. We may also conclude that the name "place of olives," applied to the village of Phaǹnigôit, pointed out a rare quality in the land there, and proved it to be an exception even to the rest of the Heracleopolite nome.

Dallas, about a mile to the S.W. of Zaytoon, is probably the Tgol or Tlog (ⲧϫⲟⲗ or ⲧⲗⲟϫ) of the Copts; and at Shenowéëh, close to Boosh, are mounds of an ancient town, whose name is unknown.

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* Or Pha-ǹ-ni-djôit.

† The P is pronounced B by the Copts.

‡ L'Egypte sous les Pharaons, vol. i. p. 315.

§ Strabo, 17. p. 556.

Boosh is a large and thriving town, considering the state of the Egyptian peasantry. Among the inhabitants are many Copt Christians, and it has a large depôt of monks, which keeps up a constant communication with the convents of St. Antony and St. Paul, in the eastern desert, supplying them with all they require, furnishing them occasionally with fresh monastic recruits, and superintending the regulations of the whole corps of ascetics. Pococke supposes Boosh to be the ancient Ptolemaïs, the port of Arsinoë, but this I shall elsewhere show to have been further inland *, which even the authority of Ptolemy, quoted by him, plainly proves.

Benisooéf is the capital of the province or beylik, and the residence of the bey or governor, whose palace stands on the north. Benisooéf has also a manufactory for silk and cotton stuffs, built by Mohammed Ali in 1826, as in other large towns of Egypt; but it is no longer famous for its linen manufactures, as in the time of Leo Africanus, when it supplied the whole of Egypt with flax, and exported great quantities to Tunis and other parts of Barbary. A market is held at Benisooéf every week, but it is badly supplied; and the town cannot boast even the common Eastern comfort of a bath, which at Mínieh, and other large towns of Egypt, is always to be met with.

The large or market towns of Egypt have the title of *Bénder*. *Medeéneh* is a "capital," and is only applied to Cairo, and the capital of the Fyoom. *Bellet*, or *Béled*, is the usual appellation of a "town;" whence *Ebn-beled*, "son of a town," or "townsman." *Kafr* † is a village; Nezleh, or *Nezleṯ*, a village founded by the people of another place, as *Nezlet el Fent*. Mínieh (corrupted sometimes into Mit, particularly in the Delta) is also applied to towns or villages colonised from other places. *Beni*, "the sons," is given to those founded by a tribe or family, generally of Arabs, as *Beni Amrám*, "the sons of

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* See beginning of Section VI.

† As I have elsewhere observed, it has no relation to Káfér, "an infidel," as some have fancied. The plural is Kofoór, as Beni Mohammed el Kofoór.

Amram;" and then many villages in the district are usually included under the same name. *Zow'yeh* is a hamlet having a mosk. *K̲asr* or *K̲usr,* is "a palace," or any large building. *Boorg* is "a tower,"* and it is even applied to the pigeon-houses, which are built in that form; *Sáhil,* a level spot, or opening in the bank, where the river is accessible from the plain; *Merseh,* an anchoring place, or harbour. *Dayr* is a "convent," and frequently points out a Christian village. *Kom* is a "mound," and indicates the site of an ancient town, and *Tel* is commonly used in the Delta in the same sense. *Kharáb* and Kooffree are applied to "ruins;" *Beerbeh,* or *Birbeh,* signifies "a temple."

The bank at Benisooéf presents the ordinary scenes common to all the large towns on the Nile; the most striking of which are, numerous boats tied to the shore,—buffaloes standing or lying in the water,—women at their usual morning and evening occupation of filling water-jars and washing clothes,—dogs lying in holes they have scratched in the cool earth,—and beggars importuning each newly-arrived European stranger with the odious word "bakshish."† This is followed by the equally odious "Ya Hawágee," by which the Franks are rather contemptuously designated; and the absurd notion of superiority over the Christians affected by the Moslems is strikingly displayed in these as in many other instances. The *Faithful* beggar, barely covered with scanty rags, unclean with filth, thinks himself polluted by the contact of a Christian, whose charity he seldom condescends to ask in the same terms as from a *True Believer;* and "bakshish ya Hawágee" is substituted for "Sowáb‡ lilláh, ya Sídi."§

He also marks his superiority by the use of the word Hawágee. It answers to the French *marchand;* and the same presumption which led some silly people in France to stigmatise the English as a nation of shopkeepers (*marchands*), has found a worthy parallel in the mouths of the beggars of Egypt. *Les beaux esprits se rencontrent;* and in like manner the Moslems, however degraded their condition, treat all Europeans as shopkeepers, unworthy of aspiring to their own innate excellence. The minuteness of religious prejudices has added another distinction; for they do not even give the Christian shopkeeper the same name as their own; the infidel being called *Hawágee,* while the *True Believer* has the more honourable distinction of *Khawágee.*[*]

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* The Greek *πυργος*.

† Bakshish, or Baksheesh, "a present."

‡ Sowáb (Sowioub) or Hassana, "charity."

§ Or Seédee.

From Benisoóef is the principal route to the Fyoom, mentioned elsewhere.[†] The brick pyramid of Illahoón, at its north-east entrance, may be seen from the town. On the opposite bank is the Wady Býád, by which the road leads to the monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul, situated in the desert near the Red Sea.[‡]

BENISOOÉF TO MIN'IEH.

The village of Dayr Byád, in an island opposite Benisooéf, so called from a neighbouring convent[§], is inhabited by people originally of the tribe of Beni-Wásel Arabs; whose chief, Shekh Ibrahim, was about fifteen years ago one of the most wealthy persons in the valley of the Nile. Some small mounds, called Tel e' Nassára and Tel e' Ṯeen[||], inland on the south of the island, mark the site of ancient villages; and on the opposite bank are many mounds of larger towns, whose ancient names are unknown.

Isment, between two and three miles S. of Benisooéf, on the river side, has mounds, but no vestiges of ruins, nor, indeed, any relic of antiquity, except the margin of a well. It is called Isment el Bahr ("of the river"), to distinguish it from Isment (miscalled Sidment) e' Gebel ("of the mountain"), which stands at the foot of the hills separating the Fyoom from the valley of the Nile. This name cannot fail to call to mind Ismendes, and may, perhaps, be the Shbent (ϣⲃⲉⲛⲧ) of the Coptic list of towns in this district.

Anásieh, or Om el Kéemán, "the mother of the mounds," the ancient city of Hercules, lies inland to the west. The Coptic name of that town, Ehnes or Hnes (Ⲉϩⲛⲉⲥ or ϩⲛⲉⲥ), is readily traced, in the modern Anasieh, as its position by the lofty mounds on which it stands. That this is the site of Heracleopolis there is no question, though the Arabic and Coptic names, as Champollion observes, bear no resemblance to that of the deity, Sem or Gom, the Egyptian Hercules.* It was here that the ichneumon, the enemy of the crocodile, was particularly worshipped; and the respect paid to that animal by the Heracleopolites, the immediate neighbours of the Arsinoïte or Crocodilopolite nome, led, in late times, during the rule of the Romans, to serious disputes, which terminated in bloodshed, and made the contending parties forget the respect due to the sacred monuments of their adversaries. And judging from what Pliny states respecting the injuries done to the famous labyrinth, there is more reason to attribute the destruction of that building to the superstitious prejudices of the Heracleopolites, than to the ordinary ravages of time.

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[*] The same as the Turkish *Khoga,* applied also to a teacher, whence in English an old *codger.*

[†] In Section VI.

[‡] See also Section VI.

[§] I use this word as synonymous with monastery, though the latter may properly be applied to those of St. Antony and St. Paul, and the others at the Natron lakes. There are no nunneries, or convents for women, in Egypt. See Section IV. vol. i. p. 393.

[||] "The Mound of the Christians," and "the Mound of Mud."

At Tanseh, Brangeh, Bibbeh, Sits, and other places, are the mounds of old towns, with whose names we are unacquainted. Pococke supposes Brangeh (or, as he calls it, Berangieh), to be Cynopolis; but the position of that town was farther to the south. Bibbeh, which has succeeded to an ancient town, is noted for a Copt convent, and for an imaginary Moslem santon, thence called el Bibbáwee. This holy individual is the offspring of a clever artifice of the Christians; who, to secure their church from outrage, during the disturbances that formerly took place in Egypt, gave out that a Moslem shekh presided over and dwelt in its precincts; and the priests to this day tell them a heterodox story of his exploits, and his wars against the *infidels*. The name of infidel is indefinite; it may satisfy the Moslem or the Christian, according to their peculiar application of the word; and the pious-falsehood is at all events as true as the scene his picture represents. So well indeed has it succeeded, that visits are frequently paid by the passing Moslem to the sanctuary of this revered personage; he reads the *Fat'ha*† before the likeness of a man (though so strictly forbidden by his religion), and that too within the walls of a Christian church; and he gladly contributes a few paras for the lamps burnt before it, with the full persuasion that his voyage will be prosperous, through the good offices of the saint. But while the priest who receives the boon tells the plausible tale of the power of the shekh, the indifferent spectator who recognises the usual representation of St. George and the Dragon, may smile at the credulity and the ignorance of the donor. The conversion of St. George into a Moslem saint may appear strange to an Englishman; but it is found to be far less difficult to deceive an Egyptian by this clumsy imposition, than to persuade a Copt Christian that his guardian saint, with the same white horse, green dragon, and other accessories, holds a similar tutelary post in England. The most credulous, as well as the most reasonable Copt, immediately rejects this statement as a glaring impossibility; and the question, "What can our St. George have to do with England?" might perplex the most plausible, or the most pious, of the Crusaders.*

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* It is remarkable that Ehnes, or Hnes, does resemble Khonso, Honso, or Chons, in whom I have fancied some analogy with the Egyptian Hercules. See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 20.

† The opening prayer of the Ḵorán.

Nearly opposite Bibbeh is Shekh Aboo Noor, the site of an ancient village; and beyond it the position of some old towns are marked by the mounds of Sits, Miniet e' Geer, and Feshn. A little higher up the river, on the east bank, behind the island that lies half way between Feshn and el Fent, is el Háybee, where some remains mark the site of a small town of considerable antiquity, dating at least as early as the reign of Thothmes III., or B.C. 1490. They consist of crude brick walls, and remains of houses. On the north side is a large mass of building of some height, founded on the rock, but probably of later date than the walls of the town. It is built of smaller bricks, and between every fourth course are layers of reeds, serving as binders. Behind this, a short distance out of the town, is an isolated square enclosure surrounded by a crude brick wall; and in the centre of the open space it surrounds, is a grotto or cavern cut in the rock, probably sepulchral, a tomb being also found between this and the wall of the town. These tombs are probably of a later time than the buildings themselves. Near the water's edge are the remains of a stone quay; and some fragments of unsculptured blocks are met with in different places. But the most remarkable feature in the ruins at el Háybee is the style of the bricks in its outer walls, which have hieroglyphics stamped upon them, containing the name of Thothmes III., and apparently that of the town itself. The hieroglyphical legends vary on two sets of bricks, one containing the oval of a king, the other of a high-priest of Amun.

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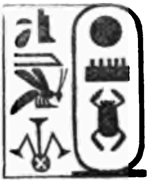
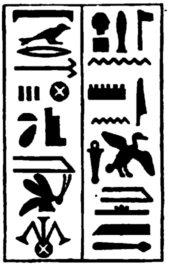
* See Gibbon, vol. iv. c. 23. p. 129.





The bricks of the isolated enclosure, and of the mass of building on the north side, are without hieroglyphics; which may, in addition to the style of building, indicate a later date; and that the town existed in Roman time is proved by the fragments of mouldings found there. Some of the stamped bricks have been lately burnt, and used by Ahmed Pasha for some modern buildings; which accounts for the unusual appearance of burnt bricks of early Egyptian time with the name of Thothmes, and presents the curious circumstance of bricks, made probably while the Israelites were still in Egypt, being used at the present day by the Turks for other buildings, which they will long survive. May this be the site of Alyi or of Hipponon?

At Malatéëh are other mounds, and at the south-west corner of Gebel Shekh Embárak is an old ruined town, long since deserted, which affords one of many proofs that the Egyptians availed themselves of similar situations, with the double view of saving as much arable land as possible, when a town could be placed on an unproductive though equally convenient spot, and of establishing a commanding post at the passes between the mountains and the Nile.

Gebel Shekh Embárak* is a lofty table mountain, approaching very close to the river, and detached from the main chain of the Gebel el Bázam, which stretches far inland to the south-east. After this follow a succession of low hills to Gebel e' Tayr. A little above El Meragha (or Meghágha), on the same bank, is the Hágar e' Salám, or "stone of welfare,"[*] a rock in the stream near the shore, so called from an idea of the boatmen, "that a journey down the Nile cannot be accounted prosperous until after they have passed it." The mountains here recede from the Nile to the eastward; and at Sharóna are the mounds of an ancient town, perhaps Pseneros or Shenero (Ϣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲟ). Pococke supposes it to be Musa or Muson. The sites of other towns may also be seen on the opposite side of the river, as at Aba, three or four miles inland, and at Aboo Girgeh some distance to the south. A few miles above Sharóna, on the east bank, is Kom Ahmar, "the red mound," with the remains of brick and masonry, perhaps of Muson, and a few rude grottoes. To the east of this are several dog mummy pits, and the vestiges of an ancient village, in the vicinity of Hamátha. At Aboo Girgeh or Aboo Girg are extensive mounds. It is still a large *felláh* town, situated in a rich plain about two miles from the Nile.

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* Umbárak, or Embárak.

Inland to the west is Béhnesa, the ancient Oxyrhinchus[†], in Coptic Pemge (Ⲡⲉⲙϫⲉ). The peculiar worship of the Oxyrhinchus fish gave rise to the Greek name of this city; and, from the form of its "pointed nose," I am inclined to think it was the *Mizzeh* or *Mizdeh* of the present day, which may be traced in the Coptic emge.[‡] The modern name of the place is Bahnasa or Behnesa, in which some have endeavoured to trace that of the *Benni*, one of the many fish of the Nile, conveniently transformed into the oxyrhinchus for an etymological purpose, and, it is needless to say, without the least shadow of reason.[§]

The position of Behnesa is far from being advantageous; the Libyan desert having made greater encroachments there than in any part of the valley. Downs of sand overgrown with bushes extend along the edge of its cultivated land; to the west of which is a sandy plain of great extent, with a gentle ascent, towards the hills of the Libyan chain; and behind them is a dreary desert. The encroachments are not, however, so great as Denon would lead us to suppose, nor will the people of Behnesa, as he supposes, be driven by the sand beyond the Bahr Yoosef. The site of the town guarantees the inhabitants from such a catastrophe, even if they neglect the most common precautions, and they have always the means of protecting themselves from it, though the invasion of sand were to increase by more than its usual progression.

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[*] That is, of safety, or good voyage.

[†] Or Oxyrhynchus.

[‡] The P is the Coptic article. Báhnesa is written بَهْنَسَا or بَهْنَسَى pronounced by the inhabitants Béhnesa.

[§] The Oxyrhinchus is the Mormyrus oxyrhinchus. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 249. The Benni, or Binni, is the Cyprinus lepidotus.

On the south side are some mounds covered with sand, on which stand several shekh's tombs; and others, consisting of broken pottery and bricks, sufficiently mark the site of a large town, whose importance is proved by the many granite columns, fragments of cornices, mouldings, and altars that lie scattered about. Little, however, remains of its early monuments; and if the size of its mounds proclaims its former extent, the appearance of its modern houses and the limited number of three mosks show its fallen condition.

Like other towns Behnesa boasts a patron saint. He is called e' Takróory, and is known in Arab songs and legendary tales. He is even believed to appear occasionally to the elect, outside his tomb, accompanied by a numerous retinue of horsemen, but without any ostensible motive.

The "single column, with its capital and part of the entablature, showing it to be a fragment of a portico of the composite order," described by Denon, no longer exists, though the columns he mentions in the mosks may still be seen. According to an account given me in the Fyoom, after my visit to Behnesa, there are some caverns to the N. W. (?) of the town, and in one of them about eighteen columns arranged around the interior, and standing in water, which is of great depth, and never dried up. Nearly opposite the door is a niche or recess, once (as they pretend) the site of an altar or a statue. Though the authority of the Arabs may be doubted, any one who visits Behnesa may easily inquire about it, and ascertain the truth.

Behnesa is still the residence of a governor; in 1823 it had a garrison of 400 Turkish soldiers; and in the time of the Memlooks it enjoyed considerable importance, and was one of the principal towns of modern Egypt. The Bahr Yoosef once passed through the centre; but the eastern portion of the city of Oxyrhinchus is no longer part of Behnesa, and being now called Sándofeh, may be considered a distinct village. At the period of the Arab conquest, Behnesa was a place of great importance and of such strength, that Khaled ebn el Weleed[*], who is said to have besieged it with 16,000 men, lost 5,000 in the assault.

A strange account of this conquest and of the previous history of the city, is given by an Arab historian[†], named Aboo Abdillahi ebn Mohammed el Muk̲k̲ari, of which it is perhaps worth while to give a summary; if only to show the amusing fancies of some of those writers, when they treat of early times, the customs of other people, and the history of places unknown to them. El Mukkari states, that "when Joseph[‡] had lost the favour of King Pharaoh[§], Rýán ebn el Weleed[||], he claimed from him his portion as a reward for his past services; but the chief men of Pharaoh's house arose[¶] and said, 'Not so; let us make lots: on one shall be written the western, on the other the eastern, division of the land.' This being done, and the former falling to Joseph's share, he forthwith retired to, and took possession of, that part of the country lying to the west of the Nile, which was then a perfect desert. Its appearance was forbidding; but it did not discourage him. Aided by the evident interposition of the Deity, he rendered the Fyoom and all the adjacent country more fertile than any part of Egypt, having secured to it the means of abundant irrigation by canals cut from the Nile. Many of them still remain; and one, the Bahr Yoosef, received its name from him.[**] A hundred thousand slaves were employed in this great work, which was completed in three years. He also erected bridges over the canals, and built the city called Medeénet el Fyoom.

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[*] Of the improbability of this I have spoken in Section VII., on the History.

[†] He flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century, travelled in the East, and performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. He and many of his ancestors lived at Muk̲k̲arah, whence his surname of el Muk̲k̲ari, or Muk̲k̲aree.

[‡] Yoosef, Yoosuf, or Yusef, in Arabic.

[§] Written in Arabic Pharaón, or Faraoón.

[||] Or Ryán, the son of Weleed. Reián, or Raián. The Arabs pretend that Weleed was the name of the Pharaoh who pursued the Israelites to the Red Sea. They also call him Amioós, which is Amosis, Ames, or Thothmes.

[¶] This expression is doubtless derived from the custom, still prevalent in the East, of *standing up* to deliberate on matters of business.

[**] In reality from the Caliph Yoosef Salah-e'deen (Saladin), who restored this old Egyptian canal.

"Joseph afterwards divided his possession among his brethren and sons; and in this division the land of Behnesa fell to Ephratim (Ephraim), who changed the form of the city, and increased the size and beauty of its buildings. A canal at this time ran through the centre of the town, from south to north*, and this was the same that existed in the days of the Caliph Omar.† Under the children of Israel it became a populous city, and as long as they obeyed the will of God, no land was more fertile than that of Behnesa; but at length, provoked by their wickedness, He sent the Egyptians, Greeks, and Amalkar‡ to attack them and deprive them of their possessions. From this time the children of Israel served the Egyptians, being condemned to toil in carpenters' work, at forges, and all kinds of laborious employments, until the days of Moses.

"The first king of Behnesa was Selhoon, an Amalkar (of the race of Pharaoh Ryan), a man versed in all knowledge and philosophy. The same made a canal of stone slabs, and placed in the centre a circular lake of copper, at whose rim stood a male and female eagle of the same metal, one on either side, the foretellers of the rise of the Nile. As soon as the inundation began, and before the water entered the canal, the chiefs of the people assembled within this lake § to consult respecting the prospects of the approaching season; during which time, if the male eagle uttered the first cry, it was a sign that the inundation would be plentiful; if the female, that it would fail. On the sides of the lake were graduated scales, to mark the increase of the Nile, as soon as the water was let into it; each digit in the lake indicating one cubit in the rise of the river itself. The same king made a bridge over the Bahr Yoosef, and greatly embellished the city of Behnesa, where he erected a magnificent temple. Shortly before his death, he built a town on the eastern bank of the Nile, in a line with his capital, on the site of what is now called el Kays*, for his son Somálen; who, however, did not succeed him, the sovereignty of Behnesa devolving on another of his sons, called Soréed. This monarch was very powerful, and extended his dominion from the sea to Asouan. He also fortified the Wah (Oasis), and is said to have erected the pyramids. Among other remarkable works, he made a sitting statue of a goddess (Isis), with the infant (Horus) in her arms, from which those afflicted by any disease obtained immediate relief, on rubbing the knee of the figure with oil, and applying it to their bodies. And children were, in like manner, cured by oil that had been rubbed on the knee of the infant (Horus). Soréed lived 199 years, and was succeeded by his son Shahramán, in whom ended the Amalkar dynasty.

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* A canal runs in the same place to this day.

† Probably the Caliph Omar II., A.D. 719.

‡ This is a delightful confusion of history; not very unlike that of the Irish *cicerone* at Glendalough, who talks of the giant Fin M'Coul, who lived in the time of Julius Cæsar, and went to school with the prophet Jeremiah.

§ This story is probably taken from the meeting of the nomes in the labyrinth.

"The first monarch of the Greek dynasty was Keitarios, a Christian prince, who lived in the time of Constantine. He built thirty towns in the province of Behnesa, over each of which he appointed a patriarch. His dominions extended to the Wah and Barca. Skandarás, his son, succeeded him, and reigned 80 years. He had two sons, Toma and Bottroos (Thomas and Peter), who, on their father's death, divided the city between them; the former having the southern, the latter the northern portion, and hence the southern gate bears the name of Toma, and the northern that of Bottroos to the present day. Things remained in the same state forty years, till Roomas, the son of Toma, having married Bahanissa, his uncle's daughter, the two divisions of the city became once more united under one sovereign.

"Bahanissa † was a woman of great beauty, and by no means suited to live with a husband, whose vices and tyranny rendered him odious to the people. Harassed by the complaints of the citizens, and by his ill-treatment of herself, she resolved on ridding them and herself of so odious a monster, and having despatched him with her own hands, she proclaimed herself sole mistress of the city, which was henceforth called after her, Bahnasa. Soon after his death she bore a son, whom she named Tosidon.

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* El Kays, or El Gays, is on the west bank, a few lines to the south of Aboo Girgeh. It is supposed to be Cynopolis.

† Baha e' nissa, "the beauty of women," بَهَانِسَا or بهاالنسا.

"In the course of time Nushál, prince of K̲oft (Coftos) made war against her, upon which she gave the sovereign power to her son, and sent him with a large army against the enemy. Nushál had already advanced as far as Oshmoonayn, and was met by Tosidon at Múrge. The fight was long and bloody, but victory declared at length in favour of the troops of Behnesa, and Núshal being taken prisoner was put to death. When Tosidon had reached the age of sixty, his mother died, and forty years afterwards he also died, and was succeeded by his son Sermános. During his reign Serbak*, king of the Suk-klabeh, a people of Africa, advanced as far as the Wah, and provoked the king of Behnesa to battle. Sermános collected his forces and sent them under the command of a chosen general to meet the Africans. The enemy was routed, many captives were taken, and the king himself being made prisoner was carried to Behnesa, and put to death. After a reign of 130 years, he was succeeded by his son Erkamnos, who had for his successor his son Kandoos, from whom one of the gates of the city derived its name. After a reign of 30 years, Kandoos died, and was succeeded by his son Bottloos, in whose reign Khâled ebn el Weléed, one of the generals of the caliph Omar, besieged and took Behnesa, after several severe conflicts (A. H. 21, A. D. 643.). The Greek garrison is said to have amounted to 80,000 men, the army of the Moslems to 16,000: but the loss of the latter was not less than 5000 men, while the whole of the Greek troops who survived its capture were put to death by the victors. The inhabitants, however, were spared on condition of paying an annual tribute."

Such is the account of Behnesa, given by an Arab historian. That Khâled ebn el Weléed took the place, may reasonably be doubted, being employed in making other conquests; though it is as generally believed in Egypt as that he was buried in the tomb called by his name in the Oasis. The whole of this history of El Mukkara abounds with fanciful statements. But if we perceive inconsistencies in his work, our surprise will cease when we recollect that the learned and respectable Edrisi*, in his history of Spain, gravely states that the Straits of Gibraltar were opened by Alexander the Great, and that Spain, until then, had been joined to the African continent.†

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* Evidently a name taken from the Ethiopian Sabaco, or Sabak; as Erkamnos from Ergamenes, Kandoos from Candace, and Amalkar from Amilcar.

ROUTE TO BEHNESA.

To a person who wishes only to see Behnesa, the shortest route is from Aboo Gírgeh, which from the river is a ride of 10½ miles, over fields, the greater part of the year richly cultivated, and presenting one of the broadest plains in this part of the valley. If desirous of examining the Bahr Yoosef, he may, on his return from Upper Egypt, hire horses, asses, or camels at Minieh, and having visited Behnesa may rejoin his boat at Feshn or any other place, where it will await his arrival; though it must be confessed that few would think themselves repaid for the trouble. I will, however, give a slight sketch of the most striking points.

The road from Minieh to Behnesa lies by Boorgáyn and Táha. Near this last I observed a canal dry, on the 25th of June, though the water was not more than two or three feet below the surface, and afforded a plentiful supply to those who had taken the trouble of digging out the earth. Ben Ghrána is the first village I came to on the Bahr Yoosef, where I was kindly received by the hospitable shekh. The canal is about 30 or 40 feet wide; and the former may be taken as its average breadth from bank to bank. It was at this season fordable in most places, nor did I meet with any bridge over it, except at Behnesa. At Mungateen I observed some Corinthian capitals. A little beyond this, is a village with mounds, and nearly opposite on the other side of the Bahr Yoosef is Kom Tarfeh, the "mound of the tamarisk," at the north end of whose lofty mounds is a crude brick ruined building of considerable height, consisting of mere walls, once, perhaps, used as a convent. Kom Magareet is a small mound, on which stand two shekh's tombs. At Nesleh Wáhaleh are a few ruined houses and Corinthian capitals; and at Helwe is a small stone bridge of one round arch over a narrow channel, but apparently not of Roman time.

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* Or E' Shereéf el Edreésee. He fled from Africa to Sicily, to avoid the persecution raised against the Edrissites by the Fatemites. He wrote his Geography (that of Nubia being part of his whole work) A.H. 548 (A.D. 1153).

† See Section VII., on the History.

At Behnesa terminates the low ridge of downs, which I had observed on our left, and which we had been gradually approaching: they are covered with low green desert shrubs on the side next the plain, and beyond them, to the west, was no more appearance of vegetation, but an extensive desert sandy plain, with a gentle ascent towards the hills of the Libyan chain. The town of Behnesa I have already mentioned.*

On quitting Behnesa we found some fields covered with Doora, and the peasants were engaged in raising water by the pole and bucket (shadóof); the land, however, for the most part lies fallow, for three months before the inundation, partly from the indolence of the people, and partly from the want of hands to cultivate it.

At Shim are the ruins of an old town, but apparently of no great antiquity. On the north side stand several Arab tombs, on the top of one of which I observed the base of a small column, and at the side a stone built into the crude brick with the following inscription:— At Nesleh Shim, which is 1½ mile to the north-west, are four Corinthian columns with their capitals, belonging to an old mosk, which fell during the inundation of 1822. The water had already begun to flow quickly by the Bahr Yoosef towards the Fyoom; the inundation having commenced about three weeks. At Safanéëh are the fragments of columns, mouldings, and an altar, as well as the ruins of old houses and mounds, indicating the site of an old town. Nothing remarkable presented itself between this place and Feshn.

ΤΑΛΑΣΟΤΟΜΝΗ
ΜΗΛΙΩΒΟΣΔΙΟΓΕ
ΝΟΥΣΛΩΡΟΣΕΤ
ΩΝΙΗΑΡΩΣΤΗΜΑ
ΤΟΣΤΜΕΤΡΙΑΖΟΝΕ
. . . ΑΙΕΡΙΓΗΣΕΝ
. . . ΡΩΝΙΣ ∟ ΙΙΙΑ
. . . Ξ̄

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* Above, pp. 23, 24.

ROUTE CONTINUED TO MINIEH, BY THE NILE, FROM ABOO GIRGEH.

Above Aboo Girgeh are el K̲ays, Aboo-Azees, and other places, whose mounds mark the positions of old towns. El K̲ays, the Kais (ⲕⲁⲓⲥ) of the Copts, which is laid down in Coptic MSS. between Nikafar and Oxyrhinchus, is the ancient Cynopolis, the "City of the Dogs;" and it is worthy of remark, that one of the principal repositories of dog mummies is found on the opposite bank, in the vicinity of Hamátha. It was not unusual for a city to bury its dead, as well as its sacred animals, on the opposite side of the Nile; provided the mountains were near the river, or a more convenient spot offered itself for the construction of catacombs than in their own vicinity; and such appears to have been the case in this instance. There is reason to believe that one branch of the Nile has been stopped in this spot, which once flowed to the west of el Kays; and this would accord with the position of Cynopolis, in an island*, according to Ptolemy, and account for the statement of el Muk̲k̲ari that el K̲ays was on the east bank.† Co, which Ptolemy places opposite Cynopolis, should be some miles inland to the west. Beni-Mohammed-el-Kofoór has succeeded to the old Nikafar‡ (Ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲫⲁⲣ) mentioned in the Coptic MSS. It was above Kais; but another town, called Tamma, is placed by them between Cynopolis and Oxyrhinchus.

In the hills behind Shekh Hassan, on the east bank, are extensive limestone quarries. Near them are some crude brick remains, with broken pottery; and in a chapel or niche in the rock is a Christian inscription. A singular isolated rock stands in the plain behind Nezlet e' Shekh Hassan; and similar solitary masses of rock, left by the stone-cutters, are met with to the south, with other quarries, and a few small tombs. About two and a half miles to the south of Nezlet e' Shekh Hassan are the vestiges of an ancient village; and in the plain, near the mouth of the Wady e' Seraréëh, are an old station, or fort, and another village. The river here makes a considerable bend to the west, leaving two large islands on the eastern side opposite Golósaneh. Near the latter village Pococke saw two rows of stone, about twenty feet long, under the water, apparently the remains of an ancient walk; but I could find no traces of them, though it is possible that at the low Nile they may still be discernible, and Golósaneh may occupy the site of an old town.

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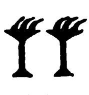
* It must, however, be allowed that the term *island* might be applied to a piece of land, having the Nile on one side, and the Bahr Yoosef on the other.

† See above, p. 27.

‡ Is Ni-kafar taken from el Kofoór, or the converse? They mean the same.

On the north-west corner of the hills, at the mouth of Wadee * e' Dayr, are some limestone quarries. Their principal interest always consisted in two painted grottoes of the early time of Pthahmen, the son of Remeses the Great, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty. One of them has unfortunately been destroyed by the Turks, and the other has already lost its portico, and is threatened with the fate of its companion. It is very small, measuring only seven paces by four, inside, but very interesting from the subjects it contains, and from the fact of its having been the rock temple, or chapel, of the adjoining quarries. The portico was *in antis* with two columns, one of which was standing two or three years ago, and it received the name of *Babáyn*, "the two doors," from its double entrance. Athor was the presiding deity; and the name of the place appears to be written  the reading of which is uncertain. Of this, as usual, she is styled "the lady," and the name includes not only the quarry, but the neighbouring hill on which it was worked.

This custom of placing quarries and other localities, under the peculiar protection of some god, was observed by the Egyptians from the earliest to the latest periods; the quarries of Toora, Māsarah, and the hills of the pyramids were under their tutelary deity; and the Latin inscription of Caracalla at Asouan speaks of "Jupiter-Ammon, Cenubis, and Juno, under whose guardianship the hill was placed," where new quarries had been opened.† The subjects represented in the interior of the Babáyn consists of offerings to different gods; but they were never quite finished, and some of the hieroglyphics on the cornice are merely in black outline. The ceiling is cut into an elliptical arch: on it are painted vultures with outspread wings, and ovals of the king's name, as usual in Egyptian temples, the cornice being composed of the same ovals alternating with other customary devices. At the end of the grotto is a group of three statues, in relief, representing the king between Athor and a god; and on the side walls he is represented offering to Pthah, Athor, and Anubis, on the right (entering), and on the left to Amun, Athor, and another god and goddess. At the side of the door are Osiris, and Ao or Gem, the Egyptian Hercules. Beneath these compartments runs a line of hieroglyphics, with the name of Pthahmen on one side, and on the other that of Osirei II., his immediate successor.

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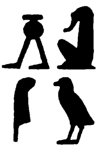
* Or Wady, properly Wadee.

† See below, on Asouan.

The subjects of the Babáyn are not remarkable for novelty; but the presence of this little sanctuary attached to the quarries offers an interesting illustration of the religious customs of the Egyptians. I may, however, mention on the right hand wall a curious emblem of Athor with two cats, drawn with great spirit,—which seems to have been a favourite device among the Egyptians, and which I have more than once seen upon gold rings found at Thebes*; and on the same wall the address of Pthah to the king, to whom he "gives victory over the Rebo," the enemies of Egypt. The legend of Gem or Ao is also remarkable, being preceded here, as in some instances at Thebes, by a character signifying Noute, "God;" which accords with the name "*Gemnoute*," given to Seben*nytus*, or Seme*noud*, the city of Hercules, the Gem or Sem of the Egyptians.



Round the corner of the rock outside this grotto, king Remeses III., the fourth successor of Pthahmen, is represented with the crocodile-headed god Savak and Athor, receiving the honourable distinction of "president of the assemblies;" and at the side are two large ovals of the same Pharaoh.

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* One is in my possession. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 374. Woodcut 408., figs. 11, 12.

A similar subject is found on the rocks at Téhneh, or Acôris.

On the south side of Wadee e' Dayr are vestiges of a small town, and near it some tombs and quarried rocks.

A ruined wall of crude brick ascends the low northern extremity of the Gebel e' Tayr; and some distance further up to the east, near the spot where the mountain road descends into the Wadee e' Dayr, about E.S.E. from the convent, is a bed of trap rock, rarely met with in the valley of the Nile. The wall appears again at the ravine called Wadee el Agóos, four or five miles further south, which I shall have occasion to mention presently.

Inland, on the west bank, nearly opposite e' Seraréëh, and the mouth of Wadee e' Dayr, is the town of Samalood, whose name and mounds proclaim the former existence of an ancient town, and whose lofty minaret is looked upon as a *chef d'œuvre* of *fellâh* architecture. The builder of it is reported to be the same who made that of Osioot; and (such is the fondness for idle tales in Egypt) he is said to have had his hand cut off to prevent his building any more of equal beauty in other places. The convent* of Sitteh (Sittina) Mariam el Adra, "Our Lady Mary the Virgin," hence called Dayr el Adra, and by some Dayr el Bukkar, "of the pulley," stands on the flat summit of the Gebel e' Tayr. It is inhabited by Copts, who frequently descend from these lofty and precipitous cliffs to the river, and swimming off to a passing boat on inflated skins, beg for charity from the traveller, not without being sometimes roughly handled by the Arab boatmen. The importunity of land beggars every one has experienced; but these water mendicants will be found not inferior to any of the fraternity; and long before an European's boat comes abreast of the convent, the cry of "ana *Christián* ya Hawágee†" from the water announces their approach. These idle drones seem to have no more pleasing occupation than to watch for boats from their commanding heights, and buzz about them on the chance of a few paras.

Here ends the district of Benisooéf.

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* Rather a Christian village than a convent or monastery. On the monasteries of Egypt, see Sect. IV., vol. i. p. 393.

† Adopting the European word *Christian*.

Gebel e' Tayr*, "the mountain of the bird," has a strange legendary tale attached to it. All the birds of the country are reported to assemble annually at this mountain; and, after having selected one of their number, to remain there till the following year, they fly away into Africa, and only return to release their comrade, and substitute another in his place. As in many Arab stories, the *dignus vindice nodus* does not appear†; and it is probably only another version of that mentioned by Ælian, who speaks of two hawks being deputed by the rest of the winged community to go to certain desert islands near Libya, for no very definite purpose.‡

Between three and four miles S. of the convent is the *Gisr* (*Hayt*) *el Agoos*, "the dyke (wall) of the old man," or rather "old woman§," already noticed. It is built across the valley or torrent, which is called after it Wadee el Agoos, and is evidently intended to prevent any approach from the desert into the valley of the Nile. It is reported to have been built by an ancient Egyptian queen, whose name was Delo6ka, and to have extended from the sea to Asouan, at the edge of the cultivated land on either bank. I have myself found vestiges of it in the Fyoom; and on the east I have traced its course along the cliffs that approach the Nile, not only at e' Serarééh and Wadee el Agoos, but at Gebel Shekh Embárak, Shekh Timáy, Asouan, and other places. I have even met with it in the cultivated land to the east of Benoob el Hamám, and to the north-east of K̲oos; but from the present increased extent of the inundation, few traces are left of its existence in the low lands, which, though they once marked the edge of the desert, now form part of the cultivated plain of Egypt.‖ That this wall was raised to check the incursions of those robbers *par excellence*, the Arabs (for the deserts were formerly, as now, inhabited by similar wandering tribes), is highly probable; as the object of it was evidently to prevent an ingress from that quarter, since it extends along the opening of the ravines, and is not carried over those cliffs, whose perpendicular faces being precipitous and impassable, obviated the necessity of its continuation. Diodorus * says that Sesostris "erected a wall along the eastern side of Egypt, to guard against the incursions of the Syrians and Arabs, which extended from Pelusium, by the desert, *to* Heliopolis, being in length 1500 stadia," or about 173½ English miles; and it is not improbable that the Gisr el Agoos may be a continuation of the one he mentions. But the observation of Voltaire, "s'il construisit ce mur pour n'être point volé, c'est une grande présomption qu'il n'alla pas lui-même voler les autres nations," is by no means just, unless the fortified stations built by the Romans in the desert for the same purpose are proofs of the weakness of that people. The Arabs might plunder the peasant without its being in the power of any one to foresee or prevent their approach; and every one acquainted with the habits of these wanderers is aware of the inutility of pursuing them in an arid desert with an armed force. Besides, a precaution of this kind obliged them to resort to the towns to purchase corn; and thus the construction of a wall had the double advantage of preventing the plunder of the peasant, and of rendering the Arabs dependent upon Egypt for the supplies necessity forced them to purchase; nor did the government incur the expense of paying their chiefs, as at the present day, to deter them from hostility.

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* Tayr in Arabic signifies a large bird, as the vulture, the falcon tribe, &c. Asfoor is a small bird, as the sparrow, &c., and is derived from *siffer*, applied to their *whistling* notes.

† See below, vol. ii. p. 40., and on Osioot.

‡ Ælian, 2. 43.

§ The word Agoos, though used in the modern and vulgar Arabic for an "old man," is properly an "old woman," and the name of Queen Delooka confirms this. Her name is written دلوكا or دلوكث.

‖ Of the increased and increasing range of the inundation, see my Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 108.

At the Gisr el Agoos are the remains of an ancient village; and above the town of Gebel e' Tayr are some grottoes. Two miles beyond this town and valley is the site of an ancient town, now called Téhneh, or Tehneh oo Mehneh. Its lofty and extensive mounds lie at the mouth of Wadee Téhneh, three quarters of a mile from the river, under an isolated rocky eminence of the eastern chain of hills, whose precipitous limestone cliffs overhang the arable land that separates them from the Nile.

Over a rough grotto in the lower part of the rock, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the ancient town, is a

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* Diodor. 1. 57.

Greek inscription of the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes; which, from the word Acôris in the third line, appears to indicate the position of the city of that name. This, however, is not certain. Acôris, the individual who put up the dedication, may have had the same name without its proving any thing respecting the site of the city; though probability is in favour of Téhneh marking the site of Acôris.

The inscription is

ΥΠΕΡΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣΜΕΓΑΛΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ
ΑΚΩΡΙΣΕΡΓΕΩΣΙΣΙΔΙΜΩΧΙΑΔΙΣΩΤΕΙΡΑΙ

"For the welfare of King Ptolemy, the God Epiphanes, the Great Eucharistes, Acôris the Son of Ergeus, to Isis Môchias, Soteira (the Saviour Goddess)."

The learned Letronne reads *Εριεως*, Erieôs, "the son of Erieus," and *Λοχιαδι*, Lochiadi, "who presides over childbirth," but my third examination of the inscription has confirmed the preceding reading, and the word ΜΩΧΙΑΔΙ cannot by any means be mistaken.*

On one side, below the inscription, is a figure of a goddess; on the other that of a god, probably Osiris; and it was perhaps intended that the king should be introduced in the centre, offering to the two seated deities.

Above this is a flight of steps cut in the rock, leading to a grotto, which has a niche, but no sculptures. Following the path to the south, along the western face of the cliffs, you come to a tablet of Remeses III., receiving the falchion from the hand of the crocodile-headed god Savak, or Savak-Re, in the presence of Amun; and beyond this is a large oval, the *nomen* of the same Pharaoh.

Returning thence to the south side of the isolated rock that stands above the town, you perceive, at the upper part of it, two figures in high relief, each holding a horse. They represent either two Roman emperors, or Castor and Pollux, but more probably, from their dress, the former; and between them appears to have been another figure, perhaps of a god.

The base of this hill is perforated with tombs, some of which have Greek inscriptions, with the names of their owners.

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* See M. Letronne's excellent work on the Inscriptions of Egypt, vol. i. p. 377.

At the door of one I observed a Roman figure standing before an altar, who holds in one hand some twigs, and apparently presents incense with the other. Within is the same person and his son before four gods, but without hieroglyphics; and the architecture of the grotto is more Roman than Egyptian. It was closed as usual with folding doors, secured by a bolt. There is also a figure of the god Nilus bringing offerings, and a bull for sacrifice.

In one of these tombs is an enchorial inscription much defaced; and some have mouldings and ornamental devices of Roman time.

Near the above-mentioned grotto, and below the isolated rock overhanging the town, is a niche of Roman time, with the remains of a mutilated figure in relief within it; and on either side of it is this Greek inscription,

ΓΡΑΜΜΜΑΤΑ ΑΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΣΣΗ,

which shows that people made mistakes in orthography in those times as at the present day. About 700 feet to the south of this isolated rock, are other grottoes; then a small quarry at the point of the hill; turning round which to the right, you enter a ravine, and on reaching the mountain summit to the south-west, you come to some curious trenches and workings in stone. During the ascent you pass some crevices in the rock, incrusted with a thin deposit of crystallised carbonate of lime, here and there assuming a stalactitic form; and besides the nummulites that abound there, I observed a nautilus about six inches in diameter, and other fossils.

The trenches at the top of the hill are curious, from their showing a peculiar mode of opening a quarry, and hewing square blocks of stone; another instance of which is met with near the N.W. angle of the second pyramid of Geezeh.* They began by levelling the surface of the rock to the extent admitted by the nature of the ground, or the intended size of the quarry, and this space they surrounded by a deep trench, forming a parallelogram, with one of its sides open, to facilitate the removal of the stones. They then cut other parallel trenches along its entire length, about seven or eight feet apart†, and others at right angles to them, until the whole was divided into squares. The blocks were then cut off according to their required thickness. One of the quarries of Téhneh has been divided in this manner, and the outer trenches of two others have been traced, even to the depth of 21 feet in parts, though their direction is less regular than in the former. In this the trenches are about 1½ and 2 feet broad, and the squares measure from 6½ to 7 feet 1 inch each way; the whole length of the quarry being 126 feet by 32 feet in breadth; and so conveniently is it placed, that the stones, when separated from the rock, were rolled down to the valley beneath, without the trouble of carriage. The division into squares enabled them to take off a succession of blocks of the same dimensions; and layer after layer was removed, according to the depth of the quarry; which continued to be worked downwards, as long as the rock remained good. Where round blocks were required for the bases or capitals of columns, they had only to round off the corners; and this was evidently done in some instances at the quarry of Téhneh.

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* See above, Section III., vol. i. p. 346.

† Or, according to the intended dimensions of the blocks to be removed.

On the summit of the hills, about 500 feet to the south of these trenches, the stone has been quarried to a great extent; and about 100 feet from the edge of the cliffs overhanging the cultivated land are some chambers sunk in the rock, two of which are coated with red stucco. One of these is round, and measures 17 feet in diameter. It has a doorway leading into it, from a staircase communicating with some small rooms; and on one side is a ledge or hollow, as if intended for a water-wheel. The other is square: it has a flight of seven steps leading down into it from the top; and appears to have been a reservoir to hold water for the use of the workmen. It was doubtless filled by buckets lowered from the brow of the cliff to the water below, which accounts for its being made in this spot, close to the precipitous face of the hills, which rise abruptly to the height of 400 or 500 feet above the plain. Indeed it is evident that the Nile formerly ran immediately below them, and even now, during the inundation, it rises to the height of 5 feet 4 inches at their base, covering the narrow strip of alluvial soil it has deposited between them and its retiring channel.

On the south of the reservoir is another square chamber, like all the others, cut into the rock. In the centre of it is a four-sided isolated mass, having an arched door or opening on each face, which probably once supported the centre of the roof; for they were doubtless all covered over; and on the south side of this chamber are two niches, and another on the east. Adjoining its south-west corner is a square pit.

The story of the 300 ravens * that assemble over this spot every year, in the month of Rebéëh-'l-owel †, and after soaring above it with repeated cries, fly away to the desert, is evidently another version of the tale of Gebel e' Tayr, already mentioned.

In the mounds of the ancient town of Acôris, are some blocks of stone, two of which resemble altars; but I could not find any with inscriptions; nor was there any thing of interest in the grottoes on the N.E. side of the Wadee Téhneh.

Inland, on the opposite bank is Táha, or Táha el Amoodaýn, in Coptic Touhô (ⲧⲟⲩϩⲱ), once said to have been a large place, equal in size to Minieh, and known in the time of Murad Bey as the residence of a powerful chief called Hagee Ali of Táha. Its mounds still mark it as the successor of an ancient town, as well as its adjunctive designation "*el amoodayn*," "of the two columns." It is supposed to occupy the site of Theodôsiou (ⲑⲉⲟⲇⲱⲥⲓⲟⲩ), and appears from some Coptic and Arabic MSS. to have been distinguished from a village of the same name beyond Oshmoonayn, by the additional title of *Meedeéneh*, "the city."

There is nothing worth noticing between Téhneh and Minieh. The latter town is a *Bénder*, and the residence of a Káshef or Názer, who is under the governor of Benisooéf. It was long the residence of Abdin Kashef, well known to Europeans for his courteous and amiable character, and esteemed no less by them than by Turks and native Egyptians. In 1823 he was removed to the government of Dongola, where he was killed in an affray with some Turkish soldiers, who had mutinied in consequence of their pay having been withheld by the government.

Mínieh has a market, held every Sunday, and baths. Though some travellers have spoken of baths here of Roman date, I could find none but of Moslem construction. They are not even of Saracenic time; but this does not seem to prevent their enjoying a reputation for the marvellous, and they are said to communicate by a passage under the Nile with Shekh Timay. The palace, the residence of the governor, was built by the Memlooks, and repaired by Abdin Kashef; in whose time the gardens belonging to his house, and two others outside the town, were kept up with great care, to the infinite satisfaction of the people, who were allowed to frequent them.

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* Called in Arabic Koráb Nóë, "Noah's raven," or "crow."

† Or Rebéëh-'l-owel, "the first Rebéëh."

Minieh is generally styled Miniet * ebn Khaseéb, which is the name given it by Ebn Saïd. It was also called Monieh, and Miniet ebn Fusseel; and they pretend that tradition speaks of a Greek king of the place, named Kasim. In Coptic it is called Mooné, or Tmônê (Ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ or Ⲧⲙⲱⲛⲏ), and in the Memphitic dialect Thmônê, signifying "the abode." It is from the word Monê "mansion," as Champollion observes, that the Arabic *Minieh*, or *Miniet* (by abbreviation *Mit*), so frequently applied to Egyptian villages, has been derived. Leo Africanus says, "Minieh, on the W. bank of the Nile, is a very neat town, built in the time of the Moslems, by Khaseeb, who was appointed governor under the caliphate of Bagdad. It abounds in every kind of fruit, which, though sent to Cairo, cannot on account of the distance arrive fresh in that city, being 170 miles off. It boasts many handsome buildings, and the remains of ancient Egyptian monuments. The inhabitants are wealthy, and commercial speculation induces them to travel even as far as the kingdom of Soodan."

Over the doorway of a mosk, near the river, are a few fragments of Roman-Greek architecture. Within are several granite and marble columns, some with Corinthian capitals; and the devout believe that water flows spontaneously every Friday from one of their shafts, for the benefit of the Faithful. A temple of Anubis has been said by some travellers to have stood here, but I know not on what authority; and there are not any grounds for supposing Minieh to occupy the site of the ancient Cynopolis. A shekh's tomb overshadowed by a sycamore tree on the N. side of the town, used to have a picturesque effect, when the numerous figures on the bank, and boats on the river, gave a life to the scene no longer witnessed at Minieh; and at the other extremity is a manufactory (*Wersheh*) established by the Pasha a few years ago, which has a prettier appearance than the generality of these unsightly buildings.

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* Or Minieh-t-ebn Khaseeb. This *t*, in Arabic, is added to, or takes the place of, the *h* when followed by a vowel.

MINIEH TO OSIOOT.

At the projecting corner of the mountain, on the opposite bank, are the remains of an old town, which stands on either side of a ravine. Above it are tombs; which, like the houses, are built of crude brick. They are not of early Egyptian date; and, judging from their appearance and the absence of bitumen, I believe them to be of Christian time,—a conjecture partly confirmed by the Coptic characters now and then met with on the stucco. But the town, though inhabited at a later period by Christians, succeeded, like most of those in Egypt, to one of earlier date; and the discovery of a stone, bearing part of the name and figure of an ancient king, would have removed all doubts on this head, if any had really existed.

The Egyptians invariably built a small town, or fort, on the ascent of the mountains on the east bank, wherever the accessible slope of the hills approached the cultivated plain, and left a narrow passage between it and the Nile; as may be seen at Shekh Embárak, Gebel e' Tayr, Téhneh, Kom-Ahmar, Isbáyda, and several other places; having the twofold object of guarding these passes, and of substituting the barren rock, as a foundation to their houses, for the more useful soil of the arable land.

The modern cemetery of Minieh is at Zowyet el Mýiteén*, on the eastern bank, between Sooádee and Kom Ahmar. Thrice every year they pay a visit of ceremony to the tombs, in the months of Showál (Eed e' Sogheir), of Zulhág (Eed el Kebeér†), and Regeb. The visit lasts seven days; the 15th of the month, or the full moon, being the principal day. The mode of ferrying over the bodies of the dead, accompanied by the ululations of women, and the choice of a cemetery on the opposite side of the river, cannot fail to call to mind the customs of the ancient Egyptians; and it is remarkable that they have not selected a spot immediately in front of the town, but have preferred one near the tombs of their pagan predecessors. It was the old Egyptian custom of ferrying over the dead that gave rise to the fable of Charon and the Styx, which Diodorus very consistently traces from the funeral ceremonies of Egypt.*

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* Mýeteen, or Meitin.

† Some call the months of Showál and Zulhag by the names of the two *fètes* kept in those months. Some of the peasants use the twelve Coptic months. See Arab *months* in Vocabulary, and *fêtes* above, vol. i. p. 259.

At Sooádee is a rum distillery belonging to the Pasha. It was formerly superintended by an Italian named Domenico; who, finding his profits did not answer his expectations, quitted the service of the Pasha; and the rum was thenceforward entrusted to a native, without waiting for permission from the Prophet. Hereabouts are several extensive sugar plantations. Sooádee has probably succeeded to the site of an ancient town. It has mounds, and a few stones of old buildings; and above, at the corner of the mountain, are some grottoes, or tombs, hewn in the rock.

About two miles beyond Sooádee are some old limestone quarries; and at Kom Ahmar are the mounds of an ancient town. Its name signifies the "red mound," which it has received from the quantity of pottery that lies scattered over it, and the burnt walls of its crude brick houses. In the limestone hills above the old town are several sepulchral grottoes, with sculptures representing agricultural scenes and other subjects, common in ancient Egyptian tombs. In one of them are two boats, or *baris*, of a peculiar construction, with a double mast, and three rudders, which, from the appearance of their folding sail, resemble a Chinese boat more nearly than any met with on the Egyptian monuments.† These tombs are in two tiers, one in the upper, and another in the lower part of the hill. The latter are very ancient, having the names of Shofo (Suphis, or Cheops), Papa, and others of that early time; while some of those in the upper tier, judging from the style of the sculptures, appear to date in the time of the 18th dynasty. This, too, is a respectable antiquity, not less than 1300 or 1400 years before our era.

It is uncertain of what place Kom Ahmar occupies the site. Some have supposed it to be Muson; but it is possible that Alabastron may have stood here[*]; and this seems confirmed by information I received from the Arabs in my last visit to Egypt, who had found an alabaster quarry in the mountains to the north-east, about a quarter of an hour's march inland, to which an ancient road leads from the Nile.

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* See above, vol. i. p. 376.

† See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 205. Wood-cut, No. 372.

The discovery of an alabaster quarry in the mountains of Tel el Amárna had induced me to suppose the large town there to mark the site of that city; but as it is too far south for the latitude given by ancient writers; and as Kom Ahmar has an equal claim, from the vicinity of a similar quarry, as well as from its more suitable position, about 23 minutes of latitude (or by the river 36 miles) more to the north, I do not hesitate to renounce the claims of Tel el Amárna in favour of Kom Ahmar.

That Alabastron was not, as frequently supposed, in the desert, is sufficiently shown by Pliny, and by an inscription I found on a rock in Wadee Foäkheér[†], stating the writer to have been a native of that town. Ptolemy, too, merely gives it an inland position, like Hermopolis, and many other places in the valley of the Nile; and he makes the same difference in longitude between it and Acôris, as between Coptos and Thebes.[‡]

A short distance beyond Kom Ahmar is Metáhara; and in the hills near it are some curious sepulchral grottoes little known. They are said to have the names of old kings, and a singular instance of columns surmounted by capitals in the form of the full-blown lotus.[§] And here it may be well to observe that the usual bell-formed capitals, frequently said to represent the lotus, are taken from another plant, which some suppose to be the papyrus.

At Sharára, on the west bank, are the mounds of an ancient town. About one mile beyond Welad Noaýr, on the east bank, are some grottoes, without sculpture; and two miles further, the celebrated grottoes of Beni Hassan. They were formerly supposed to be the Speos Artemidos, "the Grotto of Diana," the Bubastis of the Egyptians.

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[*] M. Jomard, I believe, places Alabastron at Zow'yet el Mýiteén (Zow'iet el Meítín).

[†] On the Kossayr road.

[‡] Ptolem. Geogr. 4, 5.

[§] They were mentioned to me by M. Prisse, who had not yet seen them.

This, however, is found to be in a small valley upwards of two miles to the south, as I shall presently have occasion to observe.

The grottoes (or, as they are indiscriminately called, tombs, catacombs, or caves) of Beni Hassan, are excavated in the rock, at the side of the hills that overhang the valley of the Nile. The bank below, a detrîtus of sand and gravel, has been cut through by the river, which formerly encroached on this side, but which has again retired to the westward, to the great inconvenience of travellers; who, when the water is low, are obliged to walk more than two miles from the nearest point their cangia can approach, unless they have the good fortune to find a small rowing boat to take them through the shallow channels to the spot. Even when the channels are all dry, in May and June, the shortest walk is about 1½ mile, from opposite Karm Aboo Omar; it is therefore advisable, in hot weather, to set off very early, and to return in the evening, taking water and provisions. The Speos Artemidos may be seen the same day, either before or after the grottoes of Beni Hassan, by those who are satisfied with a hurried examination of their interesting paintings: but the walk is long, and in hot weather disagreeable; so that it is better to defer the visit to the Speos till the next day. The best and nearest point for landing is to the westward of the village of Beni Hassan, which lies half way between it and the Nile. In coming down the river, the Speos should be seen first.

The ancient approach to the grottoes of Beni Hassan was evidently from the westward: roads of considerable breadth lead to them, up the slope of the hill from the bank, and they are readily distinguished by the stones ranged on either side, as in the roads made by the ancients across the desert, and before some of the tombs of Thebes.

These stones consist in a great measure of the large rounded boulders, which abound here; and which are not met with, in such numbers at least, in any other part of the valley. They are calcareous, and full of shells, containing much silex, very heavy and hard, and externally of a dark brown colour. I observed similar boulders in horizontal beds, like flints in chalk, on the mountain behind Sherg Seleén, where the decay of the stratum in which they lie, has in some places disengaged them. It is probable that the same has happened in remote ages at Beni Hassan, and that these stones were originally in similar beds.

The grottoes are cut in one of the strata, which was found to be best suited for similar excavations; and from the subjects and hieroglyphics on the walls, they were evidently intended for sepulchral purposes. The variety of the scenes represented in them are particularly interesting; and if the style and proportions of the figures are not equal to those in the catacombs of Thebes, they are not less curious from the light they throw on the manners and customs of the Egyptians. They have also the merit of being of an earlier date than those of Thebes; and in the elegant chaste style of their architecture they may vie with any in the valley of the Nile.

The northern differ considerably from the southern grottoes, though so close together and of nearly the same date, and may, perhaps, be thought to excel them in the beauty of their plan, as in the simplicity of their columns, which seem to be the prototype of the Doric shaft. They are polygons, of sixteen sides, each slightly fluted, except the inner face, which was left flat for the purpose of introducing a line of hieroglyphics. Each flute is 8 inches broad, and the depth of the groove is barely half an inch. The shaft is 16 feet 8½ inches in height, and of 5 feet diameter, with a very trifling decrease of thickness at the upper end, which is crowned by an abacus scarcely exceeding in diameter the summit of the column.* The ceiling between each architrave is cut into the form of a vault, which has once been ornamented with various devices, the four pillars being so arranged as to divide the chamber into a central nave and two lateral aisles.

In these, as in all the excavated temples and grottoes of Egypt, we have decided proofs of their having been imitations of buildings; which is contrary to the opinion of some persons, who conclude that the earliest were excavations in the rock, and that constructed monuments were of later date in Egypt. But independent of our finding stone buildings existing in the country, as at the pyramids, of the same early date as the oldest excavated monuments, we have a proof of these last having imitated in their style the details of constructive architecture. Thus, an architrave runs from column to column; the abacus (originally a separate member) is placed between the shaft and the architrave, neither of which would be necessary or have been thought of in mere excavations; and so obviously unnecessary were they, that in later times the Egyptians frequently omitted both the abacus and the architrave in their excavated monuments, as in the tombs of the kings, and several grottoes, at Thebes. But this was an after-thought, and the oldest excavated monuments have the imitated features of constructive architecture. And following out the same train of reasoning, is it not allowable to suppose that the vaulted form of the ceilings of these grottoes of Beni Hassan were an imitation of the arch? It was used, if not in temples, at least in the houses and tombs of the Egyptians; and that the crude brick arch was of very early date in Egypt * has, I think, been sufficiently shown by me; whatever may be that of stone arches, which have only as yet been found of the time of Psamaticus II., B.C. 600. †

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 309., and Wood-cut, p. 310.; and Vignette heading this section.

The columns in the southern grottoes of Beni Hassan are also of the earliest Egyptian style, though very different from those already mentioned. They represent the stalks of four water plants bound together, and surmounted by a capital in form of a lotus bud, which is divided, as the shaft itself, into four projecting lobes. The transverse section of these grottoes is very elegant, and the architrave resembles a depressed pediment extending over the columns, and resting at either end on a narrow pilaster.‡

All the caves of Beni Hassan are ornamented with coloured figures, or other ornamental devices; and the columns, with the lower part of the walls, in the northern grottoes, are stained of a red colour to resemble granite, in order to give them an appearance of greater solidity. These imitations of hard stone, and rare wood, were very commonly practised by the Egyptians §, though it is a singular fact that granite and

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* In the reign of Amunoph I., B.C. 1540.

† See my Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 316.; and above, vol. i. p. 380.

‡ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 309. Wood-cut.

§ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 169.

other stone used in their monuments, being generally coloured, could not be distinguished. The walls in the grottoes at Beni Hassan, are prepared as usual for receiving the subjects represented upon them by overlaying them with a thin coating of lime, the parts where the rock was defective being filled up with mortar. But they were contented to paint without sculpturing the principal part of the figures and hieroglyphics; and some of the latter, in a long series of perpendicular lines round the lower part of the walls of the second tomb, are merely of one uniform green colour. In each grotto are pits, in which the dead were deposited, and which are properly the tomb, the upper part being rather the chamber attached to this repository of the body. Some of them are open, and their position is frequently pointed out by a tablet of hieroglyphics, placed immediately above, on the side wall.

It is not my intention to give a detailed account of the different scenes introduced in these interesting tombs*; I shall therefore confine myself to a few general remarks, beginning with those to the north.

In the first are represented various trades†; watering the flax, and its employment for the manufacture of linen cloth; agricultural and hunting scenes; wrestling; attacking a fort under cover of the testudo; dancing; and the presentation of offerings to the deceased, whose life and occupations are also alluded to. In one place scribes register their accounts; in another the bastinado is inflicted unsparingly on delinquent servants; nor is it confined to men and boys, but extended to the other sex, the difference being in the mode of administering the stripes. The former were thrown prostrate on the ground, and held while punished; the latter sat, and were beaten on the shoulders. With regard to the scribes, it may be observed, that they are not, as generally supposed, taking an inventory of the property of the deceased *after his death*, but are represented engaged in his service during his lifetime, and his steward frequently presents him with the list of these accounts after they have been arranged by the scribes. Here his *chasseurs* transfix, with stone-tipped arrows, the wild animals of the desert, and the mountains are represented by the waved line that forms the base of the picture. Some are engaged in dragging a net full of fish to the shore, others in catching geese and wild fowl in large clap-nets; in another part women play the harp, and some are employed in kneading paste and in making bread.

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* In my last visit, in 1842, I have had an opportunity of increasing my previous collection of drawings, and of comparing what I had before copied. By wetting the paintings, the figures are much more easily drawn; and for this a ladder is required. I am sorry not to have had an opportunity of adding these to what I published before, but I did not reach England in time to introduce them into the second edition of my Ancient Egyptians.

† Many of these are given in the wood-cuts of my Ancient Egyptians.

In the next tomb the subjects are equally varied, but the style of the figures is very superior and more highly finished; and it must be admitted that the feeding of the oryx on the north corner, and particularly the figure *in perspective,* holding one of the animals by the horns, are divested of the formality of an Egyptian drawing; and the fish on the wall opposite the entrance are admirably executed. It is remarkable that the *phagrus,* or eel, is there introduced, and apparently the two other sacred fish, the oxyrhinchus and lepidotus.

A singular procession of strangers occurs on the upper part of the north wall, who from the hieroglyphics above them appear to be captives. M. Champollion supposed them to be Greeks*; but this opinion he, of course, renounced, when he found that the Osirtasen dynasty was not of the late period he then imagined. Indeed it is totally untenable. Were they Jews? and does this represent the arrival of Joseph's brethren? for Joseph was, as I suppose, a contemporary of Osirtasen, in whose time these tombs were excavated. I do not pretend to decide, nor do I see sufficient reason for supposing them to represent that event; but should this ever prove to be the case, they will indeed be looked upon with unbounded interest, and be justly deemed the most curious painting on the Egyptian monuments.†

"The first figure is an Egyptian scribe, who presents an account of their arrival to a person seated, the owner of the tomb, and one of the principal officers of the king. The next, also an Egyptian, ushers them into his presence; and two advance, bringing presents, consisting of an ibex or wild goat, and a gazelle, the productions of their country, or caught on the way. Four men, carrying bows and clubs, follow, leading an ass, on which two children are placed in panniers, accompanied by a boy and four women; and last of all, another ass laden, and two men, one holding a bow and club, the other a lyre, which he plays with the plectrum. All the men have beards, contrary to the custom of the Egyptians, but very general in the East at that period, and noticed as a peculiarity of foreign uncivilised nations throughout their sculptures. The men have sandals, the women a sort of boot reaching to the ancle, both which were worn by many Asiatic people*, as well as by the Greeks and the people of Etruria."†

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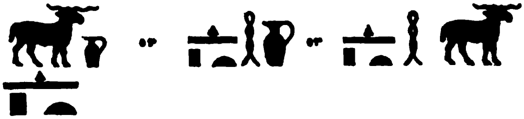
* I am surprised to find these figures given by M. Champollion-Figeac, in his brother's Dictionary, as of Ionian Greeks; seeing that the early date of these tombs has been so long settled, and even acknowledged by Champollion long before his death.

† See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 296. Plate 14.

One objection to their being the brethren of Joseph is the number thirty-seven written over them, accompanied by the expression "captives." They were in all seventy; and those presented by Joseph to Pharaoh were only five.‡ The person too seated here is not the king. On the other hand, the word "captives" might only be one of the usual contemptuous expressions commonly used by the Egyptians towards foreigners; and if they were Jews, the person into whose presence they were introduced should rather be Joseph himself than Pharaoh. But it is a great disappointment to find that his name does not resemble that mentioned in the Bible, as having been given to Joseph, "Zaphnath Paaneah §; and the owner of the tomb is called in hieroglyphics Nefothph,



Nehoth, or Nefotph, with the names of his father and mother, which are too distinctly specified to admit the claims of

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* They were also worn by the Egyptian women, being found in the tombs of Thebes, but probably in the time of the Greeks.

† See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 297.

‡ Gen. xlvii. 2.

§ צפנת פענח, Zaphnath Pāneh, which has been translated "the revealer of secrets." Some read it Souten Pieneh, the "king of the age;" but Souten is quite inadmissible; and though *Pi Eneh*, "the age," resembles the last word, *Pi-ônh*, "the life," is a more probable reading. Gen. xli. 45.

Joseph. This individual was governor of this part of the country, on the east side of the Nile.

In the same tomb is the long hieroglyphic inscription before mentioned, consisting of 222 lines, relating to the person of the tomb, and introducing the names of Osirtasen I. and II. and of the two intervening kings.

Over the door of the next tomb is the name of Osirtasen I., enclosed together with the royal banner, prenomen, nomen, and titles in one long oval.

Two of the southern grottoes are particularly worthy of mention. The first of them contains the usual hunting scene; but here the name of each animal is written above it in hieroglyphics; and below are the birds of the country, distinguished in like manner by their Egyptian name.* In one part women are performing feats of agility; and various modes of playing at ball, throwing up and catching three in succession, and other diversifications of the game, are represented amongst their favourite amusements.† In another part is a subject representing a doctor bleeding a patient, or a barber shaving a customer; probably the latter, as I find on a minute examination of these figures, here and in another tomb ‡, that one of them is engaged in cutting the nails of the other's foot, which, among so refined a people as the Egyptians, could scarcely be the duty of a surgeon. Their numerous occupations are here pointed out by the introduction of the most common trades; among which the most remarkable are glass-blowers, goldsmiths, statuaries, painters, workers in flax, and potters; and the circumstance of the cattle being tended by decrepit herdsmen serves to show in what low estimation this class of people was held by the Egyptians. On the eastern wall are wrestlers in various attitudes; and to distinguish more readily the action of each combatant, the artist has availed himself of a dark and a light colour; one being painted red, the other black: and indeed in the figures throughout these tombs, the direction of the arms when crossing the body is in like manner denoted by a lighter outline. On the southern wall some peasants are sentenced to the bastinado, and a woman is subjected to the same mode of correction. In these the figures are smaller than in the northern grottoes, but their style and proportions are very inferior.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15, 16. 19.

† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 429, 430, 431.; and the quotation from Homer, Od. ϑ. 374.

‡ In my last visit I found this, by wetting the painting. I had supposed them to be doctors. Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 393. The nail cutter is not the one I have there given, but a more imperfect figure from the other tomb.

The next tomb but one is a copy of that just mentioned; but the figures are very badly executed. In addition to the other subjects common to them both, we find men playing chess (or rather draughts), some curious bird traps, and on the south wall a square of magazines with circular roofs, which appear to point out the existence of the crude brick vault * in the time of these early Pharaohs. It is in these tombs that we find the greatest variety of games, trades, and illustrations of the manners and customs of the Egyptians, which have been so useful in the insight they have afforded into the habits of that ancient people; for which I must refer the reader to the woodcuts given in my work on that subject. In looking at these pictures, we are struck with the singular custom of writing over each subject or object the name of whatever the artist intended to represent, even the animals and most ordinary figures; which may have been the remnant of an old custom when they began drawing, these highly *conservative* people continuing to the latest times to adopt the early usages of their ancestors. And this calls to mind a remark of Ælian, that "when painting was in its infancy, they drew so rudely, that artists wrote over the pictures, 'this is an ox,' 'that a horse,' 'this a tree.'" †

The tombs beyond present defaced paintings not worthy of notice. Among other singular customs with which the grottoes of Beni Hassan have made us acquainted, is that of admitting dwarfs and deformed persons into the suite of the grandees; and these, as well as buffoons, were introduced at a later time into different countries of Europe, in imitation of an usage common from the earliest ages in the East. Dwarfs were employed at Rome even before the time of the empire. Marc Antony had them; and subsequently Tiberius and Domitian. The latter kept a band of dwarf gladiators. Alexander Severus banished this custom; but it was revived in the middle ages. Francis I. had several; and they were common at the continental courts, as well as in England.*

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* Of the early knowledge of vaulted buildings in Greece, the following, from Aristotle, is a sufficient proof. Aristot. de Mundo, p. 399. Ed. Berol.—*ἔοικε δε ὄντως εἰ καὶ μικρότερον, παραϐάλλειν τὸν κόσμον τοῖς ὀμφαλοῖς λεγομένοις τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ψαλῖσι λίθοις, οἳ μέσοι κείμενοι κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον μέρος ἔνδεσιν ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ τηροῦσι καὶ ἐν τάξει τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα τῆς ψαλῖδος καὶ ἀκίνητον*:—Thus translated by Budæus:—"Enimvero non tam absurda quam pusilla comparatio ut opinor fuerit, si mundum cum illis lapidibus componamus, qui in operibus fornicatis forficis in modum dispansi conformatis structura sese intersecante, umbilici vocantur. Etenim ii lapides in medio collocati, qua parte scilicet utroque versus structura arcuata panditur quasique oneri cedit incoherentia, continent atque in constructione ordinata totam formam operis immobilemque conservant." See also Plat. Legg. xii. 947. Plut. Vit. Cleom. 814.

† Ælian, Var. Hist. 10. 10.

On the wall of one of the tombs is a Greek alphabet, with the letters transposed in various ways, evidently by a person teaching Greek; who appears to have found these cool recesses as well suited for the resort of himself and pupils as was any stoa, or the grove of Academus. The same recommendation has at the present day induced the serpents of the neighbourhood to retire to their shade; and I have sometimes found the deadly *cerastes* buried in the sand within them. This is only in hot weather: but any one who goes there in summer will do well, if he sees any of their tracks, to walk carefully wherever the sand is sufficiently deep to enable them to lie concealed beneath it.†

I have in vain looked for a town in the vicinity to which these catacombs may have belonged. It is not impossible that it stood on the opposite bank; for, as already observed, the Egyptians frequently transported their dead across the river to their tombs; and the fact of the roads leading directly up the hill from the bank to their entrances favours this opinion. On the other hand, the principal person buried there is called "Governor of the *eastern* district;" and his place of abode would naturally be on that side of the Nile. This would argue that the town also stood there; and if so, it could only have been on the spot between Beni Hassan and the modern western channel of the Nile; and has been carried away during the encroachments made by the river in its shifting course. Many changes have indeed taken place, both here, and on the west side, about Sagheeat Moosa, within the memory of man.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 436.

† What Pliny says of this their habit is very true. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 246. Plin. 8. 23. and Strabo, ix. p. 552.

This is the most northerly point where crocodiles are found; and as early as the end of March I saw them basking on the sand-banks, while rowing from Karm Aboo Omar to Beni Hassan. On inquiry, I found that they have for years frequented this spot, and that I was wrong, in common with other travellers, in limiting their range to the neighbourhood of Manfaloôt.

The villages of Beni Hassan were destroyed about 25 years ago by Ibrahim Pasha, the inhabitants being incorrigible thieves; and even now it is as well to keep a good watch at night, while anchored near this spot. Indeed the inhabitants of all the villages, from Beni Hassan to the vicinity of Manfaloôt, are addicted to thieving, and additional precautions are necessary throughout the whole of that district. The present village of Beni Hassan stands two miles to the south of the grottoes; and nearly one mile to the S.E. of it is the Speos Artemidos, to which the common name of Stabl Antar has been applied by the modern Egyptians. It is situated in a small rocky valley, or ravine, about a quarter of a mile from its mouth.

To the right, on entering the ravine, are several pits and tombs cut in the rock. Some of these last have had well-shaped doorways with the usual Egyptian cornice, and round one are still some traces of coloured hieroglyphics. Three are larger than the rest. In the first of these (going from the valley), the paintings have been blackened with smoke, and few of them can be distinctly traced. Near the S.E. corner are some water plants, and here and there some Greek inscriptions scratched on the stucco. Beyond this, to the E., is another with a cornice over the door, bearing the names of Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy Lagus being at that time governor of Egypt in his name. In the centre are the globe and asps, and on the architrave below the king is kneeling to present the figure of Truth to the lioness-headed goddess of the place, Pasht or Bubastis. Behind him stands Athor, the Egyptian Venus. On one side of the two centre compartments the king is standing in the presence of Amun and Horus, on the other of Thoth and Ao (Gem, or Hercules).

The next large grotto to the east is the Speos Artemidos itself. Like the others it is wholly excavated in the rock. It was begun by Thothmes III., and other sculptures were added by Osirei, the father of Remeses the Great, but it was never completed. It consists of a portico with two rows of square pillars, four in each, of which the outer one alone remains; and though rough on one side and unfinished, they each bear the name of those two kings, and of the goddess Pasht, the Egyptian Diana, whose legend is followed by a *lioness** (*not a cat*), as throughout the sculptures of this grotto. A door, or passage, leads thence into the *naos*, which measures 8½ by 9 paces, and at the end wall is a niche about 6 feet deep, and raised 8 feet from the floor, intended no doubt for the statue of the goddess, or of the sacred animal dedicated to her. It is also unfinished; but on one of the jambs is a figure of Pasht. In the doorway or passage leading to the *naos*, are two recesses, cut in the side wall, which, if not of later date, may have been intended as burying-places for the sacred animals. There are others in the portico.

The only finished sculptures are on the inner wall of the portico. They are of the early time already mentioned, and therefore of a good period of Egyptian art; but they vary in style, some being in relief, others in intaglio. On one side Thothmes III. is making offerings to Pasht and Thoth; on the other Osirei is kneeling before Amun, attended by Pasht; and, in a line of hieroglyphics behind him, mention is made of the sculptures thus added by him in honour of "his mother Pasht, the beautiful lady of the Speos." In the portico, one of those singular changes appears, which I have already noticed, and to which I have so often invited the attention of those who examine the ancient Egyptian monuments.† The name Amun has been introduced instead of other hieroglyphics; and that this has been done in the time of king Osirei is evident from the fact of its being in intaglio like his name, which has been substituted for that of Thothmes. Changes have also been made in the legends over some of the twelve deities seated on the left of the picture, which have been altered by Osirei in intaglio. The altered legends are of Mandoo, Atmoo, Ao, Tafne, in the upper, and Athor, Re (or Horus), and Nephthys in the lower line*; those of the middle line of Seb, Netpe, Osiris (?), and Isis, being in relief, and unaltered.

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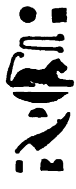
* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 277. This was accidentally omitted in the plate 27.

† See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 244.

Pasht occurs again twice over the door, and once in the doorway of the naos. She has always the head of a lioness, and the title, "Lady of the excavation" or "Speos."



On the face of the rock, over the façade of the portico, are some lines of hieroglyphics. There are several pits and smaller grottoes on this and on the opposite side of the valley, where lions and cats, the animals particularly sacred to Pasht, were probably buried. In some of them the bones of cats, and even dogs, are said to have been discovered; and Dr. Hogg assures me that others have been found wrapped up in mats, amidst the mounds of sand and gravel, a short distance below the grottoes.

At Shekh Timáy are some catacombs and limestone quarries, and traces of the crude brick wall of *Gisr el Agoos* are seen on the low hills near the river. The story of it here is, that a queen built it to protect her son from the crocodiles — a fair specimen of Arab tradition.

I found no sculptures in the excavated tombs of Shekh Timáy, and nothing worth the trouble of a walk to the hills; however great an interest may be felt by the people in the sacred rags that adorn or disfigure the reputed abode of the Shekh e' Dáker, whose lamp is kept burning in a recess in the rock, and who is said to be the patron of the mountain, as Shekh Timáy is the presiding saint of the town. His lamp, which is lighted by subscription every Friday night, is attended by a devout watchman. The saint has probably succeeded to one of the old deities of Egypt, as the Shekh Hereédee has taken the place of a more ancient serpent; and the observation of Herodotus, that the Egyptians could not live without a king, may find a parallel in the impossibility of their living without a pantheon of gods or saints. And, notwithstanding the positive commands of Islam to allow no one to share any of the honours due to the Deity alone, no ancient nor modern religion could produce a larger calendar of divine claimants. But the modern Egyptian would start with indignation at the idea of his regard for these holy personages having arisen from the worship of his Pagan predecessors, and he would deny that he felt more than a proper respect for the holiness of their character, or a hope of their powerful intercession. It is true they make no images of their saints; but the superstitious belief in their aid induces them to invoke them in danger, with the feelings common to all idolatrous communities; and the guardian of a shekh's tomb is looked upon with the respect shown by the ancient Egyptians to the curators of their sacred animals.

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* The other is defaced.

Four miles above Shekh Timáy are the ruins of Antinoë, or Antinoöpolis, built by Adrian and called after his favourite Antinoüs. He had accompanied the Emperor to Egypt, and, having been drowned in the Nile, this city was founded near the spot, and games and sacrifices were instituted in his honour. Before reaching Antinoë, you pass some crude brick remains, and afterwards a hill with some ruins which I shall mention presently. The modern name of Antinoë is Shekh Abádeh, given it, according to Wansleb, from a Moslem who was converted to Christianity, and afterwards, under the name of Ammonius *el abed* (" *the Devout*"), suffered martyrdom there. It is also called Ansina or Insina, and Medéenet Ońtholee, in Coptic Antnôou Ⲁⲛϯⲛⲱⲟⲩ*; and the old town of Arsinoë itself succeeded to one of earlier time, which some suppose to have been the ancient Besa, famed for its oracle. Ammianus Marcellinus† places Besa in the vicinity of Abydus, though the combined name of Besantinoöpolis given to the former‡, seems conclusive evidence of its real position; and some suppose that a village, called Abydus, stood here. Mr. Hamilton seems to place the site of Besa at the south of Antinoë, by the modern village of Aboo Hennis.§

Little now remains of Antinoë except the theatre near the southern gate, some substructions, and the Hippodrome without the walls on the east side. But the directions of the principal streets may still be traced, one of which extended nearly in a direct line from the theatre to the northward, for a distance of about 3000 feet. At the southern extremity of this long line rose a handsome stone gateway, with two side entrances, which, like those two in the other street, had rather the character of a triumphal or ornamental monument. Over the side doors were square openings like windows, and at the back, as well as front, the entablature and pediment were supported by four handsome Corinthian columns. This gateway probably led to the porticoes before the stage entrance, or postscenium, of the theatre; and the street, taking the form of a crescent, turned thence round the side of the theatre to the southern gate of the town, which was a short distance behind. A line of columns ranged on either side of the street, throughout its whole length, with intercolumniations of from 8 to 9 feet in breadth, supported a covered corridor, for the convenience of those on foot; and at the northern extremity of this line (where it turned off to the N. W.), were four columns with an inscription to "Good Fortune" on two of the pedestals, bearing the date of the fourteenth year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander.* The inscription was imperfect, a square hole having been cut into the centre of the pedestal, in the search for hidden treasures; but the following might still be read in 1822, which agrees very closely with the copy made some years before by Mr. Hamilton.

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* Or Ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩ.
† Amm. Marc. 19. 12. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. pp. 150. 435.
‡ By an Egyptian writer quoted by Photius, Cod. 173.
§ Hamilton, Ægyptiaca, p. 284.

ΑΓΑΘΗΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΜΑΡΚΩΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΙ
ΣΕΟΥΗΡΩΙΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ˙
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ ψι Ο ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΙ
ΜΗΤΡΙΑΥΤΟΥΚ ΙΑΗΤΤΗΤΩΝ
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΩΝ ΗΣΚΑΙΑΙΩΝΙΟΥ
ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣΑΥΤΩΝΚ ΜΠΑΝΤΟΣΑΥΤΩΝΟΙΚΟΥ
ΕΠΙΜΗΟΥΙΟΥΟΝΩΙ , ρ ·: ι· ΙΕΠΑΡΧΟΥΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
ΙΠ·ΠΑΙΗΙΟΥΝΙΟ‿Υ/ΟΜ Ι ΒΙΟΚ ˙:ΑΙΑΝΟ
ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΩΝΝΕΩΝΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ Ε
ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ
ΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΟΥΓΥΜΝ
ΕΠΙΤΩΝΣΤΕΜΜΑΤΩΝΚΑΙΩΣΧΡΗΜΑΤΙ
ΟΥΛΗΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΔΟΣ ∟ΙΔ//. Τ

The ninth line begins with ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΩΝ or ΗΝΟΤΡΑΙΟΕΩΝ. These columns are not of good style, and the lower part of the shaft, above the torus, was ornamented with acanthus leaves,—an idea probably borrowed from those at the base of Egyptian columns. The projecting volutes of the capitals obtained for them the name of Aboo'l-Keroón ("father of horns"). They stood alone, but neither on a line with each other, nor facing the street, which here made a bend to the N. W.

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* This was the beginning of the last year of his reign.

The vestiges of several grand edifices may also be traced in the street which crosses this one at right angles, and runs through the centre of the town, from the river to the eastern gate. It had a similar colonnade on either side for foot passengers, which, by its cool shade, must have added greatly to the comfort both of those in the street and in the houses; and it is evident, from the remains of granite columns, and from the substructions of many large buildings, that Antinoë was embellished with all the taste and magnificence that the fancy of an Adrian could suggest. Near the last-mentioned street, on the east side of the city, was a large edifice, apparently a temple, ornamented with pilasters and granite columns, two of which I saw in their original position in 1822. The numerous columns at the sides of the main streets were then standing, some with their capitals entire*, as well as the columns of Marcus Aurelius, the eastern gateway, and that before the theatre. The pavement could also be seen, and fragments of cornices and various mouldings were scattered about amidst these extensive ruins; but on my return to Antinoë towards the end of the same year, these interesting relics had disappeared; every calcareous block had been burnt for lime, or been taken away to build a bridge at Reramoón. Had they been of granite or hard stone, they might have escaped this Vandalism of the Turks; but they were unfortunately of the nummulite stone of the African hills; and a similar fate has befallen all the limestone monuments of Egypt.

The Turks are great utilitarians, and dislike trouble.

The large gateway, the western entrance of the city†, mentioned by Mr. Hamilton‡, had nearly all disappeared in the beginning of 1822, though some of the granite columns in the avenue leading to it from the river may still be seen, as well as the cistern within the gate. In going eastward from this, you come to a quadrivium, the intersection of the two main streets, where four columns once stood, which had fallen before Mr. Hamilton visited the place; and towards the other extremity of this street was the corresponding arch, or eastern gateway. The other street, that runs north and south, crosses at right angles; and about one third of the way from the quadrivium to the theatre, is cut through by the torrent of Wadee Gamóos; which doubtless held the same course in former times, whenever the rain fell in the mountains. But this being a rare occurrence in Egypt, seldom offered much inconvenience to the inhabitants. The river now, during the inundation, occupies part of its bed, owing to the increased height of the level of the Nile: the modern peasants of Shekh Abádeh cultivate the lower part of it; and, indeed, many portions of the old city are now overgrown with palm trees.

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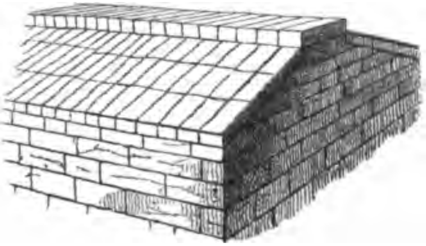
* Mr. Hamilton says they were "uniformly 21 inches in diameter," and the street 55 feet broad.

† See pl. 57. of the Déscription de l'Egypte.

‡ Mr. Hamilton, in 1801, saw this gateway. Egyptiaca, p. 280. See his account of Antinoë at that time.

The greatest length of Antinoë, north and south *, was upwards of 6000 feet, and its breadth in the widest part 3400, judging from the present remains of its walls; and it is said to have had a circuit of from three to four miles. The walls of the town were double, with a shelving summit terminating nearly in a point, of one brick in breadth, with a view to turn off the rain; and on the east side near the entrance of the torrent are remains of a stone wall.



A short distance to the north is a projecting hill, on whose summit is a singular ruin, apparently occupied in later times

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* It does not stand due N. and S. and E. and W., but nearer to N.W. and S. E., and N. E. and S. W.

by the Christians, whence it received the name of Dayr e' Deek, "the convent of the cock." If Besa was really the predecessor of Antinoë, this probably belonged to it. The ruined building there was once ornamented with Corinthian columns of Roman time, and behind them is a circular hole resembling a well, sunk in the rock. The walls are of crude brick; and in a grotto on the front of this hill a cross is inscribed, commemorating its possession by the Christians, who also occupied some of the caves in the mountain to the east. About 700 feet to the south-east is an extensive space enclosed by a crude brick wall, with several entrances; and here and there the remains of masonry. It is of irregular form at the north-east extremity, where are some mounds and tombs; but the north-west and south-east walls, which run nearly parallel, are straight, and extend to a distance of more than 1000 paces. The south-west wall is destroyed. These tombs appear to be of Christian time, judging from the inscriptions headed by a cross, on the stones lying about them, and were probably the burial-places of the monks of Dayr e' Deek, and of the Christian inhabitants of Antinoë itself. It was, perhaps, originally a fortified station attached to the city.

Aboolfeda describes Antinoë under the name of Ansina, as having "extensive remains of ancient monuments, and much arable land:" and he adds, "that the Nubian geographer, Edrisi, speaks of it as an ancient city, remarkable for the fertility of its land, and said by common report to be the city of the magicians, who were sent for thence by Pharaoh."

Near the Hippodrome are a well and tank, belonging to the ancient road, that led from the eastern gate of Antinoë to the north-east, and ascending the Wadee el Agátee continued through the desert to the Wadee Tarfa*, joining at length those of the porphyry quarries and others in that direction.

Antinoë was the capital of a nome, called after it the Antinoïte, to which Ptolemy says the two Oases were attached.† This was one of the new provinces or departments of Egypt, added at a late period, when Egypt was under the rule of the Romans, and Heptanomis was condemned to signify, or at least to contain, eight nomes.* At Roda on the opposite bank are the mounds of an old town, and beyond it to the south is Býadéëh, a village inhabited by Copts. There are many Christian peasants hereabouts, on both sides of the river; and in examining the fields, particularly about Býadéëh, one is forcibly struck with the superiority of the Copt over the Moslem felláh; all that relates to irrigation being much better managed there than in other parts of the country. Inland to the west is Oshmoonayn, the ancient Hermopolis, which I shall mention presently.

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* There I saw it again.

† Ptol. Geogr. 4. 6.

A short distance to the southward of Antinoë are some crude brick ruins called Medeeneh, "the city;" probably from the village having succeeded to, or been peopled from Antinoë. The modern peasants believe them to be ancient. They appear to be wholly of Christian time; and though now deserted, the houses in many parts are nearly entire. Beyond these again is a modern Christian village, called e' Dayr, or Dayr Aboo Honnes, "the convent of father John;" and little more than a mile farther, is another, called E' Dayr e' *Nakhl*, "*of the palm tree*," close to which is the burial-ground, with a church called also e' Dayr.

In one of the grottoes on the hills immediately behind the last-mentioned village is one of the most interesting subjects found in any of the Egyptian tombs. It represents a colossus on a sledge, which a number of men are dragging with ropes; and is one of the few paintings that throw any light on the method employed by the Egyptians for moving weights.

Though it is the statue of the person of the tomb, it does not follow that it was hewn in this hill; and it merely commemorates an event that happened during his lifetime, like the fowling scenes and other subjects connected with his amusements. But the consequence of this individual, Thoth-ôtp, is fully shown, not only by the fact of his having the honour of a colossal statue, but by the employment of so many foreign captives in moving it; and an important proof is obtained by the last-mentioned circumstance, of the conquests of the Egyptians over an Asiatic people at the early period of Osirtasen II. (B. C. 1650), in whose reign this person lived, and in whose victories he had shared. He was a person of distinction in the military caste: he is styled in the hieroglyphics, "the king's friend;" and one of his children was named Osirtasen after that Pharaoh. One hundred and seventy-two men *, in two rows of forty-three each, pull the ropes attached to a ring in front of the sledge; and a liquid, perhaps grease, or water, is poured from a vase by a person standing on the pedestal of the statue, in order to facilitate its progress as it slides on the ground; which was probably covered with a bed of planks, though they are not indicated in the picture.

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* See above, p. 4.

Some of the persons engaged in this laborious duty appear to be Egyptians, others are foreign slaves, who are clad in the costume of their country; and behind the statue are four rows of men, in all twelve in number, representing either the architects and masons, or those who had an employment about the place where the statue was to be conveyed. † Below, are others, carrying vases apparently of water, and some machinery connected with the transport of the statue, followed by task-masters with their wands of office. On the knee of the figure stands a man who claps his hands to the measured cadence of a song, to mark the time and ensure their simultaneous draught; for it is evident that in order that the whole power might be applied at the same instant, a sign of this kind was necessary; and the custom of singing at their work ‡ was common to every occupation of the Egyptians, as it now is in that country, in India, and many other places. Nor is it found a disadvantage among modern sailors of Europe when engaged in pulling a rope, or in any labour which requires a simultaneous effort.

The height of the statue appears to have been about 24 feet, including the pedestal. It was bound to the sledge by double ropes, tightened by means of long pegs inserted

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* The number may be indefinite, and it is probable that more were really employed than indicated in the painting.

† I had supposed them reliefs for dragging the statue.

‡ Compare Jerem. xxv. 30. Isaiah, xvi. 10. and 1 Sam. xxi. 11. of singing at work, and also in the dance.

between them, and twisted round until completely braced; and to prevent injury from the friction of the ropes, a compress of leather, lead, or other substance was introduced between them and the stone. Before the figure a priestly scribe is presenting incense in honour of the person it represents; and at the top of the picture are seven companies of men marching in an opposite direction, and bearing pieces of the palm-branch. They are probably the reliefs for dragging the statue. Beyond, are men slaying an ox and bringing the joints of meat, before the door of the building to which the statue was to be conveyed; and below this the person of the tomb is seated under a canopy. Boats, and other subjects, are figured under the compartment of the colossus; and on the opposite wall are an agricultural scene, potters, a garden with a vineyard, and women working in thread. The last subject is remarkable for a new kind of loom, and the mode of reeling off thread from balls turning in a case.

On the end wall, to the left of the niche, are some fish well drawn, with the colours in a good state of preservation.

Among other subjects in this tomb is the ceremony of pouring a liquid from a vase (probably ointment) over the deceased, sprinkling the ground before him as he walks, the bearing of offerings, fishing and fowling scenes; and on the outside a chase and other spirited sculptures. Unfortunately a great portion of the roof and walls has fallen in, and the paintings have been much injured. The hand of man has also had a share in its destruction, which would have been continued had the Turks found the stone of a better quality; and the paintings have been defaced in many places by the mistaken piety of the Copts, who have drawn numerous dark red crosses on the bodies of the figures, and over various parts of these interesting subjects. For its first discovery we are indebted to Captains Irby and Mangles; and as it seems to have been lately claimed by others, I am glad to have this opportunity of doing justice to the diligence of those travellers, who also claim the merit of having zealously co-operated in the opening of the great temple of Aboosimbel. In my previous visit* to

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* I could only therefore give the subject of the colossus from a copy published by Mr. Bankes, without the hieroglyphics or the colours; and I

Egypt I could not succeed in finding this tomb: and as others have also had some difficulty in discovering it, I had better describe its position. It is at the left hand of the ravine, behind the convent and village of Dayr e' Nakhl, near the top of the hill, and a little way to the right of a sort of road, which is seen from below running to another grotto. The following are the bearings of the principal objects from its entrance:—Antinoë 332½°; Reramoon 276°; Dayr e' Nakhl 288°, three quarters of a mile; and el Bersheh 236°, 2 miles.

Remains of sculpture may be found in a neighbouring tomb, and in others, along the face of the hill* on the other side of the ravine, but they are of little consequence. They are very old, and in one I observed the name of Papi.

In the ravine, about half a mile from the mouth, on the right-hand side, are some large limestone quarries, with a few royal ovals and inscriptions in enchorial, written with red ochre, like those in the quarries of Toora-Māsarah.

Nearly opposite e' Dayr e' Nakhl is Reramoon, where the Pasha has a large sugar and rum manufactory, established about twenty-eight years ago, by Mr. Brine, an Englishman, who died in 1821, and was succeeded by SS. Rossi, Antonini, and other Italians. The sugar is good, and refined by means of eggs; the prejudice of the Moslems against the use of blood being too great to admit of its being employed. It is sold at Cairo, and having been put up in blue paper, brought from England for the purpose, was at one time passed off as British imported sugar. The common kind made in the *fellâh* villages is bought by the government, and sent to Reramoon to be refined. Of this there are two kinds. One, which is called white, was sold in 1824 at 90 paras† the loaf of four rottles‡; the other, of a brown coarse quality, at about 40 or 50 paras, which from being exported to the Soodan, or interior

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regret that the publication of a second edition of my Ancient Egyptians during my absence in Egypt, prevented my giving my own copy, as well as the loom mentioned above, and some other subjects from different places.

* In one I observed some hieroglyphics that appeared to have been purposely erased; I hope not by any one who had copied them.

† At that time about 10¾*d.* English.

‡ The rotl is an Arab pound, of 12 ounces. See above, Vol. I. p. 105.

of Africa, received the name of Jellábee.[*] Their mode of making this common sugar is by squeezing the cane between two cylinders turned by oxen; and the juice, which is received in an earthen reservoir, is put into a boiler, where it remains till it becomes thick, after which it is taken out and dried in pots.

The name of Reramoon has been variously written or pronounced — Reramoun, Radamoun, Rhadamoun, e' Rerramoon, e' Ramoon, Erramoon, Reiramoun, and by Norden Nezlet el Raramu; and some have endeavoured to trace in it the name of the Theban Jupiter.

In visiting Oshmoonáyn you may go from Byadéëh, and return to the Nile at Reramoon, the boat being sent on to that place; or reverse this in coming down the river. About one quarter of the way from Byadéëh you cross a canal, which is already dry in spring, and soon afterwards the *Sikkeh Soltánee*[†], "the royal" or "high road," leading from Reramoon to the north. Oshmoonáyn is the successor of Hermopolis Magna. The modern name is derived from, and is a translation of, the Coptic Shmoun ⲃ̄ (ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲃ̄), or the two Shmouns; and the prefix O or E is added for euphony, from the hostility of Arabic against all words beginning with an S or Sh, followed by a consonant.[‡] The Arabs pretend that it was called after Oshmoon, the son of Misr, or Mizraim (the brother of Sa, Athreeb (Atreeb), Kobt, and Akhmim), by whom it was founded.[§] Each of these imaginary great-grandsons of Noah claims the honour of building one of the ancient cities of Egypt; and some modern fabulists have discovered in Thebes the name of the ark itself.

About twenty years ago part of the beautiful portico of the temple of Thoth, at Oshmoonáyn, was still standing; but being unfortunately built of calcareous stone, it was destroyed by the Turks, and burnt for lime like the monuments of Antinoë; and little more remains to induce the traveller to visit its lonely mounds.* When I first visited it in 1822, twelve columns were standing †, in two rows, 12 feet apart, six in each row, with an architrave and cornice, not with the Agathodæmon in the centre, as Denon tells us, but with a succession of royal ovals on the cornice, and on the architrave offerings presented by the king to Thoth, Re, and another god. These were repeated along its whole length, and were principally made to Thoth or Hermes, the deity of the place. The columns were also covered with figures of the king offering to the gods, and other sculpture in light intaglio; the whole, as usual, having been coloured. In style the columns resembled that in the British Museum, representing the stalks of water plants bound together, surmounted by a capital in the form of a bud; though the latter is very far inferior in size to those of Hermopolis. This order of Egyptian column is common in temples of an early age, and was frequently used in the time of the eighteenth dynasty.

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[*] From Jellab, a name given to slave dealers and merchants trading with the interior.

[†] Or Sikket e' Soltánee.

[‡] I may here observe that the same occurs in the names of Asouan (or rather Aswan), Osioot, or Osyoot, and others, and that this prefix is not, as I supposed, the article el, with the *l* ellipsed, but merely a vowel added for the sake of euphony. The *ou* or *w* of Asouan, and the *y* of Osyoot, are considered consonants. The same occurs in other languages. The Spaniards say *ispejo*, answering to the Italian specchio; and the schuola of Italy is école in French. Even the Italians, who admit the *s* in this manner, substitute the article *lo* for *il*, as *lo specchio*.

[§] See above, p. 2., and below, p. 106.

The names of Philip and Alexander, the latter having the title of "son of Amun," in his nomen, were inscribed on the portico of Hermopolis; this part having been added by their order, or by the governor of Egypt in their name, to the original temple, which was doubtless of a much older date. These kings were not Alexander the Great and his father; but Philip Aridæus and Alexander, the son of Alexander, under whom Ptolemy Lagus governed this province of the Macedonian empire; so that the portico dates between the years B.C. 322 and 311. And it is curious to observe the difficulty at first experienced by the Egyptians in spelling the names of foreigners, in that of Philip, which is written Pheeoleeopos, for Philippos.‡

Hermopolis was a city of great antiquity, and it was the capital of one of the nomes into which Egypt was divided at an early period, when the number was confined to thirty-six.* Its original Egyptian name was evidently Shmoun; Hermopolis being a Greek appellation, derived from the worship of Thoth, the god who presided there, and who was supposed to answer to Hermes, or Mercury. The Copts, as already shown, have retained the ancient name, Shmoun or Shoun ß̄, signifying "eight," or "*the two eights,*" probably referring to the title "lord of the eight regions," given to Thoth; though the reason for the expression, "the two Shmouns," or "the two eights," is not easily explained. I cannot, however, agree with the learned Champollion in assigning this name to the Egyptian Pan; there is no reason to doubt Jablonski's interpretation of Shmoun, which that *savant* very properly translates "*eight;*" Shmoun and Khmim are very different names; and there is no authority for supposing the Khem of Panopolis to be the same deity as Mendes. †

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* If any stones are accidentally turned up here, it will be well to look for names of Bakhan, and the other foreign kings.

† As seen by Mr. Hamilton, Ægyptiaca, p. 304.

‡ See the variation of the first name, in the list of Ptolemies.

Thoth being the presiding divinity of Hermopolis, the ibis and cynocephalus, his peculiar emblems, occurred very often in the sculptures of the portico; and his name and figure were introduced more frequently than those of any other god. He was the patron of letters, the scribe of Heaven, and the same as the Moon: his office was not less important in imparting intellectual gifts from the Deity to man, than in superintending the final judgment of the soul, and in recording the virtuous actions of the dead, when admitted to the regions of eternal happiness. The modern town stands on the southern extremity of the mounds, which are of great extent. A powder-mill has been established there by the Pasha, and many persons are constantly employed amidst the mounds in removing the nitre, for the manufacture of purified saltpetre, and for agricultural purposes.

During the high Nile the plain is covered with water, but a raised dyke leads to Oshmoonéyn, and the site of Hermopolis may be visited by making a slight *détour.*

The tombs of the ancient city lie at the base of the Libyan hills to the westward, where numerous ibis mummies have been buried, many of which are found deposited in small cases, and perfectly preserved. The cynocephalus ape is also met with, embalmed and buried in the same consecrated spot. It is here that Ibeum, or Nhip (ⲛϩⲓⲡ), probably stood; for it is evident that the position given it in the Itinerary of Antoninus is incorrect; and Ibeum, the burying-place of the sacred birds of Hermopolis, could not have been 24 miles distant, to the north of that city. Not far from these tombs is a curious sculptured stela, on the nummulite rock of Gebel Toóna, representing the king Atin-re-Bakhan with his queen, worshipping the Sun, which darts forth rays terminating in human hands; a subject similar to those in the grottoes of Tel el Amarna, which I shall mention presently. They are accompanied by two of their daughters, holding *sistra.* Below the figures are between twenty and thirty lines of hieroglyphics much defaced; and near it are two headless statues supporting a sort of tablet, with three daughters of the king on the side in intaglio. Beyond are two other statues, and at the side of this, as of the other group, are two small mutilated figures.

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* See above, p. 3.

† Champoll. L'Egypte sous les Phar. i. 291, 292.

Several years ago a peasant discovered a large sum of money buried in the ground near this spot; which had been concealed there by one of the Memlooks, when obliged to retreat before the French in 1799. M. Linant had been told of it some years before, by a person who was present on the occasion, who even described the spot, and the stone that covered it; the accidental removal of which led to the discovery. Treating it, however, as one of the many idle tales told in Egypt, he thought no more about the matter, until the good fortune of the peasant recalled it to his recollection. The discovery was the talk of the whole neighbourhood when I visited Toona, and confirmed the popular belief in the existence of the *kens*, or "treasures," supposed to be buried near ancient ruins. But the good fortune of the finder was soon converted into a misfortune. The Turkish governor of the district arrested him, took from him all he had found, and bastinadoed him, (their usual custom,) to make him confess if any portion had been concealed. This is the Turkish mode of claiming our rights of a lord of the manor.

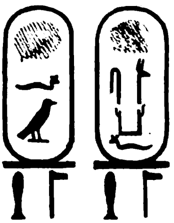
From Byadééh to this part of the mountain is a ride of about three hours and a half, on donkies, at a quick walk;

and Oshmoonáyn is a little more than half way from Byadéëh to the Bahr Yoosef, which in March has very little water, the deepest part then reaching very little above the knee. There is a town not far off, called Toona, or Toona e' Gebel ("of the mountain"), formerly Thôni (Θⲱⲛⲓ). Another, called Daróot-Oshmóon, is the Terót Shmoun (Ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ Ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ) of the Copts.

Aboosir, the Pousiri (Ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ) of the Coptic MSS., was on the west of the Bahr Yoosef, near the Libyan hills.

Daroot-Oshmoon, or, as it is sometimes called, Daroot e' Nakhl ("of the palms"), has the usual mounds of old towns, but no remains in stone. It stands on the east bank of the Bahr Yoosef, and from its name and position I conjecture that it occupies the site of the Hermopolitana Phylace (Φυλακη), as Daroot e' Shereéf does that of the Theban castle.

Mellawee claims the rank of a town (*bender*), having a market, held every Sunday, and being the residence of a Kashef, who is under the jurisdiction of the Kashef* of Minieh. It has some mounds, probably marking the site of an ancient town. A little higher up the river, on the opposite bank, at the projecting corner of the eastern mountains, is a place called Isbáyda, or Sebáyda, behind and to the N.E. of which are several grottoes and modern quarries. Some have the usual agricultural and other scenes, and the various subjects common to tombs. In two of them is the name of Papi in a square, and another has these two ovals together, each followed by the word "priest." In others are specimens of the false doors, and architectural ornaments found at the tombs near the pyramids †, and some figures in relief. Osiris is here frequently styled "Lord of the land of Tat," or "Tot," which is expressed by the emblem of stability.‡



Before several of the grottoes are crude brick walls, built when inhabited by the Christians, who converted one of them into a church, cutting a circular niche into the rock opposite the entrance. At Isbáyda there is another portion of the Gisr el Agoós, and a ruined town, which commanded the mountain pass up the ravine behind Gebel e' Shekh Saïd. This road passed by a stone quarry at the top of the hills, and then descended into a valley coming from the eastward, and opening upon the level plain. Here it joined an old road of considerable breadth, which ran in a southerly direction behind the town, whose extensive mounds lie to the south of the modern village of Tel el Amárna.

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* These titles of governors are now changed, as I have already shown. See Vol. I. p. 439.

† See above, Vol. I. p. 359. ‡ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 341.

This I formerly supposed to be the ancient Alabastron; but I have since found reason to alter my opinion, and to fix its site at Kom Ahmar, much further to the north; which is indeed more in accordance with the position given it by Pliny, who places it to the north of Hermopolis, between that city and Cynopolis.* The ruins at Tel el Amarna are supposed to be of Psinaula, but I have not been able to ascertain its name in the hieroglyphic legends on the walls of the neighbouring tombs.

There was another road between the mountains and the Nile; which passed by an old town now destroyed, a little beyond the modern Shekh Saïd, and thence to the ruins above mentioned.

Roads also lead from both those old towns to the grottoes in the western face of the mountains; and others cross the plain in different directions. Some of them are of considerable breadth.

The grottoes have sculptures of a very peculiar style. The figures are similar to those at Gebel Toona; and the king and queen, frequently attended by their children, are in like manner represented praying to the Sun, whose rays, terminating in human hands, give them the sign of life, in token of his accepting the offerings placed before him. It was by accident that I first discovered these grottoes in 1824; being distant from the river, and then unknown to the boatmen of the Nile. They are very numerous; and their sculptures are various, and highly interesting. In one the monarch is borne on a rich throne towards a temple; in another, he is mounted in his car, the queen following in "the second chariot that he had." In some are military processions, the troops marching with the banners belonging to their respective corps, and divided into light and heavy armed infantry, as was customary with the Egyptian army. Each soldier bows down before the monarch, whose tyranny seems to be hinted at by their more than usual submissiveness. The chariot corps and others also attend; and the officers of infantry are distinguished by their post at the head of their men, and by the wand they carry in their hand. In others are the plans of houses, gardens, courts of temples, cattle, and various subjects, among which may be mentioned some large boats, fastened to the bank of the Nile by ropes and pegs, as at the present day.

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* See above, p. 44.

Some of the sculptures have been left unfinished.

It would require a lengthened description to do justice to these interesting sculptures; but as my object is principally to direct the traveller to what is curious, I merely notice them thus briefly.

In a small ravine, running nearly parallel with, and at a little distance behind, the western face of the hills, is an alabaster quarry *, evidently worked by the ancients, which I found by mere accident, while wandering over the hills in quest of other grottoes. This it was that induced me to suppose the town in the plain below to be Alabastron, though its position did not agree with Ptolemy and Pliny.

The grottoes are, as usual, the tombs of private individuals, who lived during the reign of the king whose name occurs within them, and who are here buried. In one of them mention is made of an individual called Ames, or Amosis, who was fan-bearer to the monarch.

The royal names, as at Gebel Toona, have been invariably defaced, evidently by the Egyptians themselves. There are usually five ovals; two containing the nomen and prenomen of the king; another the name of the queen; and two others, which are of larger size, have the titles of the god Atinre, a name applied to the sun under the form here represented. These ovals of the god contain the name of Ra (the Sun) in his resting-place, and seem to refer either to his splendour, or to the office of Gem, the Egyptian Hercules, "who is in Atinre."

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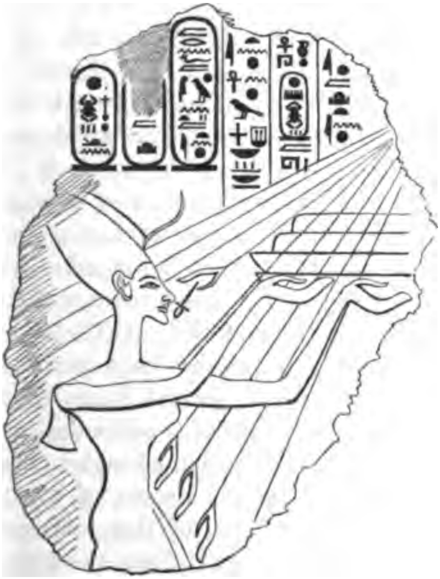
* I used the term alabaster only for crystallized carbonate of lime.

Some have supposed that the kings, whose names are found here, belonged to the dynasty of shepherds, whose memory was odious, as their rule was oppressive to the Egyptians; but their era does not agree with the date of these sculptures. For it is evident that the reign of Atinre Bakhan was *after* Thothmes IV.*, and *before* Amunoph III.; the first proved by an inscription I found in the ruins of Tel el Amarna; the other by M. Prisse's discoveries at Thebes.†



They may, however, have been of later invaders, and there is great reason to conclude that the representation of the Sun under this form indicates the introduction of a new form of worship, by a foreign usurper; which would account for the erasure of the royal names. But the fact of our finding the Sun so figured in the time of the Great Remeses, on a rock at Asouan, argues against this opinion. It is, however, proper to observe, that the Sun thus figured only occurs in the stela of Remeses, and that too merely on a rock; and no where does it occur in a temple, or in any subject connected with religion, except during the reign of Atinre-Bakhan‡, and others of his dynasty. At K̲oos (Apollinopolis Parva), I found some of his sculptures, and his defaced name; and the removal of some stones from one of the towers of the southern propylæa at Karnak has since brought to light others, which had evidently belonged to a building erected by those kings at Thebes, and had been afterwards used by Horus, the ninth king of the 18th dynasty. This, and the stone above mentioned at Tel el Amarna, serve to fix the date of king Bakhan; who evidently reigned *before* Thothmes IV. and Horus, and *after*, or at the same time as, Thothmes IV. The king who intervened between Thothmes IV. and Horus in the list of Theban Pharaohs was Amunoph III.; and it is remarkable, that some event occurred at that time which the sculptures plainly show, without enabling us to explain it. The name of this Amunoph has been altered; that of another king* has been erased by him in the temple of Luxor; and the name of Amun has been introduced instead of other hieroglyphics, which even proves a change in the character of the gods.

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* See Woodcut, centre line of hieroglyphics.

† See below, on Karnak, at Thebes.

‡ Bachan, or Bashan.

M. Prisse, who was fortumately at Thebes, when those names were brought to light, has paid much attention to the subject, and has found several kings of this foreign dynasty. There are at least five, besides the one at Luxor, and that of the western valley of the king's tombs at Thebes, who was one of the oldest yet known of this family; and it is remarkable, that the tomb of that king and of Amunoph III. were in a valley apart from the Pharaohs of the 18th or Theban dynasty. Amunoph III. was apparently one of them; his features differ totally from those of the Egyptians; and it was probably either in right of his mother Maut-m̄-Shoi, the second wife of Thothmes IV., or by marriage, that he united this foreign with the Theban dynasty, and was admitted into the list of Diospolite kings.

I will not enter here more fully into this curious question; but beg particularly to draw the attention of those who are interested in Egyptian inquiry, to any records that may fall in their way respecting these foreign princes. From their features it is evident they are not Egyptians;

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* Whom I have called Amun-Toônh, and have supposed to be his brother. The latter, however, may be doubted.

their omission in the lists of kings, the erasure of their names, the destruction of their monuments, and the abject submission they required, prove them to have been looked upon with hatred in the country; and the peculiar mode of worshipping and representing the Sun shows their religion not to have been quite the same. It appears to approach nearer to a Sabæan form of worship; and there seems to be an attempt on the part of the Egyptians to reconcile the notions of these foreigners with their own (an attempt by no means without a parallel in the religions of heathen polytheists); and the Sun, under the form that suited them, was thought or made to correspond to the Atinre of Egypt. I do not think there is sufficient authority for supposing them to be Phœnicians; but the worship of the Sun, the introduction of Hercules (Ao or Gem), with the name of the Sun, may favour this opinion; and Manetho speaks of some Phœnician shepherd-kings who usurped the sovereignty of Egypt about this time; the 17th dynasty, according to his account, having been composed of an equal number of those foreigners and of Diospolites. Some of the Scythians, too, worshipped the Sun*; and these sculptures may possibly prove a second irruption of that people, whom I suppose to be the "Shepherds;" and whose dreaded inroads at a later period were bought off by Psamaticus.†

The mode of representing the Sun, the broad band round the royal ovals, the introduction of the god's name in larger ovals, and the peculiar features of the kings, are very remarkable in the sculptures. At Tel el Amarna, the dresses of the attendants are also striking, being rarely met with at Thebes, and belonging almost exclusively to the military caste.

The question then is whether Bakhan, and others of his family, who preceded and followed him, obtained the sovereign power through some connection with an Egyptian party hostile to the rightful Pharaoh, or by the invasion of a foreign army.

The names of Bakhan, and other kings of this family, have already been found at different places, both in Upper and

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* The Massagetæ. See also Herodot. 2. 201. 216.

† Herodot. 1. 105. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. Introduction, p. viii., and vol. iv. p. 2.

Lower Egypt: 1. At Dashóor, on the foot of a chair, now in the possession of Dr. Abbott, at Cairo; 2. At Gebel Toona; 3. At Tel el Amarna; 4. In a grotto at Gebel Selin; 5. At Abydus; 6. At K̲oos; 7. At Thebes; and 8. At Asouan: from which it appears that these strangers ruled the whole of Egypt, from the Cataracts to Memphis.

Several Greek inscriptions show that the catacombs of Tel el Amarna were sufficiently admired by ancient travellers to be considered worthy of a visit, like those at Thebes; and one of the writers expresses his surprise at the "skill of the sacred masons," *τεχνην ϑαυμαζων των ἱερων λαοτομων.* To the south of the central tombs is a natural grotto or fissure in the rock, and several workings in a softer vein, apparently in search of a yellow stone which crosses it here and there; but it is difficult to say for what use it was required. Several small houses, or huts, of rough stone are built here, as well as before the catacombs themselves, probably the abodes of workmen. In one of the tombs I observed a large niche cut by the Christians, and in another the figures of saints painted on the walls; showing that these, like other secluded spots, were once occupied by anchorites and other devout cynics, or served as places of refuge from the persecutions exercised at different times against the monks of Egypt.

The extensive ruins of the old city are seen in the plain, near the river, a short distance to the south of the modern village of Tel el Amarna, so called from the *tel*, or "mounds," of that ancient place.* Its temples were of sandstone, each surrounded by a crude brick enclosure, like many of those at Thebes and other places: but fragments of masonry are all that now remain; the stone edifices having been purposely destroyed, and so completely as to leave no vestige of their original plans. Several of the crude brick houses are better preserved, and from their substructions the form and distribution of many of the rooms may be easily traced. Indeed, they are calculated to give a more correct idea of the ground plans of Egyptian houses than any in the valley of the Nile; and the extent of the city is unequalled by any whose ruins remain, except Thebes, being about two miles in length, though of a comparatively inconsiderable breadth. Amidst the ruins I observed a statue bearing the unerased ovals of King Bakhan, and the stone already mentioned, bearing his name and that of the fourth Thothmes.*

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* *Tel* is generally used in the Delta, *Kom* in Upper Egypt.

Some distance to the southward, and nearly in a line with the village of Howárte, is a ravine in the hills, where a large stela bearing a long hieroglyphic inscription has been found; and to the south of this, near the road leading over the mountains in rear of Gebel Aboofáydee, are other catacombs, containing similar sculptures, and some ancient roads communicating with the town.

Nearly opposite el Howárte, inland on the west bank, is Tanoóf, whose lofty mounds mark the site of Tanis-Superior, in Coptic Thôni (Ⲑⲱⲛⲓ). It has no ruins. A short distance to the west of it runs the Bahr Yoosef, or Menhi †, which conveys the water of the Nile to the interior of the western plain, passing by Behnesa, and thence by a lateral branch into the Fyoom.

About two miles to the south of Tanoóf is Daroot e' Shereéf, in Coptic Terôt (Ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ), which I conjecture to occupy the site of the Thebaïca Phylace (Φυλακη), or Theban castle; a fortified place at the frontier of the Thebaïd, where duties were levied on goods exported from that part of the country to Lower Egypt.‡ Strabo tells us the canal to Tanis passed by that castle; and we may trace in the name Daroot the word *ourit*, a "garrison" or "guard," and thereby increase the probability of this conjecture.

At Daroot are a few mounds and some fragments of stone, but no ruins. A few miles higher up the Nile is the mouth of the Bahr Yoosef. It has two entrances, one added in 1823, to avoid the obstruction of the sand, which had choked the old mouth.

On the opposite or eastern bank are the first Dôm trees, called also Theban palms, from being confined to the Thebaïd. They are not found in Lower Egypt, except in gardens, as at Minieh and a few other places. Their dry fibrous fruit, when ripe, exactly resembles our gingerbread in flavour, and is eaten by the peasants. It contains an extremely hard nut, which has been used by the carpenters of ancient and modern Egypt for the socket of their drills; but which, before the fruit ripens, is a horn-like substance, and is eaten by the people of Æthiopia. The growth of the tree has this peculiarity, that the lower part of the stem is single, and invariably divides at a certain height into two branches, each of these again being bifurcated, always in two sets. The head is covered with large fan-shaped leaves, at the base of which the fruit grows. In the rocks above are some quarries and small grottoes, and just beyond is e' Dayr el K̲ossayr, inhabited by Christians. This Mr. Hamilton supposes to mark the site of Pescla, or Pesla of the Itinerary *, which was twenty-four Roman miles to the south of Antinoë.†

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* Given above, in p. 73.

† Or Ménhee.

‡ Strabo, 17. p. 559.

After passing the village of el K̲ossayr, the river makes a considerable bend, beneath the precipitous cliffs of the Gebel Aboofáydee. Hereabouts crocodiles begin to be more frequently seen, and it may be said that they are now nearly confined to the Thebaïd. Sudden gusts of wind from the mountain often render great precaution necessary in sailing beneath it, and many accidents have happened in this part of the river. The recesses in the rocks are the resort of numerous wild ducks; but being generally very timid, they are not easily approached, and a single shot disturbs them for a great distance.

About a mile above el K̲ossayr on the east bank, is a small ancient town in the mountain pass; halfway between which and el Hareïb, is Ebrás, a retired recess in the mountain, with a piece of cultivated land, having palms and Dôm trees.

A short distance beyond are some grottoes, and about two miles further the *ruined* town called *el Hareïb* ‡, with grottoes and tombs containing dog and cat mummies. The town stood at the mouth of a ravine, which after heavy rain pours a stream of water through its centre. Many of the walls are still standing, and some of the arches within the houses are well preserved. It is, however, probable that they are not of very ancient date, and many may be of a late Roman or Christian time. On the south side of the ravine is a large crude brick enclosure, perhaps a fort; and near the river are remains of masonry, apparently part of an old quay. In some of the walls the bricks, instead of being in horizontal courses, are in curved lines, like the enclosure of a temple at Thebes, called Dayr el Medeéneh. Many of them are of considerable height, and in some places the arched windows remain, even of the upper stories. In several of the grottoes, up the ravine to the north-east, are found human bones and the mummied bodies of dogs. One of them has the Egyptian cornice, and in another I copied two enchorial inscriptions. The ancient name of el Hareïb is uncertain. The Itinerary mentions no place between Pesla and Hieracon.

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* Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 274.

† See above, p. 7.

‡ Haráïb, or Harýïb, "the ruins."

About a mile and a half inland on the western side of the Nile is K̲osséëh, the ancient Cusæ, Chusæ, or Chusis; in Coptic K̄ôs-koô (Ⲕⲱⲥ-ⲕⲟⲱ). According to the Greeks, Venus Urania was the deity of the place; and Ælian reports that a sacred cow was there worshipped; which is perfectly consistent with the character of the Egyptian Venus, of whom that animal was an emblem. His words are, "it is a small but elegant town, in the Hermopolite nome, where they worship Venus called Urania (the heavenly), and also a cow."*

The difference between the low and high Nile in that part of Egypt is 21 feet 3 inches, judging from the highest mark made by the water on the cliffs of Gebel Aboofáydee, which rise abruptly from the river.

About three miles above el Hareïb, and beyond the bend of the river, is an old convent called Dayr el *Bukkara.* The name is common to many of these monastic retreats, being derived from the custom of barricading the doors and raising every thing they required by a *pulley.* In some, as at Dayr Antonios and Dayr Bôlos, in the eastern desert, every person is pulled up in this manner, and they have no gates, nor any mode of entering but by a trap-door, from which a rope is let down when required; thus preventing a surprise from the Arabs, or the risk of a forced entrance. Near the convent are the ruins of another old town, and some sepulchral grottoes;

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* Ælian, Nat. An. 10. 27. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 390.

in one of which is the representation of a corpse placed on a bier, attended by Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis, with some Greek inscriptions. A portion of the Gisr el Agoós also appears to extend from the town towards the south or south-east. It may possibly lay claim to the site of Hieracon, though the distances in the Itinerary do not quite agree with its position.

In former times the Nile ran beneath this part of the eastern chain, but having now changed its bed, it has swept away the greater part of Manfaloot, in spite of all the precautions of the government in sinking boats, and the usual contrivances for checking its encroachments. The old channel is now dry nearly all the year, and is only a small stream during the inundation. On its eastern bank stands the village of Māábdeh, near which are some extensive caverns cut in the rock, which served as places of sepulture for crocodiles. I did not visit the caves themselves, but from specimens I have seen taken out of them, the mummies are frequently very well preserved, and of great size. They were first seen by Mr. Legh with his companion Mr. Smelt, in 1813; and the strange adventure that happened on that occasion is graphically described in the narrative of their journey, to which I refer the reader.* It is probable that the whole was a trick to extort money, and that the parties most interested in the matter well knew no one had died, and that they raised the outcry for their own object. The fact of the man coming out again after having been left *on the ground,* suffices to prove the non-existence of mephitic air; and the manner in which the torches are said to have gone out leads to the same conclusion. The people of the village may have believed the story of the Frank having destroyed the man, and their anger may have been sincere, while the temporary concealment of the supposed sufferer answered all the purpose of obtaining money, which no one on his *unexpected* return would think it necessary to restore.

Between Daroot e' Shereéf and Manfaloot, on the west bank, is the site of an old town, called in Coptic Man̄lau (Ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩ), whose Arabic name according to the MSS. is *Mowda*† *el Ashea;* and between this last and Mankabát, mention is made of Mantout, the successor of a town of the same name, in Coptic Mañthoôut (Ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ). This last may signify the "place of Thoth."

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* Legh's Journey in Egypt, pp. 225—239. He calls the village Amabdi.

† *Mowda* in Arabic is the same as *Ma* in Coptic, "the place."

Manfaloot, or Monfaloot, in Coptic Mañbalot (Ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲟⲧ), is a *bender* or market town, and the residence of a Káshef, or Nazer. It is of considerable size, with the usual bazaar, and the comfort of a pretty good bath. There is a market-day every Sunday, which, though apparently very uninteresting, I mention, because meat and other things are then more easily obtained than at other times. It has a governor's palace, and outside the walls are several gardens.

There is reason to believe that an old Egyptian town stood here in former times; and Leo Africanus* speaks of its sculptured remains and the ruins of a building, apparently a temple, near the river. His words are:—"The Egyptians founded this very large and ancient city, which, having been destroyed by the Romans, only began to recover under the rule of the Moslems, though without ever attaining its former magnificence. Even in our time, large and lofty columns, and porticoes inscribed with verses† in the Egyptian languages, are seen here; and near the Nile are the foundations of a certain fine building, evidently once a temple. Here people frequently discover coins of gold, silver, and lead, having on one side inscriptions, and on the other the heads of ancient kings. The land hereabouts is fertile, but is parched by the heat of the burning sun. It is also infested with crocodiles, on which account they suppose the place was deserted by the Romans. The inhabitants are people of small fortunes, carrying on a trade with the country of Soodán."

It is singular that no notice is taken of it by Greek and Latin writers, and we might suppose that the Arab geographer was incorrect in his statement, did not its mounds, and the mention of its name in the list of places cited in the Coptic MSS., prove it to have been one of the cities of ancient Egypt. Indeed, when we consider the number of towns that existed under the Pharaohs, and see how few are noticed by Greek and Latin writers, we shall not hesitate, as the learned Champollion justly observes, to admit the necessity of introducing many more into the number; and Manfáloot has ample claims to this honour. Its modern name is evidently taken from the Coptic, which M. Champollion supposes to signify the "place of wild asses;" but the modern Egyptians, with their usual disposition to connect every thing with persons mentioned in the K̲orán*, have decided it to be the "place of exile of Lot." Aboolfeda† describes Manfaloot "on the bank of the Nile;"‡ but in Pococke's time it stood a mile from the river, which then ran nearer the hills of Gebel Aboofayda. Since that period it has gradually encroached on the western shore. Pococke says, Manfaloot was very well built, and was the residence of a Kashef. It had also a "bishop and about 200 Christians, whose church was at Narach some distance off, in a spot where the common people pretended that the Holy Family lived until the death of Herod." According to Mr. Jowitt, who visited Egypt about ninety years after him, the number of Christians in Manfaloot amounted to about fifty, and thirteen priests, without reckoning those in the convents in the vicinity.

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* Leo Afric. Descr. Africæ. He was a native of Grenada, from which he retired to Africa, when it was taken in 1492. It was after this that he travelled.

† Lines of Hieroglyphics.

Manfaloot is now nearly all carried away by the Nile, which runs over the spot where the principal part of the town once stood, and there is reason to believe that in a few years the whole will be destroyed.

Beni Adee, at the edge of the Libyan desert, is well known as having been the head-quarters of the Nizám, or disciplined troops of the Pasha, previous to their march for the Morea; and as the usual point of departure for the Oasis of Dákhleh.

In Wadee Booa, at the southern corner of Gebel Aboofayda, and near the mouth of Wadee e' Gibráwee, are some old grottoes. In one of the latter is some sculpture much defaced, representing the usual agricultural scenes found in the tombs. They have been occupied in later times by the Christians, who probably put up the Greek inscription I observed in a niche; and which might possibly be decyphered, when the sun was higher than when I saw it. Just below are old ruined villages. Some place Hieracon near this spot. It is here that the road from Tel el Amarna over Gebel Aboofayda rejoins the valley of the Nile; and those travelling by land avoid a great *détour* by following this mountain pass.

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* I make no apology for so writing this name, as this orthography is fully established by the authority of Gibbon, and others. *The* Alcoran is obvious tautology; and I prefer the general use of K̲ instead of C, as it is *always* a hard sound, which C is not. I should even prefer Mekka, or Mekkeh, to Mecca, but custom seems to have sanctioned the latter.

† The proper orthography of this name is perhaps Aboolfidda or Aboolfayda, like the hill in the vicinity of Manfaloot.

‡ علي شطا النيل

About six miles beyond, near the edge of the cultivated land, behind Benóob el Hamam, are vestiges of the Gisr-el-agóos. In the tract of land on the border of the desert, near the road going towards el Wasta, I found a crude brick ruin and the mounds of other small towns, but without any stone remains. Isium stood somewhere in this direction, at one of the ruined towns just mentioned.

The Nile makes several large bends between Manfaloot and Osioot, which often cause considerable delay. At the end of one of them, and at a short distance from the bank, is Mank̲abát, or Mungabat, the successor of an old town called in Coptic Mankapôt (Ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲁⲡⲱⲧ), "the place (manufactory?) of pots,"* probably from its manufacture of earthenware; though from the great quantity made in every part of Egypt, it seems unreasonable to apply this name to any particular town. Like K̲eneh and Ballas, at the present day, it may have been noted for a particular kind.

OSIOOT, OSYOOT, OR ESIOOT.

Osioot has succeeded Girgeh as the capital, and residence of the governor, of Upper Egypt. It stands at some distance from the river, and a small village on the bank, called el Hamra, claims the honour of being its port. It is of considerable extent, with several bazaars, baths, and some handsome mosks, one of which is remarkable for its lofty minaret. Osioot is certainly the largest and best built town of the Sāeed, and its position, with several gardens in the vicinity, is greatly in its favour. It may contain about 20,000 inhabitants, of whom about 1000 are Christians. The palace of the governor is a neat building, situated on a canal, and surrounded by a wall. It was erected by Ibrahim Pasha while governor of Upper Egypt; and I regret to say the ruined temple of Gow el Kebeer furnished materials for its construction. In the town are a few good houses belonging to the *ebni-beled* or towns-people, but the generality are mere hovels. The streets are narrow and unpaved, as is the case in all the towns of Egypt, not excepting Cairo, where one small alley and part of a bazaar alone have any pavement.

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* Dean Swift might have found in this an additional proof of the antiquity of the English language.

Some of the bazaars are little inferior to those of the metropolis, and are well supplied; and the town is divided into quarters, each closed by a gate, as at Cairo. On Sunday a market is held, which is frequented by the people of the neighbouring villages; and in the bazaars a great supply of stuffs and various commodities are always kept for sale, brought from Cairo and other parts of Egypt, as well as from Arabia and the upper country. The best kind of pipe bowls are manufactured here, which are highly prized, and sent in great numbers to Cairo: some are also made at K̲eneh and Asouan, which are only inferior to those of Osioot. A large canal conducts the water from the river during the inundation, and the communication with the town by land is always kept open, by means of a large dyke, which extends thence to the mountains and the modern cemetery.

Osioot is the resort of the caravans from Dar Foor. While at the Great Oasis, the second week in March 1825, I witnessed the arrival of a party of *Jelabs* (slave dealers), on their way to Osioot. They had only about 600 slaves, which was considered a very small number, and as many camels. Two similar caravans had passed two months before. A duty of twelve piastres is paid to the governor for each, and two *effendis* and *cawasses* go to meet the caravan at Bayrees; and then, having levied the tax, accompany it to Osioot. These Jelabs were Takroóree*, blacks, and Moslems; but the principal slave merchants are from Dar Foor, who generally bring with them from 2000 to 4000 slaves. It was with one of these last, named Aboo Bekr, that Ahmet Bey was sent in 1824, with letters from

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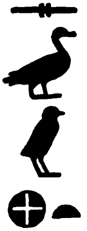
* Takroóree, pl. Takárna.

Mohammed Ali to the king of Dar Foor. I learnt that this party of Jelabs had lost more than one half their slaves, from cold and hunger; for they carry very little provisions, and the route from Dar Foor to the Oasis occupies thirty days. For fear of fatiguing the slaves, they make short journeys, only going from sunrise till the *asser* (half way from midday to sunset); so that from Dar Foor to the natron plain called Zeghráwa, is ten days, seven to Elegéëh, four to Seleemeh, five to Sheb, and five to Bayrees in the Great Oasis. The slaves are mostly women and boys; for as the men are generally killed in resisting the invaders, these alone fall alive into their hands, and they are often unable to bear the fatigues of so long a journey, and its many hardships.

I have noticed these caravans, in speaking of the Great Oasis.

Osioot has succeeded to the ancient Lycopolis, "the city of the wolves," so called from the worship of that animal, or of the deity to whom it was sacred. I have already had occasion to show * that Sonnini is wrong in stating that the wolf is not a native of Egypt. The animal is well known there at the present day †, and is found embalmed in the ancient tombs at Lycopolis; and it is this statement of the naturalist that led M. Champollion into the error of supposing the *ouônsh* of the Copts, and of the hieroglyphics, to be a jackal, and not a wolf.

The Coptic name of the city, Siôout ‡ (Ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩⲧ), is the same it bore in ancient times, as is shown by the hieroglyphics in the catacombs, where it is written Ssout, the initial *S* being doubled, as in Ssa, the Egyptian name of Saïs. The jackal-headed god is said to be lord of the place, but instead of the name of Anubis (Ⲁⲛⲡⲉⲣⲟ) he has the legend with horns, which I have ascribed to Macedo §; and it remains for us to decide whether Macedo was the deity to whom the wolf was sacred, or another character of Anubis.



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* Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 27.; and v. pp. 146, 147.

† Called in Arabic, *Deeb*.

‡ I have already stated that I was wrong in supposing the prefix E to be the article, and have shown the reason of the Arabs putting a vowel before the S, the original initial of this name. See above, p. 66. note ‡.

§ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 444.

Little now remains of the old town, except extensive mounds, and a few stone substructions, which are found in digging for the foundations of houses, or in cutting trenches on its site. It was under the mounds on the south side that the head of a statue was found in 1822, and the basement of a large stone building, both probably of Roman time; and here and there are seen the fragments of granite blocks.

Leo Africanus gives the following description of Osioot: "This ancient city was built by the Egyptians on the banks of the Nile, 250 miles above (the modern) Cairo. It is remarkable for its size and the number of its ancient monuments inscribed with Egyptian characters, though for the most part much defaced. At the time that it passed under the Moslem sway it was inhabited by many powerful persons, whose wealth and importance were acknowledged even to our times. Nearly a hundred families of Egyptian (Copt) Christians remain there, and it has three or four temples (churches). Outside the town is a monastery, inhabited by upwards of 100 monks, who being forbidden to eat meat and fish, live on vegetables, bread, and olives.* .... They are a very wealthy community, and they charitably supply all passengers with food for three days, keeping for this purpose abundance of pigeons, poultry, and other requisites."

The Libyan chain advances considerably towards the east, in this part; and in the projecting corner of the mountain above Osioot, are several grottoes cut in the limestone rock, the burial-places of the inhabitants of Lycopolis. Though not containing a great profusion of sculpture, they are of considerable interest from their antiquity, and some have the names of very old kings. Denon says they are covered with hieroglyphics, which it would require months to read and years to copy; what then should be said of Thebes, and many other places? The effect he describes of the beautiful green of the plain below, as far as the eye can reach, must strike every one in the spring; and the view over the town, as Sir F. Henniker observes, is very beautiful from these tombs; particularly from the large one, absurdly called by the modern Egyptians *Stabl Añtar*.

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* Like the Copt monks of St. Antony, and other monasteries, at the present day.

The ceiling of this catacomb has been ornamented with very elegant devices, which I suppose to be what Denon alludes to, in speaking of Greek scrolls. It has an entrance chamber or porch open to the air, cut like the rest in the limestone rock, and its roof is in the form of a vault. In an inner room are sculptures representing men bringing an ibex and various offerings; and at the end a large figure of a man, and others of women rather smaller, smelling the lotus flower, as was usual at the festive meetings of the Egyptians. It has several chambers, which once served as dwelling-places to the peasants, who have not improved their appearance by blackening them with smoke. In the smaller caves and excavated recesses of the rock in various parts of this mountain, the remains of wolf mummies are frequently met with; which is perfectly consistent with the fact of the wolf having been the sacred animal of the place, and with the name given to the town by the Greeks. I have also observed that the coins of the Lycopolite nome have the wolf on their reverse, with the word "Lyco." The tombs are arranged in successive tiers at different elevations, and may be visited according to their position, and a road about four paces broad leads up the hill. They are very numerous, but many are without sculpture, and some containing burnt bones appear to have been occupied by the Romans at a late period. Near the middle of the ascent is some crude brick building; and I observed a square pit lined with burnt brick, very unusual in ancient times, with a tablet or stela above on the rock, much defaced. Some of the small pits are very narrow, scarcely broad enough for a man, and they slope gradually, as if to allow the coffins to slide down into them. Sometimes a tomb consists of a large chamber with small niches or repositories for the dead; and in the floor are the usual mummy pits.

In a tomb about half way up the hill is the name of a very old king*, and some soldiers carrying shields of enormous size, differing both in this respect, and a little in their shape, from the common shield, but remarkable as being similar to those mentioned by Xenophon[*] in speaking of the Egyptian troops in the army of Crœsus. He says they amounted to 120,000 men, "carrying bucklers, which covered them from head to foot, very long spears, and swords called κοπιδες;"[†] and each phalanx was "formed of 10,000 men, 100 each way." It was from the protection given them by these large shields, supported as they were by a thong over the shoulder, and from their compact order of battle, that the Persians were unable to break them, when they had routed the rest of the Lydian army. They therefore obtained honourable terms from Cyrus, and an abode in the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, in the neighbourhood of Cuma near the sea, which were still called the Egyptian cities, and inhabited by their descendants, in the time of Xenophon.[‡]

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 280. Woodcut, No. 381. fig. 4.

On the lower part of the hill are five standing statues, in high relief. Many of the burnt bones I observed were of wolves; and it is probable that most of the smaller caves were intended for depositing the mummies of those sacred animals of Lycopolis, which have since been purposely or accidentally burnt.

The tombs on this mountain, like most others in Egypt, were once the abode of the Christians, who retired thither either from persecution, or for the sake of that solitude which suited their austere habits; and it was perhaps from one of them that John of Lycopolis gave his oracular answer to the embassy of Theodosius. The story is thus related by Gibbon[§]: "Before he performed any decisive resolution, the pious emperor was anxious to discover the will of Heaven; and as the progress of Christianity had silenced the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he consulted an Egyptian monk who possessed, in the opinion of the age, the gift of miracles and the knowledge of futurity. Eutropius, one of the favourite eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, embarked for Alexandria, from whence he sailed up the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or of Wolves, in the remote province of Thebaïs. In the neighbourhood of the city, and on the summit (side?) of a lofty mountain, the holy John had constructed with his own hands an humble cell, in which he had dwelt above fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food that had been prepared by fire or any human art. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturdays and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants who successively flowed from every part of the Christian world. The eunuch of Theodosius approached the window with respectful steps, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody but infallible victory."

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[*] Xenoph. Cyrop. 6. and Herodot. 1. 77. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 303.

[†] Of the Κοπις, see Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 321.

[‡] Xenoph. Cyrop. 7.

[§] See Gibbon, 5. c. 27. p. 79.

Of the devices on the ceiling of Stabl Antar, I have had occasion to give a representation, in a previous work *, as well as of the large shields † above mentioned.

On the north side of the projecting corner of the mountain are some limestone quarries, and a few uninteresting grottoes.

Below is the modern cemetery. The tombs are arranged with considerable taste, and have a neat and pleasing appearance. On going to them from the town, you pass along a raised dyke, with a bridge over a canal that skirts the cultivated land. The latter answers the same purpose as the Bahr Yoosef in central Egypt, in carrying the water of the inundation to the portion of the plain most distant from the river; and in one of the ponds between the river and the town, fed by a lateral canal, the "very convenient" spring mentioned by Michaelis ‡ may be looked for; the credit of which newly-married brides may often be greatly interested in maintaining. On the southern corner of the mountain, immediately above the village of Dronka, is a large bed of alabaster lying upon

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* Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 125.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 303. Woodcut, No. 24.

‡ From Paul Lucas. See Michaelis' note 189. on Aboolfeda. Gibbon, v. p. 79. note.

the limestone rock, but not sufficiently compact to admit of its being quarried for use.

There are also some grottoes behind the village of Reefa, about a mile to the south of Dronka; but I do not know if they contain sculpture.

Aboolfeda, on the authority of Ebn-Saïd, relates a story concerning the mountain of Osioot, which has always been applied to the Gebel e' Tayr, that the birds of Egypt perform an annual pilgrimage to it, and having left one of their number fixed there till the ensuing year, return to relieve it, and substitute another, which is detained in a similar manner by the same talisman.*

Pliny seems to think that these hills formed the northern boundary of the Thebaïd, since he says, "in Libyco Lycon, ubi montes finiunt Thebaïdem." † But this could not be so, as it extended much further north, to the Thebaïca Phylace.

Pococke is wrong in fixing the site of Antæopolis at Osioot, which is shown, on the authority of a Greek inscription, to have stood at Gow el Kebeer, several miles further to the south.

FROM OSIOOT TO GIRGEH.

At Shodb are the mounds and crude brick remains of Hypsele‡, in Coptic Shôtp (Ϣⲱⲧⲡ), which gave its name to one of the nomes of Egypt.

Near to Lycopolis was a fort called Tgeli (Ⲧϫⲉⲗⲓ), and the village of Paphor (Ⲡⲁⲫⲟⲣ), in the district of Shôtp, the sites of which are now unknown. El Wasta, on the east bank, is probably the successor of Contra Lycopolis, but it has no remains. At El Motmár are the mounds of an old town, by some supposed to be Mouthis, a small place to the north of Antæopolis. But the distance from Gow is too much, and its position given in the Itinerary requires it to be near e' Raáineh, opposite Baroot. Much *sont*, or Acacia Nilotica, grows near Motmár, which, like that on the road to Abydus, may be the remnant of one of the old groves of

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* See above, pp. 35. 40.

† Plin. 5.

‡ Wansleb says the Copts call it Hypsalis.

Acanthus. At the north of the projecting corner of the mountain, behind Motmár, is a road called Derb Imow, which crosses this part of the eastern chain of hills, and rejoins the valley of the Nile by a ravine near the grottoes of Gow; and another, called Nuk̲b* el Hossayn, leads from a little above Dayr T̲assa, and descends at the corner of the same mountain a short way to the west of the same grottoes.

A little beyond Motmár is Sherg Selin.† It has no ruins, but, from its name, it seems to lay claim to the site of Selinon, though the Itinerary places Selinon halfway between Antæopolis and Panopolis. Perhaps, in this place, we should read Passalon for Selinon.

I have heard that in a grotto here is the name‡ of one of the foreign kings, who were cotemporaries of the 18th dynasty.

At el Khowábid are some mounds, but no ruins; and in the hills to the north-east are some limestone quarries. About a mile further to the south-east are some grottoes, at the projecting corner of the hills, and others behind the Dayr T̲assa.

Abooteég§ stands on the site of an ancient town, and Wansleb mentions Sidfeh or Sitfeh as the successor of another, about five miles to the south of it. Abooteég is the Abutis of Latin writers, the Apothykê or Tapothykê (Ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲑⲩⲕⲏ) of the Copts; which, as M. Champollion suggests, is very probably a Greek word, signifying "granary," adopted by the Copts. Aboolfeda says, that in his time the poppy was much cultivated in the vicinity; and it still continues to be grown there. From Abooteég the course of the river northwards formerly lay more inland to the west. This is consistent with the position of Selinon, on the opposite bank, to which a canal is said to have led from the Nile.

Koos-kam, or Kos-kam, in Coptic Kos-kam (Ⲕⲟⲥ-ⲕⲁⲙ), stands on the west bank, between Abooteég and Gow el Gharbéëh. It was called Apollinis Minor Civitas, to distinguish it from Apollinopolis Magna and Parva, now Edfoo and K̲oos. On the east bank, a little below Gow el Kebeér, are several grottoes at the projecting corner of the mountain;

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* Pronounced Nugb. † Or Sherk̲ Seléen.

‡ Marked F in the list given below, at Karnak.

§ Abootidj or Aboutig.

which there curves inward to the east. Many of them are the work of the Romans, or have been occupied and painted by them, being ornamented with arabesques and devices of a late time. Near them are some crude brick remains.

Gow, or K̲ow, el Kebeér, in Coptic Tkôou (Ⲧⲕⲱⲟⲩ or Ⲧⲕⲟⲟⲩ), the ancient Antæopolis, stands on the east bank. The remains of the temple of Antæus * are now confined to a confused mass of stones near the water's edge, one of which bears the hieroglyphic names of Ptolemy Philopator and his queen Arsinoë. The last remaining column of the temple, mentioned by Dr. Richardson, was carried away by the river in 1821, which Mr. Legh says, as early as 1813, threatened "to wash the whole away." At the time he visited it, the portico was still standing, and much in the same state as when seen by Norden and Pococke in 1737. Mr. Hamilton found the Greek inscription on the frieze of the portico in a very imperfect state †, the stones having been broken into six separate pieces; but sufficient remained to show that "King Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, gods Epiphanes, Eucharistes, and Queen Cleopatra, the sister of the king, gods Philometores, erected the (Pro)naos to Antæus and the contemplar gods;" and that "the emperors, the Cæsars, Aurelii, Antoninus (and Verus ‡), repaired the roof." § One restoration by the learned Letronne from Mr. Hamilton's copy is as follows: —

[Βασιλευ]ς Πτολεμα[ιο]ς Πτολεμαιου και Κλεοπατρας ϑεων Επιφανων κ[αι] Ευχαριστων
[Και Βασ]ιλισσα Κλεοπατρα ἡ του Βασιλεως αδελφη ϑεοι φιλ[ο]μητορες
[Το Προπυ]λον Ανταιῳ και τοις συνναοις ϑεοις. Αυτοκρατορες Καισαρες Αυρη[λιο]ι Αντωνινος
[Και Ουηρ]ος Σεϐαστο[ι αν]ενεωσαντ[ο] την στεγα[σ]τριδα ετους τεταρτο[υ Π]αϊνι θ̄

The *την στεγαστριδα* in the last line appears a much more probable reading than *την του νεου ϑυριδα,* which has been suggested.

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* For this god see Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 420.

† See Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 268.

‡ So restored by the learned Letronne.

§ Or, according to Letronne, "the cornice," p. 30.

The columns had palm-tree capitals, like the building that contained the tomb of Amasis, in the sacred enclosure of Saïs, mentioned by Herodotus.* They seem to have been more common in temples of the Delta, than in those of Upper Egypt. Like other Egyptian columns, they have five circular bands round the upper part of the shaft, just below the capital; but these have a sort of loop on one side coming from below them, which is peculiar to the palm-tree capitals.†

The portico had six columns in breadth, and three in depth; or, according to Mr. Legh's description, it consisted of three rows, each of six columns; four of which had fallen in his time. They measured eight feet in diameter, and, with their entablature, were sixty-two feet high. "This ruin," he adds, "which, from its situation in a thick grove of date trees, is perhaps the most picturesque in Egypt, stands close to the banks of the Nile, whose waters have already undermined some parts of it, and threaten to wash the whole away. The columns, architraves, and indeed every stone of the building, are covered with hieroglyphics, which are in low relief. At the furthest extremity of the temple is an immense block of granite of a pyramidal form, 12 feet high and 9 feet square at the base, in which a niche has been cut 7 feet in height, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet deep. These monolithic temples are supposed to have been the chests or depositories of the sacred birds. From the western temple a long quay has formerly extended, designed probably, as well for the purposes of trade, as to prevent the encroachments of the Nile." Remains of this quay may still be traced; and it certainly argues strongly against the propriety of Ptolemy's applying the term *μεσογειος*, "inland," to the site of Antæopolis.

With regard to the granite monoliths, and the use to which Mr. Legh supposes them to have been applied, I may remark that they appear to have had the upper part furnished with folding doors, reaching a little more than halfway down from the top, and the lower part closed by a fixed barrier which rested in a groove at the base, and was secured by bolts or pins at either side. This may be better understood from the accompanying woodcut.

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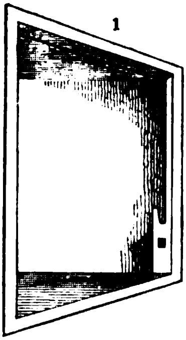
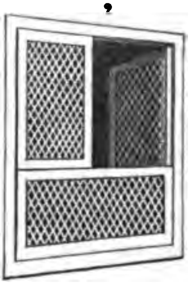
* Herodot. 2. 169., and above, Vol. I. p. 185.

† See a view of this ruin in the Déscription de l'Egypte.



1. The opening in the granite monolith.



2. The supposed framework.

The river has now completed the destruction of the temple; but I believe that more is attributable to the removal of the stones to build the palace of Osioot; and this is another on the list of monuments destroyed by the ignorance or indolence of the Turks. A collection of ready-hewn blocks was found more convenient, than the trouble of cutting them from the quarries behind Osioot; as the Coliseum at Rome was invaded by the Barberini and other pontifical masons to furnish materials for their palaces.

Nothing remains at Gow in its original position, excepting some small stones; and of the columns little can be traced but broken fragments, with mutilated hieroglyphics. Here and there some Ptolemaïc names may be seen, but no vestige of the Greek dedication. The monolith still remains near the centre of the ruins. There are also some very large blocks lying about, and on a long architrave half covered by the Nile, I observed a globe and asps, having hieroglyphics on each side, with the name of Ptolemy Philopator, and a winged globe above. The ovals of this king also occur on many other fragments of the ruined temple.

Pococke supposes Gow to have been Passalon, and Norden makes it the site of Diospolis Parva; though Strabo expressly states that the latter was between Abydus and Tentyra. The Greek dedication, however, removes all further doubt on the subject, and shows the accuracy of D'Anville in fixing upon

Gow as the successor of the city of Antæus. The doubts expressed in that very excellent book, the "Modern Traveller,"* respecting the position of Gow, whether it is on the E. or W. bank, and the notion that Mr. Legh meant to allude to ruins on the W. bank, when speaking of Gow el Kebeer, may be set at rest by the simple statement that he, Norden, Pococke, and Richardson, all had in view the same ruins, which are on the E. bank. "Gow el Kebir," "Kau e' Sherkéëh," and "Gau el Kharab" ("the ruined"), are all the same.

Gow el Gharbéëh is another place, without ruins, on the opposite bank; and Mr. Legh did not by Gow el Kebeer ("the Great Gow") mean Gow el Gharbéëh, "the Western Gow."

Near Antæopolis the fabulous battle between Horus and Typho was reputed to have taken place, which ended in the defeat of the latter, who had assumed the form of a crocodile; and here Antæus is said to have been killed by Hercules, in the time of Osiris. Of these two fables, we may in vain endeavour to discover the origin or the meaning; but it is probable that the story of Antæus is a Greek perversion of some legend, as his name is corrupted from that of one of the ancient gods of the Egyptian Pantheon. I have supposed him to be Ombte, or Mbo; and it is a source of great regret that the temple of Gow has not been preserved, in order at least to clear up the question respecting the form and character of Antæus. According to Diodorus's account † of the expedition of Osiris, Antæus was left in Egypt as governor of Æthiopia and the neighbouring provinces of Libya, Busiris being appointed to those on the Mediterranean coast; but it is remarkable that these, as well as some others of the deities mentioned by Greek and Latin writers, in connection with that fabulous event, are still uncertain. Antæopolis was in later times a bishop's see.

At Mishte, Shabeka ‡, and E' Shekh Shenedeen, on the W. bank, are the mounds of old towns; and inland, opposite Gebel Shekh Hereédee, is Táhta, distinguished from afar by its extensive mounds, which probably mark the site of the ancient Hesopis; though, to accord with the Itinerary, this should properly stand a little further S. in the line of Merágha. The distances, however, are not always exact; and the mounds of Táhta sufficiently prove its former size, and its claims to the site of Hesopis. This is sometimes written Hesoris and Hysopis. Some have erroneously thought it to be the same as Hypsele. Tahta is a large town with several mosks; and its landing-place, or *Sáhel,* is at the bend of the river, opposite Shekh Hereédee. The land hereabouts produces abundant crops of corn, owing to the lowness of the level, and the consequent length of time that the water of the inundation remains upon its surface; though Norden seems to think this lowness of the land rather a source of injury than an advantage.

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* Pp. 46, 47.

† Diodor. 1. 2.

‡ Or Shebekeh.

Gebel Shekh Hereédee is a projecting part of the eastern chain of hills, well known for the superstitious belief attached to a serpent, reputed to have lived there for ages, and to have the power of removing every kind of complaint: and many miraculous cures, that might have offended Jupiter, are attributed to this worthy successor of the emblem of Æsculapius. It is, perhaps, to the asp, the symbol of Kneph, or of the good genius, that this serpent has succeeded. Though the belief in its power still continues, it has lost much of the consequence it enjoyed a century ago, when Norden and Pococke visited the spot, or even since the time of Savary.* The description given by Pococke of his arrival at Raigny (Raáineh †), of his meeting the shekh, or guardian of the serpent, and his visit to the tomb, are amusing.

On the W. side of the mountain are some grottoes, and crude brick ruins; and at its base is a mutilated statue of a man clad in the Roman toga.

Passalon or Passalus is supposed to have stood here, though its position, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus (if his Selinon be intended as Passalon ‡), would require it to be further S., about Gellawéëh. Passalon is placed by Ptolemy in the nome of Antæopolis, and the boundary of the provinces of Gow and Ekhmim, which is still at Raáineh, may mark that of the old Antæopolite and Panopolite nomes. If so, Shekh Hereédee has a better claim to the site of Passalon.

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* See Savary, i. letter 31.

† Raaineh, or Khezenderéëh. There are two other villages called Raáineh, near this, one below Gow, the other close to Fow.

‡ See above, p. 91. Selin, or Selinon, with the article Pi prefixed, would be nearly the same name.

Raáineh is remarkable for its lofty pigeon houses, which have the appearance, as well as the name, of "towers" (*boorg*), a style of building commonly met with in Upper Egypt.

During the inundation, the Nile rises to the narrow path at the base of the mountain, so as to render it scarcely passable for camels, near the southern extremity. Round this projecting point, to the eastward, are a few grottoes, without sculpture.

At Fow, in Coptic Phbôou-Tgeli (Ⲫⲃⲱⲟⲩ ⲧϫⲉⲗⲓ), are the mounds of an ancient town. It was distinguished from another Fow, beyond Chênoboscion, which the Greeks called Bopos, by the adjunct Tgeli, signifying, as already observed, "a fort." It was by its position, on the narrow strip of land between the mountain and the Nile, that it commanded the road from Antæopolis to Chemmis.

In the mountains behind Ketkátee are several small grottoes; and others again behind Fow, and at the corner of the mountain to the N. of Ekhmim.

Itfoo lies inland, on the W. bank. It is the ancient Aphroditopolis, in Coptic Atbô, or Thbô (Ⲁⲧⲃⲱ). A little distance to the S. are the Red and White Monasteries, the latter being better known by the name of Amba Shnoodeh, or St. Sennode, and the other by that of Amba Bishoi. The founder of the latter, according to Wansleb, was a penitent robber, whose club was kept by the monks as a memorial of his wicked course of life, and of his subsequent reformation. The best road to them is from Soohág, which stands near the end of the reach of the river below Ekhmim.

Soohág is better built than the generality of felláh villages, with some good houses and mosks. Its mounds show it to have succeeded to an old town; but I could find no stone remains.

It has given its name to a large canal called Toora, Khaleég, or Moie-t-Soohág, that takes the water of the Nile into the interior during the inundation; and is similar in size and purport to the Bahr Yoosef. It is this canal that irrigates the plain about Osioot, and the lands to the south of Daroot e' Shereef, assisted here and there by lateral canals from the river. Its entrance is well constructed, being lined with hewn stone, and shows more skill in its arrangement, and in the style of its masonry, than the generality of public buildings in modern Egypt. A *gisr*, or raised dyke, forms the usual communication, during the high Nile, with the villages in the interior; and here and there, on the way to Itfoo and the two monasteries, you pass other smaller canals, all which, as well as the Moie-t-Soohág, are without water in summer. Several small ponds, also dry at this season, are passed on the way; and at the edge of the cultivated land, the peasants sink wells for artificial irrigation; the water of the Nile filtering through the soil to any distance from the banks, and affording a constant supply at the then level of the river.

The White Monastery stands on the edge of the desert, and its inmates cultivate a small portion of land about it, in the capacity of *felláhs.* The monastery is in fact only a Christian village, being inhabited by women as well as men, with their families. In former times the monks probably lodged in rooms over the colonnade, as the holes for rafters in the walls appear to show; but these people now live in the lower part, which once formed the aisles of the church. I visited it in 1825, but found the inmates as much or even more prejudiced against the inquiries of travellers, than their Moslem compatriots; for the few notes I made in a pocket-book at the time excited their unconcealed displeasure, and they even refused to mention the name of the convent, until they found it was already known to me. They have adopted the same precaution as their brethren at Bibbeh, in order to secure the building in turbulent times against the assaults of the Moslems; and their Christian patron, like St. George of Bibbeh, is converted into a Moslem shekh, who commands the respect of the credulous under the mysterious name of Shekh Aboo Shenóod, or Aboo Shenóodeh. The monastery is built of hewn stones, measuring about 3 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., with a cornice like that of the Egyptian temples, all round the top, though without the torus, which in Egyptian architecture separates the cornice from the architrave, or from the face of the wall. On the exterior are square niches, once stuccoed, as was all the building. They are placed at intervals along all the walls, except on that side nearest the mountain, which has been added at a later time. At a distance they have the appearance of windows.

Six doors formerly led into the interior, five of which have been closed up, leaving that alone on the south side, which is now the only entrance. Over all the doors a projecting wall of brickwork has been built in order to strengthen them; doubtless at a time when they were threatened by an attack from the Arabs or the Memlooks, on which occasion even the solitary door now open was closed, and protected in the same manner. In one place, where the brickwork had fallen, I observed on a jamb of the door a stone with a few hieroglyphics, proving the blocks to have been taken from some old building, probably in the neighbouring city of Athribis. Near this door are the fragments of red granite columns and statues. From the walls project blocks not unlike the gutters or water-spouts of Egyptian temples, as at Dendera and other places, though there is no reason to suppose this was ever a temple, even of late time. It may, however, have derived its exterior form from those edifices, which the builders had been accustomed to see in the country, while the architectural details are Greek; and judging from the number of columns and the style of the interior, it has the appearance of having been erected at a time when Christianity was under the special protection of the imperial government. Pococke supposes it to be of the time of the Empress Helena. Over the door on the desert-side is a cornice ornamented with Corinthian foliage, above which is a stone with square dentils, both of red granite; and over the door, at the end of the entrance passage, is another block of red granite with Doric triglyphs and guttæ. The area within, which answers to the nave of our churches, had on either side about fourteen columns, mostly of red granite, with various capitals of a late time. One of the Corinthian, and another of the Ionic order, appear to be of a better age.

At the east end is the choir, consisting of two separate parts, surmounted by domes, the innermost being divided into three

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compartments, before the central one of which is a screen with some miserable representations of St. George. Here are several Coptic inscriptions, in one of which I read "Athenasius the Patriach," the rest being much defaced.

On three sides of this building, and at a short distance from it, I observed the remains of brickwork, which lead me to suppose it was once surrounded by a wall: perhaps the present building was only the church of a monastery formerly attached to it, which seems also to be the opinion of Denon.

Tradition reports that this convent stands on the site of an Egyptian city called Medeenet Atreeb, and the ruins in its vicinity may be the remains of an old town; but the real Atreeb or Athribis stood about half an hour's ride to the southward, where a ruined temple and extensive mounds still mark its site. I had perceived them on going to the White Monastery; and it was with great satisfaction I found, on examination, that they presented the unquestionable evidence of being the ruins of Athribis or Crocodilopolis.*

In the midst of mounds of pottery lie large blocks of limestone, 14 to 15 feet long by 3, and 5 feet thick, the remains of a temple 200 feet by 175, facing the south, and dedicated to the lion-headed goddess Thriphis. One block alone, the lintel of a doorway, remains in its original place: the rest are all thrown down, and I could only discover the traces of one column. Over this door is a king offering to Leontocephale, Khem, and other deities, over whom is the name of Ptolemy the Elder, son of Auletes; and it is probable that the foundation of the building is even of a still earlier date. I also observed the name of Kaisaros (Cæsar), probably Augustus; and on a stone, at the southern extremity of the ruins, which covered the centre doorway or entrance of the portico, are names arranged on either side of a head of Athor, surmounted by a globe containing the mysterious eye, with two asps wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, the whole group being completed by two sitting deities. Such are the ornamental devices of cornices and architraves on temples of the time of the Empire, as at Dendera and other places. On the soffit of the same were the ovals of Tiberius Claudius Kaisaros (Cæsar) Germanicus (?); and on the other side a Greek inscription accompanied by the ovals of Claudius Cæsar Germanicus. The lower end of the block was unfortunately too much ruined to enable me to copy the whole inscription; and after excavating all I could of it, I read the following:—

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* These ruins are mentioned by Wansleb as the site of "Adribe," or Athribis.

.... ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΥΠΕΡ-
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ
.... ΚΑΙΤΟΥΟΙΚΟΥΑΥΤΩΝΘΡΙΦΙΔΙΘΕΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΙΕΠΙΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ
ΓΑΙΟΥΓΑΛΕΡ .....
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣΘΡΙΦΙΔΟΣLΘΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΦΑΜΕΝ.....

This inscription shows that the goddess mentioned with Pan in the dedication at Ekhmim, was Thriphis*, the deity of the neighbouring city Athribis, and contains some of the restorations suggested by the learned M. Letronne, in that inscription; particularly the word *προστατης*, which I shall have occasion to mention in noticing the ruins of Panopolis. M. Letronne has done me the favour to communicate to me his remarks on the above dedication of Athribis; and I have much pleasure in acknowledging his kindness, in correcting the erroneous conclusion I had made respecting Julia Augusta here mentioned; who, he shows, was not the widow of Agrippa and daughter of Augustus, the first wife of Tiberius, but Livia, the mother of Tiberius, who, after the death of Augustus, took that name. Julia Augusta lived to the year 29 A. D., the 17th and 18th years of the reign of Tiberius. This too would agree with the date of the inscription, which is the ninth year (Θ), as M. Letronne reads it, of that Emperor.

He restores it in the following manner†:—

[υπερ Τιϐεριου] Καισαρος Σεϐαστου, ϑεου υιου, αυτοκρατορος, και υπερ Ιουλιας Σεϐα[στης, νεας Ισιδος]
[αυτου μητρος] και του οικου αυτων, Θριφιδι, ϑεᾳ μέγιστῃ, επι ηγεμονος Γαιου Γαλε[ριου το προν]
[αον, ὁ δεινα] Απολλωνιου, προστατης Θριφιδος. L. $\bar{\theta}$ *Τιϐεριου Καισαρος Σεϐαστου, Φαμεν[ωθ...]*

"(For the welfare of Tiberius) Cæsar Augustus, Son of the God, the

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* At Panopolis called Τριφις.

† Letronne, Inscr. del' Egypte, p. 230.

Emperor, and for that of Julia Sebaste (new Isis, his mother), and all their family, to Thriphis, the very great Goddess, Caius Galerius . . . . being Præfect, ... the Son of Apollonius, Director [of the temple] of Thriphis, [erected or dedicated the pronaos] in the year ix. of Tiberius Cæsar Augustus, the . . . of Phamenoth."

These ruins have also the name of Medeenet Ashaýsh.

On the eastern face of the mountains, about half a mile beyond Athribis, are the quarries from which the stone of the temple was taken; and below are several small grottoes that have served for tombs, and were once furnished with doors, secured, as usual, by a bolt or lock. On the lintel of one of them is a Greek inscription, saying that it was the "sepulchre of Ermius, the son of Archibius." It has the Egyptian cornice and torus. In the interior are cells, and it contains the scattered residue of burnt bones. Through one of its side walls an entrance has been forced into the adjoining tomb. The *mountain* appears to have had the name in Coptic of *Ptoou-n̄*-atrêpe (Ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ ⲁⲧⲣⲏⲡⲉ), from the neighbouring city.

Here, as at Arsinoë, the reason assigned by De Pauw for the worship of the crocodile seems fully borne out, by the position of Athribis; for it is certain that unless the canal from the Nile were carefully kept up, the sacred animals could not have had access to the town that worshipped them.

Akhmim, or Ekhmim, on the east bank is the site of Chemmis or Panopolis, in Coptic Chmim or Shmin (Ⲭⲙⲓⲛ or Ϣⲙⲓⲛ), formerly one of the most considerable cities of the Thebaïd. The modern Ekhmim is about a quarter of a mile from the Nile. It has the size of an ordinary Egyptian *bender*, with a bazaar, and a market day every Wednesday.

On the side of the town furthest from the river, beyond the present walls, are the remains of some of its ancient buildings.

A long inscription, bearing the date of the 12th year of the Emperor Trajanus Germanicus Dacicus, points out the site of the temple of Pan; who, as we learn from the dedication, shared with Thriphis the honours of the sanctuary. We also ascertain another very important fact from this inscription, that the deity, who has been called Priapus and Mendes, is in reality the Pan of Egypt, his figure being represented on the same face of the stone with the dedication; which accords perfectly with the description of the deity of Panopolis, given by end of the fifth line, as well as the *το προπυλον*, are not authorised by the appearance of the block itself, and that this part points out the *time* when Tiberius Claudius "began the work," which he "finished in the twelfth year of the Emperor."

The superstitions of the natives have ascribed the same properties to this stone, and to another in the tomb of a female shekh, called Bir el Abbad, which the statues of the god of generation, the patron deity of Panopolis, were formerly believed to have possessed; and the modern women of Ekhmim, with similar hopes and equal credulity, offer their vows to these relics, for a numerous offspring. Many blocks and fragments of statues in other parts of Egypt are supposed to be endowed with the same property; but the population of the country is still on the decline.

To the N.E. of the temple of Pan, I observed a fragment of red granite, which, from the two winged globes, one over the other, was evidently part of a monolithic temple or cage, similar to that at Antæopolis; but I could find no traces of the triumphal arch of Nero mentioned by Bruce.[*]

According to Strabo[†], Panopolis was a very ancient city, and the inhabitants were famous as linen manufacturers and workers in stone; nor were they, if we may believe Herodotus, so much prejudiced against the manners of the Greeks, as the rest of the Egyptians.[‡] The people of Chemmis, says the historian of Halicarnassus [§], are the only Egyptians, who are not remarkable "for their abhorrence of Greek customs. Chemmis is a large city of the Thebaïd, near Neapolis [‖], where there is a temple of Perseus, the son of Danaë. This temple is of a square form, and surrounded by palm trees. It has stone propyla of considerable size, upon which are two large statues; and within the sacred circuit stands the sanctuary, having in it an image of Perseus. For the Chemmites say that Perseus has often appeared in their country, and even within the temple, and his sandal was once found there, two cubits in length. They also state that his appearance was always looked upon as a great blessing, being followed by the prosperous condition of the whole of Egypt. They celebrate gymnastic games in his honour, in the manner of the Greeks, at which they contend for prizes, consisting of cattle, cloaks, and skins.

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[*] He says it was dedicated to Pan.

[†] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 559.

[‡] This account of the historian is very questionable.

[§] Herodot. 2. 91.

[‖] Or Cænepolis, now Keneh.

"On inquiring why Perseus was in the habit of appearing to them alone, and why they differed from the rest of the Egyptians in having gymnastic games, they replied that Perseus was a native of their city, and that Danaus and Lynceus, being Chemmites, emigrated into Greece. They then showed me the genealogy of those two persons, bringing it down to Perseus; and stated that the latter having come to Egypt for the same reason given by the Greeks, to carry off the head of the Gorgon from Libya, visited their country and recognised all his relations. They added that when he came to Egypt he knew the name of Chemmis from his mother; and the games were celebrated in compliance with his wishes."

This tale doubtless originated in the credulity of the Greeks*, and in their endeavour to trace resemblances in other religions with the deities or personages of their own mythology; or, if a similar story were really told to the historian by the Egyptians themselves, it could only have been fabricated by that crafty people, to flatter the vanity of Greek strangers, whose inquiries alone would suffice to show the readiest mode of practising such a deception. Perseus was no more an Egyptian deity than Macedo; and it is still a matter of doubt to what deities in the Egyptian Pantheon these two names are to be referred.

The notion of the great antiquity of Panopolis seems to have been traditionally maintained even to the times of the Moslems; and Leo Africanus considers it "the oldest city of all Egypt," having, as he supposes, "been founded by Ekhmim, the son of Misraim†, the offspring of Cush, the son of Ham." It seems to have suffered much at the period of the Arab conquest; and to such an extent was the fury of the invaders carried against this devoted city, that "nothing was left of its buildings but their foundations and ruined walls, and all the columns and stones of any size were carried to the other side of the river, and used in the embellishment of Menshéëh." *

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* See also Plutarch (de Is. s. 14.) of the Pans and satyrs who lived about Chemmis.

† Or Mizraim. According to the Mosaical account, Mizraim and Cush were both sons of Ham. (Gen. x. 6.) But Khem and Chemmis are both taken from the name of Ham, or Kham; and Egypt was called "the land of Ham" (Khem).

In Pococke's time Ekhmim was the residence of a powerful chief, who took from it the title of eméer or prince of Ekhmim. His family, which was originally from Barbary, established itself here three or four generations before, and obtained from the Sultan the government of this part of the country, upon condition of paying an annual tribute. But their name and influence have now ceased, and, like the Hawára Arabs, once so well known in these districts, the princes of Ekhmim are only known from the accounts of old travellers, and the traditions of the people. They show their tombs, with those of their slaves; and in the cemetery, near the ruins, is the tomb of the patron of the town, Shekh Abou'l K̲ásim. Boats, ostrich eggs, and inscriptions are hung up within it as exvotos to the saint; and a tree within the holy precincts is studded with nails, driven into it by persons suffering from illness, in the hopes of a cure. Near this is the tomb of Bir el Abbad, above mentioned.

Pococke speaks of some convents near Ekhmim, one called "of the Martyrs," mentioned by the Arab historian Macrizi, and another about two miles further in a wild valley, which is composed of grottoes in the rock, and a brick chapel covered with Coptic inscriptions. Near this is a rude beaten path, leading to what appears to have been the abode of a hermit. Pococke calls the spot Ain-elaham, and supposes the well or spring there to be the only one whose water does not come from the Nile. He also mentions several grottoes to the west of the village of El Gourney, some of which, in his time, retained traces of ancient paintings. The valley he alludes to is doubtless the Wadee el Ain ("valley of the spring"), between three and four miles to the N.E. of Ekhmim, in which are a spring of water and grottoes, and on the south of its mouth an old road leading over the mountains. Close to this is a modern pass called Nuk̲b el Kólee, which crosses

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* Leo Afric. (book viii.) says in the *building* of Menshéëh; but that city already existed long before.

the mountains and descends again into the valley, in the district of Sherg Weled Yáhia, nearly opposite Bardées.

Behind the village of Howaweesh, are other grottoes; and three miles above Ekhmim, are the vestiges of an ancient town, probably Thomu. The remains there consist of mounds and crude brick. Thomu should be the place called in Coptic Thmoui m̄ Panehêou (Θⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ Πⲁⲛⲉϩⲏⲟⲩ); but M. Champollion endeavours to show from a Copt MS. that it was an island on the western side of the Nile, opposite Ekhmim; and its name, "the island of the place of cattle," argues that it was not on the main land, if even it could be to the east of Panopolis. Thomu, however, is placed by the Itinerary on the east bank, four miles above Panopolis, and therefore agrees with the position of these mounds.

Some other places are mentioned in the Coptic MSS. as having existed in the vicinity of Ekhmim; but of their exact position nothing is satisfactorily known. These are Pleuît (Πⲗⲉⲩⲉⲓⲧ), Shenalolêt (Ϣⲉⲛⲁⲗⲟⲗⲏⲧ), and Tsmine Ⲧⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ), the first of which appears to have been an ancient town of some consequence; the second, from its name, a village with many vineyards in its neighbourhood; and in the last was a monastery founded by St. Pachomius.[*]

Menshéëh has extensive mounds, but the only vestiges of masonry consist in a stone quay, on the east side of the town. It stands on a small branch of the Nile, which was probably once the main stream. By the Copts it is called Psoi (ⲯⲟⲓ, Πⲥⲱⲓ), and sometimes in Arabic MSS. el Monshat, as well as Menshéëh.[†] It is supposed to occupy the site of Ptolemaïs Hermii; which, according to Strabo, was the largest town in the Thebaïd, and not inferior to Memphis. But neither its original extent, nor that of any city in Upper Egypt, except Thebes itself, can justify this assertion of the geographer. He even gives it a political system, on the Greek model[‡]; which, if true, may refer to some change in its government, after it had been rebuilt, and had received the name of Ptolemaïs; for it doubtless succeeded to a more ancient city, and Ptolemy calls it the capital of the Thinite nome. Leo Africanus says it was "badly built, with narrow streets, and so dusty in summer, that no one could walk out on a windy day. The neighbourhood, however, was famous for abundance of corn and cattle. It was once possessed by a certain African prince from the Barbary coast, called Howára, whose predecessors obtained the principality of that name, of which they were deprived within our recollection by Soliman, the ninth Sultan of the Turks."

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[*] See Champollion's Egypte sous les Pharaons, vol. i. p. 265.

[†] And Menshéëh e' Neddeh, "of the dew."

[‡] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 559.

On the east bank, at the northern extremity of the mountain, opposite Girgeh, called by some Gebel Tookh, are the ruins of an old town, about a mile above Laháiwa.

Geergeh, or Girgeh, in Pococke's time the capital of Upper Egypt, still claims, from its extent and population, the second rank, after Osioot; but it has not succeeded to any ancient town of note, and from its name it is easy to perceive that it is of Christian origin. When visited by Pococke and Norden, it was a quarter of a mile from the river; but it is now on the bank, and part of it has already been washed away by the stream. This is one of many proofs of the great changes that have taken place in the course of the Nile within a few years, and fully accounts for certain towns, now on the river, being laid down by ancient geographers in an inland position.

At Girgeh there is a Latin convent or monastery, the superior of which is an Italian. It is the oldest Roman Catholic establishment now in Egypt, those of Ekhmim, Farshoot, and Tahta, being the next in order of antiquity. That of Negádeh was the most ancient. It was not from a Latin but from a Copt convent that Girgeh received its name, and Girgis, or George, as is well known, is the patron saint of the Egyptian Christians. Leo Africanus tells us that "Girgeh was formerly the largest and most opulent monastery of Christians, called after St. George, and inhabited by upwards of 200 monks, who possessed much land in the neighbourhood. They supplied food to all travellers; and so great was the amount of their revenues, that they annually sent a large sum to the patriarch of Cairo, to be distributed among the poor of their own persuasion. About a hundred years ago, a dreadful plague afflicted Egypt, and carried off all the monks of this convent, wherefore the prince of Menshéëh surrounded the building with a strong wall, and erected houses within, for the abode of various workmen and shopkeepers. In process of time, however, the patriarch of the Jacobites (or Copts) having made a representation to the Sultan, he gave orders that another monastery should be built in the spot, where an ancient city formerly stood, and assigned to it only a sufficient revenue to enable it to maintain thirty monks."

GIRGEH (GEERGEH) TO K̲ENEH.

If the traveller intends to visit Abydus, in going up the Nile, he will do well to hire asses at Girgeh, and ride over to the ruins, which will occupy three hours. To save time, his boat may be sent on to Bellianeh, or to Samata, with orders to wait there until he joins it in the evening. From Abydus to Bellianeh is a ride of two hours. For the same reason, if he visits the ruins on his return, he may start from Samata, or from Bellianeh, and rejoin his boat at Girgeh; and if he intends to use his pencil, or make notes of the sculptures there, he had better start early in the morning, and have the day before him. The distance from the river to Abydus is reckoned by Pliny[*] at seven and a half Roman miles, which is the same as from Abydus to the modern village of Samata. Near this spot was probably the mouth of the canal, mentioned by Strabo[†], which led from the river to that ancient city, passing, as does the road at the present day, through a grove of acanthus or acacia trees.[‡]

In the plain between Girgeh and Abydus is the town of Bardées, well known in the time of the Memlooks, and which gave the title el Bardeésee to one of the principal beys, hence called Osman Bey el Bardeésee. Farther to the S. W. is a town with old mounds, called el Beerbeh[§],—a name commonly applied to ancient buildings or temples. Some suppose it marks the site of This[‖], which the geographer says was in the vicinity of Abydus.

The modern name of Abydus is Arábat el Matfoón (i. e. "the buried"), in Coptic Ebôt (ⲈⲂⲰⲦ). Its ruins are on a grand scale, and of considerable antiquity, dating in the time of Osirei I. and his son, the Great Remeses. They consist of two grand edifices; and these, with the extent of the ruins of the city, evince the importance of Abydus, and show that it yielded to few cities of Upper Egypt in size and magnificence. Strabo indeed says, that though in his time reduced to the state of a small village, it had formerly held the first rank next to Thebes; but this remark of the geographer applies more particularly to the consequence it enjoyed from being considered the burying-place of Osiris. "There are many places," says Plutarch *, "where his corpse is said to have been deposited; but Abydus and Memphis are mentioned in particular, as having the true body; and for this reason the rich and powerful of the Egyptians are desirous of being buried in the former of these cities, in order to lie, as it were, in the same grave as Osiris himself." And of the other places, which were "reputed to be the real sepulchres, Busiris, Philæ, and Taposiris" had, according to the same author, the principal claims. Indeed, the fact mentioned by Plutarch is fully confirmed by modern discoveries at Abydus; where inscriptions purporting that the deceased were brought from some distant part of the country to be buried there, are frequently found within its extensive cemetery. The tombs are of various dates, many of the early time of the Osirtasens and other princes of the 16th, 17th, and 18th dynasties; and several curious stelæ have been found in them, of excellent workmanship, and of great interest.

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[*] Plin. 5. 9.

[†] Strabo, 17. p. 559.

[‡] The *Sont*, or *Mimosa* (*Acacia*) *Nilotica*.

[§] Beerbeh, or Birbeh, is the Coptic word *Perpe* signifying "the temple."

[‖] Stephanus says, *This* was near Abydus.

Of the two large edifices above alluded to, one † was called the palace of Memnon ‡; but was in reality commenced by Osirei and completed by his son, Remeses the

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[*] Plut. de Isis, sect. 28.

[†] See Strabo, 17. p. 559. and Plin. 5. 9. "Abydus Memnonis regio et Osiridis templo inclytum."

[‡] Remeses II. is probably confounded with Memnon, as Memnon with Ismandes; and the name Memnonium was given to the palace of Remeses both at Abydus and at Thebes; for that of Amunoph III. is not the Memnonium of Strabo. If a tomb, palace, statue, or any other monument, was remarkable, it was instantly claimed by the Romans for their favourite hero, but who, in reality, was neither a king nor an Egyptian. See below, p. 142., on the Memnonium, at Thebes.

Great.* From its peculiar construction and plan, it is particularly interesting, and in the style of its roof it is singular among Egyptian monuments. This last is formed of large blocks of stone, extending from one architrave to the other; not, as usual in Egyptian buildings, on their faces, but on their sides; so that considerable thickness having been given to the roof, a vault was afterwards cut into it without endangering its solidity. The whole has been covered with hieroglyphics and sculptures, beautifully coloured; and on the ceiling are the ovals of the king, with stars, and transverse bands containing hieroglyphics. The capitals are in the form of the lotus bud, and the whole is of sandstone, probably from the quarries of Silsilis. Much of this building is still buried beneath the sand and rubbish, accumulated over it, so that the entire plan is no longer seen, but that which remains above ground consists of two halls supported by columns, communicating with each other by a door at one end of every avenue or colonnade. At the upper, or opposite, end, is the corresponding door of a small chamber, which terminates the building on that side, these chambers having no exit; but other columns on the outside seem to show that a colonnade extended along the outer face. Whatever this building may have been, the deity to whom it was dedicated was evidently Osiris, the patron of the city; and it is worthy of remark, that king Osirei † has always introduced the name of Osiris instead of that of the square-eared deity Ombte, which so often occurs in his nomen at Thebes and other places.

The other building to the north of this is the famous temple of Osiris, who was worshipped at Abydus in his most sacred character, and received from it one of his most usual titles, "Lord of Ebôt,"—the Egyptian name of that city. It was completed by Remeses the Great, who enriched it with a splendid sanctuary, rendered unusually conspicuous from the materials of its walls, which were lined throughout with alabaster. He also added to the numerous chambers, and courts, many elegant and highly finished sculptures; and on the wall of one of the lateral apartments the famous *tablet,* a list of kings, was sculptured by his order. This important record contains a series of king's names, the predecessors of Remeses the Great; but, unfortunately, the commencement has been broken away, so that the order of succession of the earliest Pharaohs is still a desideratum — the more to be regretted, as few monuments remain of that remote period. It is, however, satisfactory to find this list fully accords with the date and order of the names on the existing monuments*, and with those given at the Memnonium of Thebes. It was first discovered by Mr. Bankes in 1818; and having been carried away by M. Mimaut, the French consul-general, and sold in Paris, is now deposited in the British Museum.

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* In one place here Remeses is called "the good God, son of Osiris."

† I have adopted this name Osirei in order not to perplex the reader. But I do not suppose it to be the real name of the king, which is written O.ei (the second letter being unknown), with the title "beloved of Pthah," or of "Amun." There is the same difficulty and uncertainty respecting the names of Pthahmen, and the two successors of Pthahmen-Septhah.

Strabo pretends that no singer, flute-player, or minstrel, was allowed to be present at the rites performed in the temple of Osiris at Abydus, though customary at those of other deities; but it is probable that the prohibition was confined to some particular occasions, without extending to all the ceremonies practised there in his honour. The reservoir mentioned by the geographer, which was cased with large stones, may perhaps be traced on the east of the ancient town; and it was to this that a canal brought the water from the Nile, passing, as does the present canal, through the grove of Acanthus, which was sacred to Apollo. From Abydus, also (as in Strabo's time), a road leads to the Great Oasis, ascending the Libyan chain of mountains nearly due west of the town. Another road runs to the same Oasis from el K̲alaat, a village further to the south of Samhood, which is the one taken by those who go from and to Farshoot, and other places in this part of the valley; the ascent and descent being so much more easy than by the mountain road, or path, to the west of Abydus. In the cemetery to the northward are several stone remains, among which are stelæ, of the time of Osirtasen, and other early Pharaohs; and some blocks present the ovals of the Great Remeses, and others that of the Ethiopian Sabaco. At the projecting corner of the mountain, to the north-west, are limestone quarries, and an inclined road leading to a shaft or narrow grotto, some way up, in the face of the rock, which is in an unfinished state, and without sculpture.

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* In order to ascertain if it really accorded with the authority of the monuments, I made a list of kings from the sculptures at Thebes and other places, without any reference to it; and having arranged the names according to the order on those monuments, I found, on comparing the two, that they agreed perfectly, and satisfactorily obviated any doubts that might be raised about the tablet of Abydus being really a list of kings.

Bellianeh has succeeded to an old town, whose mounds mark its site. Its Coptic name is Tpouranê (Ⲧⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲏ). On the opposite or eastern bank stood Lepidotum, so called from the worship of the fish *lepidotus;* but its exact position is unknown, though a place of some size and importance, and mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the large cities of Egypt.

Samhood, inland on the west bank, occupies the site of an ancient town, called in Coptic Semhôout, or Psenhôout (Ⲥⲉⲙϩⲱⲟⲩⲧ, Ⲡⲥⲉⲛϩⲱⲟⲩⲧ); for though placed more to the north in the Coptic MSS., it is evident this name can only apply to the modern town of Samhood, whose mounds sufficiently indicate its antiquity. About the district of Sherg el Khayám, the Nile makes a considerable bend, but resumes its general course, about north and south, near el Hamra.

Farshóot, inland to the west from the district of el Kilh, is a large town, called in Coptic Bershoout (Ⲃⲉⲣϭⲟⲟⲩⲧ). It is the residence of a *mamoor*, or provincial governor, and was formerly a town of consequence, but has greatly fallen off within the last few years, as well in size as in the number of its inhabitants. Many of the houses are in a ruinous state, and quite deserted; and of late it has only been remarkable as the head-quarters of the *Nizám*, or new troops of Mohammed Ali, the native portion of the army having been first drilled here in 1821 and 1822.

In Pococke's time, Farshoot was the residence of the great shekh, who governed nearly the whole country on the west bank; but he had already lost much of his authority, and had great difficulty in collecting his revenues.

"The present inhabitants of this district," says Mr. Hamilton *, "are descendants of the Howâri tribe of Arabs. This warlike race had for several years been in the undisturbed possession of the soil, and enjoyed, under the government of their own shekhs*, the independent tributaries of the pasha of Cairo, as much happiness and security as has for many centuries fallen to the lot of any of the provinces of the Turkish empire. They lost their independence under their last shekh, Hammam, who with an army, said to have consisted of 36,000 horsemen, was entirely defeated by Mohammed Bey. This number seems incredible, and must be in some degree a creature of Oriental exaggeration: but in those times each village was obliged to produce as many horses as there were individuals able to mount them, and each individual was as much a soldier as a peasant. The country is still the most famed for horses of any in Upper Egypt, though all who can afford to purchase those of the greatest value prefer a foreign breed: and Elfi in particular described to us, as the spot in which the most esteemed for fleetness, strength, and beauty were produced, a square at the four corners of which he placed Suez †, Cairo, Damascus, and Bagdad."

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* Hamilton, *Ægyptiaca*, p. 257.

The Howára were always famed for their skill in breeding and managing horses; the name Howáree ‡, like Fárés, signifies a horseman, and is still applied to the native riding-masters and horsebreakers of Egypt; whose skill in the management of horses I have often had occasion to admire, at a time when the Memlook exercises were still in vogue in Egypt. The Howára breed of dogs was not less noted in Upper Egypt than that of the horses; some of which are still found about Erment, Bairát, and other places, mostly used for guarding sheep; and their rough, black, wire-haired coats, their fierce eye, their size, and their courage, in which they so widely differ from the cowardly fox-dog of Egypt, sufficiently distinguish them from all other breeds of the country. Nor have the people the same prejudice against dogs as in Lower Egypt; and indeed the inhabitants of the Sāeed have generally much fewer scruples on this point than other Moslems, being mostly of the sect of Málekee, who view the dog with more indulgent feelings.

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* They are mentioned by Norden, Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Part iii.

† He should have said Draéëh: and surely from Suez to Cairo could not have been meant. The word for Cairo was doubtless *Musr*, which also means and includes all Egypt.

‡ The singular of Howára.

Some of the fancies of the Moslems respecting what is clean and unclean are amusingly ridiculous, and not the least those respecting dogs. Three of the sects consider its contact defiles; the other, the Málekee, fears only to touch its nose, or its hair if wet: and tales about the testimony of dogs and cats, against man in a future state, are related with a gravity proportionate to their absurdity. It is, however, not surprising that the dogs of Egypt, living as they do in the dirty streets, and feeding upon any offal they find, should be considered unclean; and even the rigid Hánefee overlooks his scruples in favour of a Kelb Roomee, a "Greek" or "European dog," when assured that it differs in its habits from those of his own country.

The next town or village of any size, after Farshoot, is Bajoóra, and beyond, at the southern extremity of the bend of the river, is How, the ancient Diospolis Parva. Here the river takes a very long curve; and as it runs from K̲eneh to How, its course is south-west, so that the former stands about 9′ of latitude more to the north than How, though higher up the stream. A similar deviation from its course does not occur again, except in the vicinity of Dayr in Nubia, and at the great bend of the river above Dongola, which was formerly called the *αγκωνες* or elbows of the Nile.

At How, in Coptic Hô, Hou, or Ano (ϩⲱ, ϩⲟⲩ, ⲁⲛⲟ), are the ruins of Diospolis Parva. Behind the modern town appear the vestiges of a sandstone temple of late date, either Ptolemaïc or Roman; probably the former, as I observed on a stone amidst the mounds the name of Ptolemy Epiphanes. Near it appears to have been a reservoir or lake of water, now only marked by a depression in the ground; and little remains of the city but the usual mounds and heaps of broken bricks. About a mile to the south, at the edge of the desert, are other mounds and the remains of buildings, of which the most remarkable is the tomb of one Dionysius, the son of a certain Ptolemy, and the scribe of king Ptolemy. It is built of hewn stone, and consists of a set of upper and underground chambers, whose walls are covered with sculptures. They principally represent judgment scenes and other funereal subjects. At the centre of the inner wall of the upper chamber is a niche, within which stands Osiris, with a hawk's head and the title of Sokari; and on either side is the goddess Isis protecting him with outspread wings, and holding in each hand the feather of Truth. At one side of this niche is a judgment scene, in which Osiris seated on his throne (with the four genii of Amenti standing on a lotus flower before him, and the female Cerberus at the door), listens to the account of the actions of the deceased recorded by Thoth, who as usual reports to the judge the result of his trial. Anubis and Horus are also present, with the scales of Truth. On the other side of the niche, Horus and Anubis introduce the individual to Osiris, Thoth being also present.

Many other subjects occur in the same chamber, among which are several inferior deities, whose offices relate to Amenti, or "the lower region;" and in an underground room is a curious representation of a tomb, having its folding doors fastened by two bolts.* The tree that overshadows it appears to be the sacred tamarisk of Osiris.†

Some might imagine that the modern name How was derived from that of the Howára Arabs; but as it has long been known in Coptic by that of Hô, or Hou, there is little doubt that it is of a much earlier origin; and it can scarcely be considered a corruption of Theou-polis, Θεου πολις, "the city of God" or Jupiter.

At K̲asr e' Syăd‡, or "the sportsman's mansion," on the opposite bank, are the mounds of the ancient Chênoboscion, in Coptic, *Senesét*. The only remains of masonry consist of a dilapidated quay, amidst whose ruins is a stone bearing a Greek inscription, apparently of the time of Antoninus Pius; from which we learn that the individual, by whose order it was sculptured, had executed some work "at his own expense;" perhaps the quay itself, to which there is every appearance of its having once belonged. Another block has part of the head-dress and hieroglyphics of the goddess Isis.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 262. Woodcut, No. 465.

† Ibid. vol. v. pp. 262, 263.

‡ Syăd is a fisherman, huntsman, or fowler; in short, a general term for a sportsman. It is pronounced Saiád, or Seiad.

Chenoboscion was famous for its geese, which were fed there in great numbers; and it was from this circumstance that it borrowed a name which was probably a translation of the original Egyptian.

About a mile beyond the eastern mouth of the canal of K̲asr e' Syắd are some interesting catacombs, of a very ancient date, which I found during my journey by land in 1830. Within them the agricultural and other scenes common to the tombs of Egypt may still be traced on the walls, and some indeed in a very good state of preservation. But they are particularly remarkable for their antiquity, which may vie with that of any other catacomb or monument in Egypt, if we except the pyramids and the tombs in their vicinity. The names, three of which are placed in chronological order, are not preceded by royal titles, but simply by the word "priest." I have, however, found instances of the same elsewhere with the prefix "king." *

The isle of Tabenna was on the west bank, between Diospolis Parva (How) and Tentyris. In Coptic it was called Tabeǹneci, or Tabnǹêse, the last part of which recalls the Greek word *νησος*, "island." Champollion supposes the name to signify "abounding in palm trees," or "the place of flocks;" and the termination *êsi* to refer to the goddess Isis. In Arabic he says it is called Gezeeret el Gharb, "the isle of the West." It was here that, about A. D. 356, St. Pachôm (Pachomius) built a monastery, occupying "the vacant island of Tabenne," as Gibbon says, with "1400 of his brethren." †

Fow, inland, on the east bank, marks the site of Bopos, in Coptic Phboou; and the ruins of Tentyris lie at a short distance from the river on the other side, to the north of the modern village of Dendera. The only thing for which it is now famous is a large breed of fowls, which, as they differ so much from others on the Nile, may claim descent from some Indian strangers brought there by accident.

The name of Tentyris, or Tentyra, in Coptic Tentoré, or

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 280. Woodcut, No. 381. fig. 5. It seems that Papi is the nomen of Remai, and that they are the same king.

† Champollion, L'Egypte sous les Pharaons, i. p. 237. Gibbon, vi. p. 243.

Nikentore, seems to have originated in that of the goddess Athor, or Aphrodite, who was particularly worshipped there; and that the principal temple was dedicated to that goddess we learn from the hieroglyphics, as well as from a Greek inscription on the front, of the time of Tiberius, in whose reign its magnificent portico was added to the original building. Tentyra is probably taken from Téi-n̄-Athor, the abode of Athor, or Athyr. The name Athor is also a compound word, "Tei (or Thy) Hor," signifying "the abode of Horus;" which agrees with what Plutarch says, when he calls Athor "Horus' mundane habitation." The hieroglyphics, too, represent the name of the goddess by a hawk (the emblem of *Horus*) placed within a *house*.

Egyptian sculpture had long been on the decline before the erection of the temple of Dendera; and the Egyptian antiquary looks with little satisfaction on the graceless style of the figures, and the crowded profusion of ill-adjusted hieroglyphics, that cover the walls of this, and other Ptolemaïc or Roman monuments. But architecture* still retained the grandeur of an earlier period, and though the capitals of the columns were frequently overcharged with ornament, the general effect of the porticoes erected under the Ptolemies and Cæsars is grand and imposing, and frequently not destitute of elegance and taste.

These remarks apply very particularly to the temple of Dendera; and from its superior state of preservation it deserves a distinguished rank among the most interesting monuments of Egypt. For though its columns, considered singly, may be said to have a heavy, perhaps a barbarous, appearance, the portico is doubtless a noble specimen of architecture: nor is the succeeding hall devoid of beauty and symmetry of proportion. The preservation of its roof also adds greatly to the beauty, as well as the interest, of the portico, and many of those in the Egyptian temples lose their effect by being destitute of roofs. Generally speaking, Egyptian temples are more picturesque when in ruins than when entire; being, if seen from without, merely a large dead wall, scarcely relieved by a slight increase in the height of the portico: but not so the portico itself; nor did a temple present the same monotonous appearance when the painted sculptures were in their original state; and it was the necessity of relieving the large expanse of flat wall that led to this rich mode of decoration.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. pp. 263. 308.

On the ceiling of the *pronaos,* or portico of Dendera is the zodiac, which has led to much learned controversy. At length, through the assistance of the Greek inscription, which was strangely overlooked, and the hieroglyphical names of the Cæsars, on its exterior and interior walls, which were then unknown, its date has been satisfactorily ascertained; and instead of being of early Pharaonic time, or of an antediluvian age, it is now confined to the more modest and probable antiquity of 1800 years. In justice, however, to the celebrated Visconti, it should be said, that he made a very accurate estimation of its antiquity; and it will be found that the only three known in Egypt, at Dendera, Esnĕ, and its neighbour e' Dayr, are of Ptolemaïc or of Roman date. The astronomical subjects on the ceiling of the tombs of the kings, and other ancient Egyptian monuments, even if they may be considered zodiacal, are represented in a totally different manner; and we may be certain that the zodiac, as we know it, is not Egyptian. But it is remarkable, that in those of Dendera and Esnĕ the sign Cancer is represented by a scarabæus, not a crab; though other signs, as Sagittarius under the form of a Centaur, evidently of Greek invention, are admitted.

The details of the cornice of the portico offer a very satisfactory specimen of the use of a triglyphic ornament. It is common in many of the oldest Pharaonic temples, though arranged in a somewhat different manner, and without so remarkable a metope as in the present instance.

On the frieze, or rather architrave, is a procession to Athor: and among the figures that compose it are two playing the harp, and another the tambourine.

The inscription is on the projecting summit of the cornice, and commences with the name of the Emperor Tiberius. Those of Aulus Avillius * Flaccus, the military governor, or præfect, and Aulus Fulmius (or *Fulvius*) Crispus, commander of the forces (or commander-in-chief), though purposely erased, may still be traced, when the sun strikes obliquely on the surface of the stone. The date of the Emperor's reign, restored by M. Letronne, is the 21st of Tiberius, the 21st of the Egyptian month Athor; and the whole inscription is as follows: —

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* Aviddius, or Avidnus.

υπερ αυτοκρατορος Τιϐεριου Καισαρος, *νεου* Σεϐαστου, *θεου* Σεβαστου
υιου, επι Αυλου Αυιλλιου Φλακκου
ηγεμονος, Αυλου Φωλμιου Κρισπου* *επιστρατηγου*, Σ̣αραπιωνος
Τρυχαμϐου *στρατηγουντος, οι απο της μητρ*
οπολεως και του νομου το προναον Αφροδιτῃ *θεᾳ μεγιστῃ και τοις*
συνναοις θεοις
(L. $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$) Τιϐεριου Καισαρος (Αθυρ $\overline{\mathrm{KA}}$) †

" For the welfare of Tiberius Cæsar, the new Augustus, son of the god Augustus; Aulus Avillius Flaccus being præfect, Aulus Fulmius (Fulvius) Crispus, commander-in-chief, and Sarapion Trychambus, commandant of the district; those of the Metropolis and of the Nome [erected] this pronaos (portico) to the very great goddess Aphrodite, and to the contemplar gods. [In the year 20] of Tiberius Cæsar [the 21st of Athyr].

M. Letronne has given a fragment of an inscription copied by M. Caillaud *from the cornice* of the pronaos or portico of this temple, which he supposes not to have been seen by any other traveller.‡ But from the words he gives, and the place where it is said to be cut, it seems to be no other than a portion of the above inscription very imperfectly copied. This, however, may easily be ascertained by any one who examines the cornice.

The small planisphere, which was on the ceiling of one of the lateral chambers, on the right-hand side of the temple, and behind the *pronaos*, has been removed to France; and from its position it probably dated a few years before the zodiac.

Numerous are the names of Cæsars in this temple. In the portico may be distinguished those of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. On the former front of the temple, now the back of the *pronaos*, or portico, are those of Augustus and Caligula. This was, in fact, the original extent of the building, and it was previous to the addition of the portico that it was seen by Strabo. The oldest names are of Ptolemy Cæsarion, or Neo-Cæsar, son of the celebrated Cleopatra by Julius Cæsar, and of his mother; who are represented on the back wall of the exterior. Neither her features (which may still be traced) nor her figure correspond with her renowned beauty. But the portrait is interesting, from being the contemporary representation of so celebrated a person; and however badly executed, probably bears some sort of general resemblance to the original; allowance being made for the Egyptian mode of drawing, and the want of skill of the artist, who probably never saw the queen, and copied her portrait from some other imperfect picture. It appears that the whole *naos* was the work of the Ptolemies, though the sculptures remained unfinished till the reign of Tiberius, who, having erected the portico, added many of the hieroglyphics on the exterior walls. Indeed, some of the royal ovals in the interior continue blank to this day.

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* M. Letronne (p. 90.) reads Φωλουιου, Fulvius. He is probably right; but in both the copies made by me, at two different times, I have Φωλμιου. The name is read with difficulty.

† Letronne restores the date L.$\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ and Αθυρ $\overline{\mathrm{KA}}$, which I have not in my copy, the letters being gone from the stone.

‡ Letronne, p. 97.

The portico is supported by twenty-four columns, and is open at the front, above the screens that unite its six columns; and in each of the side walls is a small doorway. To the portico succeeds a hall of six columns, with three rooms on either side; then a central chamber, communicating on one side with two small rooms, and on the other with a staircase. This is followed by another similar chamber, (with two rooms on the west, and one on the east side) immediately before the isolated sanctuary, which has a passage leading round it, and communicating with three rooms on either side. The total length of the temple is 93 paces (or about 220 feet) by 41, or across the portico 50. In front of the temple was the *dromos*, extending for the distance of 110 paces to an isolated stone *pylon**, bearing the names of Domitian and Trajan.

The attributes of Athor at Tentyris very much resemble those of Isis; and she is in like manner represented nursing a young child, who is said, in the hieroglyphics, to be her son. Its name was Ehôou, and he is the third member of the triad* of the place, and the child of Athor, as Harpocrates was of Isis.

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* Pylon, Pylônê, or Propylon. See above, Vol. I. pp. 290. 293., and below, Sect. VI. on the Great Oasis, where the word Pylon is applied to one of these gateways at Doosh.

"Behind the temple of Venus," says Strabo, "is the chapel of Isis;" and this observation agrees remarkably well with the size and position of the small temple of that goddess; consisting, as it does, merely of one central and two lateral *adyta*, and a transverse chamber or corridor in front; and it stands immediately behind the south-west angle of that of Athor. It is in this temple that the cow is figured, before which the Sepoys are said to have prostrated themselves, when our Indian army landed in Egypt. I have given a copy of the subject in another work†, and have shown the fallacy of inferring any connection between the two religions of Egypt and India, from the accidental worship of the same animal in those countries.

To the temple of Isis belonged the other *pylon*, which lies 170 paces to the eastward, and which, as we learn from a Greek inscription on either face of its cornice, was dedicated to that goddess, in the thirty-first year of Cæsar (Augustus); Publius Octavius being military governor, or præfect, and Marcus Claudius Posthumus commander-in-chief. On the west side we read as follows: —

Υπερ αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος ϑεου υιου Διος Ελευθεριου Σεϐαστου επι Ποπλιου Οκταυιου ηγεμονος και
Μαρκου Κλωδιου Ποστομου επιστρατηγου Τρυφωνος στρατηγουντος οι απο της Μητροπολεως
[Και] του νομου το προπυλον Ισιδι ϑεᾳ μεγιστῃ και τοις συνναοις ϑεοις. Ετους ΛΑ Καισαρος Θωυθ Σεϐαστῃ

"For the welfare of the Emperor Cæsar, son of the god (Divi filius, i. e. of Cæsar) Jupiter the Liberator, Augustus, Publius Octavius being præfect, Marcus Clodius Postumus commander-in-chief, and Trypho commandant of the district, the inhabitants of the metropolis [and] of the nome [erected] this propylon to Isis, the very great goddess, and to the contemplar gods, in the year 31 of Cæsar, [in the month] Thoth [on the birth-day of] Augustus.‡

The same is repeated on the east side of the same gateway, but less perfectly preserved; though the "Kai," the only word wanting in the other, is here supplied.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 410., and vol. v. p. 21.

† Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 393., and Plate 35*a*. Part II.

‡ See Letronne, pp. 82. 84., who shows this to signify the birth-day of Augustus, or the day bearing the same name as the emperor, and that the date is the 23d September of the first year of our era.

In the hieroglyphics, besides the name of Augustus, are those of Claudius and Nero.

Ninety paces to the north of the great temple of Athor is another building, consisting of two outer passage-chambers, with two small rooms on either side of the outermost one, and a central and two lateral *adyta;* the whole surrounded, except the front, by a peristyle of twenty-two columns. The capitals ornamented, or disfigured, by the representations of a Typhonian monster, have led to the supposition that it was dedicated to the Evil Genius; but as the whole of its sculptures refer to the birth of the young child of Athor, it is evident that it appertains to the great temple of that goddess, who is here styled his mother. It is one of those buildings which Champollion has styled the *mammeisi*, or "lying-in places," set apart for the *accouchement* of the goddess, and where the third member of the triad, worshipped in the adjoining temple, was born. The Typhonian monster is not, therefore, the deity to whom it was dedicated, but is only introduced in a subordinate character, connected with the young child, which I have elsewhere explained.* The names are of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius.

For the discovery of the nature of these *mammeisi*, and of the Egyptian triads, we are indebted to the ingenuity of Champollion, to whom, indeed, we owe the wonderful advancement made, and making, in hieroglyphics. Greatly indeed did he improve on the hints thrown out by those who went before him; and as a proof of the wonderful knowledge he possessed on the subject, we see that, though many have been long labouring to make a few additions to what he had previously given, the publication of his posthumous works, a grammar and dictionary, show that what he had already discovered, several years ago, far surpassed all that others have since arrived at, even with the advantages of time and prolonged study; and afford some notion of what the world might now have known of "the learning of the Egyptians," had his valuable life been spared to enable him to give the results of his journey in Egypt.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 432.

Around the above-mentioned buildings extends a spacious enclosure of crude brick, about 240 paces square, having two entrances, one at the *pylon* of Isis, the other at that before the great temple.

About 230 paces in front of the *pylon* of Athor is an isolated hypæthral building, consisting of fourteen columns, united by intercolumnar screens, with a door-way at either end: and a short distance to the south are indications of an ancient reservoir. A little to the N. E. of it are other remains of masonry; but the rest of the extensive mounds of Tentyris present merely the ruins of crude brick houses, many of which are of Arab date.

Five hundred paces east of the *pylon* of Isis is another crude brick enclosure, with an entrance of stone, similar to the other pylons, bearing the name of Antoninus Pius. Over the face of the gateway is a singular representation of the Sun, with its sacred emblem the hawk, supported by Isis and Nephthys. These two "sister goddesses" represented "the beginning and the end," and were commonly introduced on funereal monuments, Isis on one side, Nephthys on the other of the deceased, which might lead us to suppose this enclosure to have been used for sepulchral purposes. The area within it measures about 155 paces by 265; and at the S. E. corner is a well of stagnant water.

The town stood between this and the enclosure that surrounded the temples, extending on either side, as well as within the circuit of the latter; and on the N. W. side appear to be the remains of tombs. They were, probably, of a time when Tentyris ceased to be a populous city, and when a deserted part of it was set apart for the burial of the dead; a custom not uncommon in Egypt, instances of which I have already noticed at Bubastis and other places.

In the limestone mountains S. S. E. of Dendera are some old quarries, and a few rude grottoes without sculpture; and in the vicinity is a hill, about a mile to the N. W. of them, in which are sunk numerous tombs of the inhabitants of Tentyris. I do not know if they have ever been opened by any Europeans, nor was I aware of their existence till my return from Thebes, in 1831, when they were mentioned to me by

Mr. Turnbull Christie, who had observed them during a geological excursion to the mountains.

It was in going over the *Hâger*, or plain of the desert, in this direction, that I observed numerous primitive stones, evidently rounded by rolling, and which, from their number and the extent of the space they are scattered over, could not have been brought by the hand of man; though many have been arranged in lines for some purpose. They are of granite, porphyry, and other primitive substances, which are only found in the interior of the opposite eastern desert; and if not brought by man, they must have been carried *across* the present bed of the river, and *up* the slope of the western desert, by a rush of water coming from the valley which opens upon Keneh, and which, rising in the primitive ranges, has cut its way through secondary hills that border the valley of the Nile. They are therefore worthy the attention of the geologist.

Between the town and the edge of the sandy plain to the south is a low channel, which may once have been a canal; and it is not improbable that it was to this that the Tentyrites owed their *insular* situation mentioned by Pliny.*

The Tentyrites were professed enemies of the crocodile; and Pliny relates some extraordinary stories of their command over that animal.† The truth, indeed, of their courage, in attacking so formidable an enemy, appears to have been satisfactorily ascertained: and Strabo affirms that they amused and astonished the Romans by their dexterity and boldness, in dragging the crocodile from an artificial lake, made at Rome for this purpose, to the dry land, and back again into the water, with the same facility.‡ Other writers mention the remarkable command they had over the crocodile; and Seneca§ accounts for it by the contempt and consciousness of superiority they felt, in attacking their enemy; those who were deficient in presence of mind being frequently killed.

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* "Gens hominum .... Tentyritæ, ab *insulâ*, in quâ habitat, appellata," Plin. 8. 25.

† "Voce solâ territos cogunt evomere recentia corpora ad sepulturam." Plin. 8. 25.

‡ Strabo, 17.

§ Seneca, 4. Quæst. Nat. c. 2.

The crocodile is, in fact, a timid animal, flying on the approach of man, and, generally speaking, only venturing to attack its prey on a sudden; for which reason we seldom or never hear of persons having been devoured by it, unless incautiously standing at the brink of the river, where its approach is concealed by the water, and where, by the immense power of its tail, it is enabled to throw down and overcome the strongest man; who being carried immediately to the bottom of the river, has neither the time nor the means to resist. Pliny, like other authors, has been led into a common error, that the sight of the crocodile is defective under water, which a moment's consideration without the necessity of *personal* experience should have corrected; for it is at least reasonable to suppose that an animal living chiefly on fish should, in order to secure its prey, be gifted with an equal power of sight; and that of fish cannot be said to be defective. But Herodotus, "the *father*" of these errors, affirms that it is totally "blind under water."* Its small eye is defended by the nictitating membrane, which it passes over it when under water.† It has no tongue, and moves the *lower* jaw like other animals; though from its frequently throwing up its head, at the same time that it opens its mouth, it has obtained the credit of moving the *upper* jaw. Another error respecting it is its supposed inability to turn; but after finding that it can strike its head with its tail, I recommend no one to trust to this received notion. It is however a heavy and unwieldy animal, it cannot run very fast, and is usually more inclined to run from, than at, any man who has the courage to face it. In Egypt I never heard of a person being carried away by a crocodile while in the water; but in Ethiopia it is much more dangerous; and I should not advise any one to go into the river from a sand-bank where crocodiles abound, as at Ombos and some other places. There is little or no danger in bathing under steep banks, where the stream is rapid, or in the vicinity of the cataracts.

The hatred of the Tentyrites for the crocodile was the cause of serious disputes with the inhabitants of Ombos, where it was particularly worshipped; and the unpardonable affront of killing and eating the godlike animal was resented by the Ombites with all the rage of a sectarian feud. No religious war was ever urged with more energetic zeal; and the conflict of the Ombites and Tentyrites terminated in the disgraceful ceremony of a cannibal feast, to which (if we can believe the rather doubtful authority of Juvenal) the body of one, who was killed in the affray, was doomed by his triumphant adversaries.*

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* Herodot. 2. 68.

† See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 75., and v. p. 229.

Opposite the ruins of Tentyris is the town of K̲éneh, the residence of a provincial governor. It stands on the site of Cænopolis, "the new city" (the *Newtown* of those days), but boasts no remains of antiquity. K̲éneh has succeeded Coptos and K̲oos, as the emporium of trade with the Arabian coast, which it supplies with corn, carried by way of Kossayr to Emba (Yambo) and Judda.† It was noted for its manufacture of porous water-jars and bottles, the former called in Arabic *Zeer*, the latter *goolléh* and *dórak*‡, which are in great request throughout Egypt. The clay used for making them is found to the northward of the town, in the bed of a valley, whose torrents have for ages past contributed to the accumulation, or rather deposit, of this useful earth; which, with the sifted ashes of *halfeh* § grass in proper proportions, is the principal composition. K̲éneh has the advantages of baths like other large towns. It has a market, held every Thursday; and here many of the *Almeh* women reside, who have been forbidden to dance at Cairo.

The ancient village of Pampanis, the next mentioned by Ptolemy ‖ after Tentyris (Tentyra), stood inland on the west bank. Some suppose it to have been at e' Dayr, opposite Benoot, whose name also indicates the successor of an ancient town. But e' Dayr cannot occupy the site of Pampanis, if Ptolemy be correct, as he places it 5′ more to the south than Apollinopolis Parva (K̲oos), and nearly at two thirds of the distance from Tentyris to Thebes. The latitude he gives of that village, as well as his position of Apollinopolis, require Pampanis to be much further south; and taking the proportion of the distances* he gives, it should have been at Menshéëh or Negádeh.

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* Juvenal, Sat. 15. 33. &c.

† Jidda, or Djuddeh.

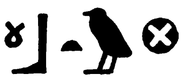
‡ In Turkish, bardak.

§ Poa cynosuroïdes.

‖ Ptolemy 4, 5. p. 107. He places it 25′ S. of Tentyra, and 15′ N. of "Memnon and Tathyris," or Western Thebes.

Ballas, on the west bank, is well known for its manufacture of earthen jars, which from this town have received the name of *Ballásee*, and are universally used in Egypt for the purpose of carrying water. When full they are of great weight; and one is surprised to find the women able to bear them on their heads, while admiring their graceful gait as they walk with them from the river. The same kind of jars are used, like some amphoræ of the ancients, for preserving rice, butter, treacle, and oil, and for other domestic purposes; and large rafts made of *ballásee* jars are frequently floated down the Nile, to be disposed of in the markets of the metropolis.

Near Ballás should be the site of Contrà Coptos.

Kobt, or Koft, the ancient Coptos, is a short distance from the river, on the east bank. The proper orthography, according to Aboolfeda, is Kobt, though the natives now call it Koft. In Coptic it was styled Keft, and in the hieroglyphics Kobto, or 

The remains of its old wall are still visible, and even the towers of the gateway, that stood on the east side. The ruins are mostly of a late epoch; the names on the fallen fragments of masonry that lie scattered within its precincts, or on those employed in building the Christian church, being of different Cæsars; among which I observed Tiberius, Caligula, and Titus. Caligula is written, as usual, "Caius" only. A granite pillar, however, bearing the oval of Thothmes III., shows that some monument existed at Coptos of a very remote date, to which the Roman emperors afterwards made additions. But owing to the depredations of the early Christians, little can be traced of its ancient buildings, their materials having been used to construct the church, part of which too only now remains.

The principal cause of the ruinous condition of this city may be attributed to the fury of Diocletian; and Gibbon† states that it was "utterly destroyed by the arms and severe order" of that emperor. It had played a conspicuous part in the rebellion against his authority, and the severity that he exercised at the same time upon the Alexandrians fell with still greater weight on the inhabitants of Coptos. At the village of el K̲ála, "the citadel," is a small temple, of Roman date, bearing the royal ovals of Tiberius Claudius.

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* Ptolemy makes the difference of latitude between Thebes and Tentyris 40′; it should be 26′ at the ratio of 40=26 : 25 : 16¼. Pampanis falls about Menshéëh, which is two miles S. of Koos.

† Gibbon, ii. c. 13. p. 135.

But besides the ruins of temples and other buildings, the vestiges of its canals still attest the opulence of this city; which continued to be the mart of Indian commerce, from the foundation of Berenice, till its destruction in the reign of Diocletian; and though, as in Strabo's time, the Myos Hormos* was found to be a more convenient port than Berenice, and was frequented by almost all the Indian and Arabian fleets, Coptos still continued to be the seat of commerce. Myos Hormos was afterwards succeeded by Philoteras portus, which had formerly played a part in the time of the Pharaohs under the name of Ænnum, and this again gave place, at a later period, to the modern town of Kossayr. Coptos, too, was supplanted by K̲oos; which continued to be the depôt of all merchandise from the Red Sea, during the reign of the Egyptian sultans, until in its turn it gave place to K̲eneh.

It was to Coptos that many of the stones† quarried in the porphyry and other mountains of the eastern desert, were transported; for which purpose large roads were constructed, at considerable labour and expense, over sandy plains, and through the sinuosities of valleys. But that of the emerald mines took the direction of Contra Apollinopolis; nor does it appear that any other communication was established with them from Coptos, except by the Berenice road.

Ælian tells us that the Coptites worshipped Isis, and relates a story of the respect paid by scorpions to her temple.‡ He also states, that the female *dorcas*§ was sacred in this city. It was here that Isis was supposed to have received the first account of her husband's death, — a circumstance, which, according to Plutarch, gave rise to the name of Coptos, signifying, as he supposes, "mourning," or, as others say, "deprivation." But it is needless to make any remark on the absurdity of deriving an Egyptian name from Greek, which he, like so many others, were in the habit of doing; or to observe that the mourning of Isis and the death of Osiris are a pure allegory. And the traveller will look in vain for the precipice, whence the ass was annually thrown down by the Coptites, in token of their hatred of Typhon*, unless it proves to have been an artificial eminence made for that allegorical ceremony.

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* See Section VI. p. 31.

† M. Letronne thinks the large blocks went by sea to Arsinoë.

‡ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 254.

§ Ælian, Nat. An. 10. 23.

The town of E' Shúrafa, to the north of Coptos, is so called from having been founded and inhabited by some Shereefs, or descendants of Mohammed; who are distinguished from other Moslems by the peculiar right of wearing a green turban; a custom first introduced by one of the Baharite Memlook sultans of Egypt, El Ashraf Shabán, who reigned from A. D. 1363 to 1377.†

Aboolfeda states that the town of K̲obt was a wak̲f, "entail," of the Shereefs, though it appears rather to have belonged to the *Háramáyn* of Mecca and Medeeneh. How the inhabitants of Coptos came to be Shiites (Sheéāh) شيعة, as he says they were, he does not explain; and it would be curious to make inquiries at Coptos if this was really the case in former times.

Contra Coptos was probably at Dowáide.

At K̲oos (or Goos), in Coptic Kos-Birbir, is the site of Apollinopolis Parva. In the time of Aboolfeda, about A. D. 1344‡, it was the next city in size and consequence to Fostát, the capital, and the emporium of the Arabian trade; but it is now reduced to the rank of a small town, and the residence of a *názer*. The only remains of antiquity are a *pylon* of the time of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Alexander I., "the gods Philometores Soteres§," whose names appear, as well in the Greek dedication to Aroeris, on the cornice, as in sculptures of the lower part. The inscription is as follows:—

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* Plut. de Is. s. 30.

† The different colours had been used in banners long before. See Sect. VII.

‡ Omad e' deen Aboolfeda-Ismaël-ben-Naser, king of Hamah in Syria, deposed A. H. 743. (A. D. 1343.)

§ Not Φιλομητορες και Σωτηρες, as given by M. Letronne, p. 50.

Βασιλισσα Κλεοπατρα και Βασιλευς Πτολεμαιος ϑεοι μεγαλοι Φιλομητορες
[Σω]τηρες και τα τεκνα Αρωηρει ϑεῳ μεγιστῳ και τοις συνναοις ϑεοις

"Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy, the great gods Philométores Sotéres, and their children, to the very great god Aroêris, and to the contemplar Deities."

I regret to say, that since my first visit to it, this pylon has been destroyed by the Turks, who have used the materials in the construction of some government building.

At a *sibéel*, or "fountain built for a charitable purpose," is a monolith, now converted into a tank, with a hieroglyphic inscription on the jambs, containing the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and a short distance to the west of the town, near a shekh's tomb, are some fragments of sandstone, and a few small granite columns. On the former are the ovals of the king, Atinre Bakhan, who is found in the grottoes of Tel el Amarna; the latter are of uncertain date. At the time when I found the name of that king at K̲oos, it was the only proof of his having ruled in the Thebaïd; but the removal of some of the stones from a propylæum of Karnak has thrown still further light on the sway exercised by him and the foreign dynasty to which he belonged; and the researches made there at the time by M. Prisse have satisfactorily shown that there were several kings of this dynasty, who succeeded each other on the throne of Egypt, and whose names, always erased in the sculptures, have been entirely omitted in the lists of kings on the monuments of Thebes.*

Opposite Koos is Negádeh†, noted for its Coptic and Catholic convents, and, in Aboolfeda's time, for its gardens and sugar-cane. It has no ruins; but Shenhoor, on the east bank, a few miles south of Koos, presents the extensive mounds of an ancient town, where M. Prisse found a temple of Roman time, dedicated to *Horus*, with the name of the town in hieroglyphics, Sen-*hor*.

Between Shenhoor and Thebes the river makes a considerable curve to the east; and a little above this bend, just below

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* See Tel el Amarna, above, p. 73., and below, Karnak.

† Properly Nek̲ádeh, but the k̲ is pronounced so much like a hard g in many of these names, that I have not always adhered to the orthography. K̲oos sounds nearly the same as Goos.

Thebes, on the west bank, is Gamóla.* It was noted in Aboolfeda's time for its numerous gardens and sugar-cane plantations, which are mentioned also by Norden. At the time of the rebellion of Shekh Ahmed, the *soi-disant* wizéer, in 1823, it was the residence of the well-known Ali Kashef Aboo-Tarboósh, who defended the military post there against the insurgents with great gallantry.

Medamôt stands inland on the east. It is supposed to mark the site of Maximianopolis, a Greek bishop's see under the Lower Empire; but neither the extent of its mounds, nor the remains of its temple, justify the name that some have applied to it of Karnak e' Sherk̲éëh, or "the eastern Karnak."

Some write the name Med'-amood, as though it were called from amood, "a column;" and place Maximinianopolis on the other bank, at Negádeh; while others fix it at Medeenet Haboo, in Thebes, where the Christians had a very large church until the period of the Arab invasion. Negádeh, however, is still a place of great consequence among the Copts of Egypt, whose convent and church are the resort of all the priests of the vicinity.

The ruins of Medamôt consist of the crude brick houses of a small town, about 464 paces square, in the centre of which is a sandstone temple; but of this little remains, except part of the portico, apparently, from the style of its architecture, of Ptolemaïc date. On the columns may be traced the ovals of Ptolemy Euergetes II., of Lathyrus, of Auletes, and that of the Emperor Antoninus Pius; but a block of granite assigns a much higher antiquity to the temple itself, and proves from the name of Amunoph II., that its foundation is at least coëval with the middle of the fifteenth century before our era. The pylon before the portico bears the name of Tiberius, but the blocks used in its construction were taken from some older edifice, erected or repaired during the reign of Remeses II. This pylon formed one of several doorways of a crude brick enclosure, which surrounded the temple; and a short distance before it is a raised platform, with a flight of steps on the inner side, similar to that before the temple at El Khárgeh (in the Great Oasis), at Karnak, and many other places. To the southward of the portico appears to be the site of a reservoir: beyond which, a gateway leads through the side of the crude brick wall to a small ruin, bearing the name of Ptolemy Euergetes I. Besides the enclosure of the temple, is a wall of similar materials, that surrounded the whole town, which was of an irregular shape.

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* Properly K̲amóla, pronounced Gamóla.

THEBES, OR DIOSPOLIS MAGNA.

On arriving at Thebes by water, it is customary to anchor under the *gimmaýz*, or "sycamore tree," on the west bank, if that side is to be first visited, which I strongly recommend. In going to Karnak you may land on the bank opposite the *gimmaýz*, if the channel to the east of the island is dry; though in the latter case, it is perhaps as well to stop at Luxor, because it is a better landing-place, is more convenient for marketing purposes, and may be seen at the same time. Asses are also more easily obtained there for riding over to Karnak, which after all is distant only 1½ mile.

Travellers coming from India by the Kossayr road to Thebes generally see Karnak first, as it lies in their way, and as they either put up their tent there, or live (not very comfortably) in the low rooms in the northernmost of the western front towers. Of this route I have already spoken *, and shall only observe that I recommend them not to stop there, but defer their visit of its ruins until they have seen K̲oorneh † on the opposite bank; otherwise they will lose much of the interest felt at the latter, by seeing it after Karnak.

In coming down the Nile, you may see Luxor, and then go on to the sycamore tree of K̲oorneh; and after seeing that bank cross over and visit Karnak; if, as I before observed, there is no water in the channel to the east, between that island and the ruins. This is supposing you have not seen K̲oorneh in going up the Nile; if you have, then stop at Luxor and finish your visit to Karnak; and the only thing to bear in mind is, to see the ruins on the west bank before those of Karnak.

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* For the route from Kossayr to Thebes, see Vol. I. p. 50.

† Or Goorna. Luxor is also written Luk̲sor.

Some persons will, no doubt, feel disposed to take a more cursory view of the ruins of Thebes than others, being pressed for time, or feeling no very great interest in antiquities; and as they may perhaps be in a hurry to know what is to be done to get through the task they have undertaken, and *kill their lion* with the greatest despatch, I shall begin with instructions for the quickest mode of seeing the objects most worthy of notice, and the order in which they may be visited. Taking K̲oorneh (Goorna) as the commencement, and Karnak as the end of these excursions, you may begin by visiting the tombs of the kings; for which, of course, as for the other tombs, candles are indispensable, as well as a small supply of eatables, and, above all, of water in *goollehs*. Each of these porous water-bottles may be slung with string (as on board a ship), to prevent the boatmen, or whoever carry them, from holding them by the neck with their dirty hands. Moreover, they should not be allowed to touch the water, and should be told to bring their own supply if they want it.

1*st Day.* — *West Bank.* By setting off early in the morning, and following the course of the valley, after a ride of about an hour, you reach the tombs of the kings; and after visiting the six principal ones (marked 17. 11. 9. 6. 1. and 14.), ascend to the S. W., and cross the hills to Medeénet Háboo; after which, if sufficient time remains, you may see the two colossi of the plain (the vocal statue and its companion), and the palace of the great Remeses (the Remesseum, generally called the Memnonium), on your return to the river.*

2*d Day.* Next morning, after looking over the small temple of old K̲oorneh, called K̲asr e' Rubáyk̲, less than half a mile, or about 2600 feet from the *gimmayz*, you may visit the three principal tombs of the Assaséef (marked a, Q, and R, on my Survey of Thebes), and the temple below the cliffs at the N. W. extremity of this part of the valley; from which a path will lead you to the hill of Shekh Abd el K̲oorneh, where, at all events, you must not fail to see the tomb, No. 35., and as many of those mentioned in my description of the private tombs as your time and inclination will permit. Hence a short ride, one-third of a mile, will take you to the Ptolemaïc temple of Dayr el Medeéneh, from which you may return (if you have not satisfied your curiosity the day before), by the colossi, the palace of Remeses the Great, and the scattered remains in their vicinity. This is the most superficial view a traveller should allow himself to take of the west side of Thebes. Crossing the river to Luxor in his boat the same evening, he will be enabled to walk up early the next morning to the temple, while asses are preparing for his ride to Karnak.

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* See the vignettes of the Memnonium, the Colossi, and the pavilion at Medeénet Haboo.

3d Day. Luxor will occupy a very short time; and he will then go to Karnak, partly by what was once a long avenue of sphinxes, remains of which he will see just before he reaches the outskirts of those ruins. He had better look over the whole of Karnak the first day, and reserve a closer investigation for a second visit, two days being certainly not too much for the mere examination of this immense ruin. It is however possible to do it in one, and the traveller who merely wishes to *say he has seen* Thebes, may get through it all in three days.

DESCRIPTION OF THEBES.

It is not my intention, in noticing the ruins of this extensive city, to enter into a minute detail of all the subjects which the various sculptures present, on the walls of its stupendous monuments; nor is it necessary to preface my description by any history of the Pharaohs, who founded or embellished its temples. Their names will of course be introduced in connection with the monuments they erected; and for their chronological order I must refer the reader to the list of kings given in another part of this work.

The name Thebes is corrupted from the Tápé of the ancient Egyptian language, the ⲧⲁⲡⲉ of the Copts, which, in the Memphitic dialect of Coptic, is pronounced Thaba, easily converted into Θηβαι or Thebes. Some writers have confined themselves to a closer imitation of the Egyptian word; and Pliny * and Juvenal † have both adopted Thebe, in the singular number, as the name of this city.

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* Plin. 5. 9. "Thebe portarum centum nobilis famâ."

† Juv. Sat. 15. 6. "Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis."

In hieroglyphics it is written Ap, Ape, or with the feminine article Tape, the meaning of which appears to be "*the head,*" Thebes being the *capital* of the country.

Thebes was also called Diospolis (Magna), which answers to Amunei, "the abode of Amun," the Egyptian Jupiter.[*] The city stood partly on the east, partly on the west of the Nile, though the name Tape (Thebes) was applied to the whole city on either bank. The western division had the distinctive appellation of Pathyris, or, as Ptolemy writes it, Tathyris[†], being under the peculiar protection of Athor, who is called "the President of the West." For though Amun was the chief deity worshipped there, as well as in other quarters of Diospolis, Athor had a peculiar claim over the Necropolis beneath the western mountain, where she was fabulously reported to receive the setting sun into her arms.

In the time of the Ptolemies, the western division of the city was also known as "the Libyan suburb," which again was divided into different quarters, as the Memnonia, or Memnoneia[‡]; and even the tombs were portioned off into districts, attached to the quarters of the town. Thus we find that Thynabunum, where the priests of Osiris were buried, belonged to and stood within the limits of the Memnonia.[§] It is probable that in late times, when the city and its territory were divided into two separate nomes, the portion on the western bank, being under the protection of Athor, received the name "Pathyritic;" and Thebes being afterwards broken up into small villages, which was the case even in Strabo's time, Pathyris became a distinct place. The period of its foundation still remains, like that of Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, enveloped in that obscurity which is the fate of all the most ancient cities: but probability favours the conjecture, that though Menes, the first king of Egypt, found it in the humble condition of an infant capital, its foundation dated several generations before the accession of that monarch to the throne of his native country.

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[*] I have already shown that the Egyptian gods do not correspond exactly with those of Greece. As king of the gods, Amun answered to Jupiter; but as husband of Juno (Sáté) Kneph was Jupiter.

[†] "Memnon et Mediterraneus vicus Tathyris." See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 387.

[‡] A plural word, *τα μεμνονεια*, in Mr. Salt's papyri. See also Dr. Young, pp. 69. 73.

[§] See Dr. Young's Hierog. Lit. p. 66.

The most ancient remains now existing at Thebes are unquestionably in the great temple of Karnak, the largest and most splendid ruin* of which perhaps either ancient or modern times can boast, being the work of a number of successive monarchs, each anxious to surpass his predecessor by increasing the dimensions and proportions of the part he added. It is this fact which enables us to account for the diminutive size of the older parts of this extensive building; and to their comparatively limited scale, offering greater facility, as their vicinity to the sanctuary greater temptation, to an invading enemy to destroy them, added to their remote antiquity, are to be attributed their dilapidated state, and the total disappearance of the sculptures executed during the reigns of the Pharaohs, who preceded Osirtasen I., the contemporary of Joseph, and the earliest monarch whose name exists on the monuments of Thebes.

To enable the mind freely to contemplate the beauties of the ruins of this city, it is obvious that Karnak, from being the most splendid, should be the last visited by the stranger, who wishes to bestow a share of his admiration on the smaller but not less interesting monuments of the western bank, the "Libyan suburb of Thebes†," which included the extensive quarter of the Memnonia, and extended to the small temple of Adrian on the west, and, in the opposite direction, as far as the eastern tombs of its immense cemetery.

To commence with the ruins nearest the river; the first object worthy of notice is the small temple and palace at old K̲oórneh‡, dedicated to Amun§, the Theban Jupiter, by

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* In antiquity, the pyramids of Egypt surpass every other monument now existing in this or any other country; but they do not of course, from the nature of their construction, at all vie with the magnificence of the ruins of Karnak.

† Papyri of Paris, of Sr D'Anastasy, and of Mr. Grey.

‡ This village was destroyed and abandoned in the time of the Ghooz, or Memlooks, since which time the people of K̲oórneh have preferred the more secure abode of the Theban tombs.

§ I have adopted this mode of writing it, though Ammon may be equally correct.

Osirei*, and completed by his son Remeses II., the supposed Sesostris of the Greeks. Its plan, though it evinces the usual symmetrophobia of Egyptian monuments, presents a marked deviation from the ordinary distribution of the parts which compose it. The entrance leads through a pylônê, or pylon, bearing, in addition to the name of the founder, that of Remeses III., beyond which is a dromos of 128 feet, whose mutilated sphinxes† are scarcely traceable amidst the mounds, and ruins of Arab hovels. A second pylon terminates this, and commences a second dromos of nearly similar length, extending to the colonnade, or corridor, in front of the temple, whose columns, of one of the oldest Egyptian orders, are crowned by an abacus, which appears to unite the stalks of water-plants that compose the shaft and capital.‡

Of the intercolumniations of these ten columns three only agree in breadth, and a similar discrepancy is observed in the doorways which form the three entrances to the building. The temple itself presents a central hall, about fifty-seven feet in length, supported by six columns, having on either side three small chambers, one of which leads to a lateral hall, and the opposite one to a passage and open court on the east side. Upon the upper end of the hall open five other chambers, the centre one of which leads to a large room, supported by four square pillars, beyond which was the sanctuary itself; but the north end of this temple is in too dilapidated a state to enable us to make an accurate restoration of its innermost chambers. The lateral hall on the west, which belonged to the palace of the king, is supported by two columns, and leads to three other rooms, behind which are the vestiges of other apartments; and on the east side, besides a large hypæthral court, were several similar chambers, extending also to the northern extremity of its precincts. On the architrave, over the corridor, is the dedication of Remeses II., to whom, in his character of Phrah* (Pharaoh), or the Sun, under the symbolic form of a hawk, Amunre is presenting the emblem of life. Therein, after the usual titles of the king, we are told that "Remeses, the beloved of Amun†, has dedicated this work to his father Amunre, king of the gods, having made additions‡ for him to the temple of his father, the king (fostered by Ra and Truth), the Son of the Sun (Osirei)." The whole of this part of the building bears the name of Remeses II., though his father is represented in some of the sculptures as taking part in the religious ceremonies, and assisting in making offerings to the deities of the temple he had founded.

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* This king, the father of Remeses II., has the name either of Osirei or Oei, in addition to the title "Beloved of Amun," in one variation, and "Beloved of Pthah," in the other.

† They are also of Osirei. The sphinx represents the king himself. They are consequently *never* female, but always male; and have either the head of a man or of a ram, with the body of a lion.

‡ These, by lowering the abacus little more than two-thirds of its height, may have been the origin of the Doric column, whose simple shaft is still more easily traced in those of the grottoes at Beni Hassan, the work of a still more remote period.

On the north-west side of the inner wall of this corridor, the arks, or shrines of Queen Ames-Nofriatre (or T-Nofriare), and of Osirei, are borne each by twelve priests, in the "procession of shrines §," attended by a fan-bearer and high-priest, to the god of the temple; and in a small tablet added at a later period, the king Pthah-se-pthah is represented in presence of Amunre, Ames-Nofriare ‖, Osirei, and Remeses II., receiving the emblems of royal power from the hands of the deity.

The most interesting part of this temple is the lateral hall on the west side, which, with the three chambers behind it, king Osirei dedicated to his father Remeses I.; but dying before the completion of the hall, his son Remeses II. added the sculptures that cover the interior and corridor in front of it. Those within the front wall, on the right hand entering the door, represent, in the lower compartment, king Remeses II. introduced by Mandoo to Amunre, behind whom stands his grandfather Remeses I., bearing the emblems of Osiris. Over him we read: " The good God, Lord of the world; son of the Sun, lord of the powerful, Remeses deceased, esteemed by the great God, Lord of Abydus (*i. e.* Osiris)." Thoth, the god of letters, notes off the years of the panegyries of the king on a palm-branch, the symbol of a year. In the compartment above this he his introduced to the deity by Atmoo, and by Mandoo, who, presenting him with the emblem of life, says, " I have accompanied you in order that you may dedicate the temple to your father Amunre." In the compartment over the door, two figures of Remeses I., seated in sacred shrines, receive the offerings or liturgies of his grandson, one wearing the crown of the upper, the other that of the lower country. A perpendicular line, which divides the two shrines, contains this formula: " (This) additional work (or sculpture) made he the king Remeses (II.)* for his father's father, the good God Remeses (I.), in place of the dedication of his father Osirei." On the other side of the door, the king is offering to Amunre, Khonso, and Remeses I., and on the side walls, Osirei also partakes of similar honours.

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* The Hebrew name פרעה, Phrah, is merely the Coptic Ⲡⲓⲣⲏ, Memphitice Ⲫⲣⲏ, Phre, pronounced Phra. I have frequently noticed the meaning and orthography of this word Phrah, or Piré, "the Sun," a title given to the Egyptian monarchs, from the pretended analogy of the king, as chief of earthly beings, with the Sun, as chief of heavenly bodies.

† That Amun-mai or Mai-amun are used synonymously will appear to every one who notices the two modes of writing (vertically and horizontally) the name of Remeses III., however the Coptic may seem to require the two readings, "beloved of Amun," and "loving Amun," on which M. Champollion has, I think, unnecessarily insisted.

‡ This group, the bird and sickle, reads cut or sculptured, though many of these dedications seem to require the sense "repaired," which M. Champollion gives it; but I frequently find it in sculptures, which are merely added on an ancient wall, or in a rock temple, where no repairs have been made, as at Medeénet Háboo, Speos Artemidos, and other places. I am therefore inclined to adopt the reading "additions," or "additional sculptures," in preference to "repairs."

§ Mentioned in the Rosetta stone. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 276., and its cover

‖ Or T-Nofri-are. From being placed before the king Osirei, she cannot be his wife, but an ancestor of the family, the queen of Amunoph I. The consort of Amosis also bore this name.

In the centre chamber, Osirei officiates before the statue of his father placed in a shrine, like that before mentioned; from which it is evident that Remeses II. continued the dedications to the first Remeses, which had been commenced by his father, as the hieroglyphics themselves state. All the lateral chambers, and the hypæthral court are of Remeses II., and on the jambs of the side doors in the great hall, the name of his son † Pthahmen was added in the succeeding reign. Queen

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* These are prenomens, which it is useless to translate; I therefore substitute the phonetic names.

† Apparently Thmeioftep-ho-Pthahmai, or Pthahmen, which M. Champollion has transposed, and written Menephtha, but which, in the procession of the sons of Remeses II., at the Memnonium, is evidently Pthahmen, without the additional title he took on ascending the throne. The word

Ames-Nofriare occurs again in the court; and on the outside of the north-east corner, and on the fragment of a wall on the other (south-west) side, is an Ethiopian ox and Capricorn, which are brought by some of the minor priests for the service of the temple. Little else is deserving of notice in this ruin, if we except the statue and shrine of Amunre; whose door the king has just opened, previous to his performing "the prescribed ceremonies" in honour of the deity. In the hieroglyphics, though much defaced, we read, "Behold, I open * . . . . . . my father Amunre."

Following the edge of the cultivated land, and about 180 yards to the west of this building, are two mutilated statues of Remeses II., of black granite, with a few substructions to the north of them; and 770 yards farther to the west, lies, in the cultivated soil, a sandstone block of Remeses III., presenting in high relief the figure of that king between Osiris and Pthah. Fourteen hundred feet beyond this, in the same direction, is a crude brick enclosure, with large towers, which once contained within it a sandstone temple, dating probably in the reign of the third Thothmes, whose name is stamped on the bricks, and who appears to have been the contemporary of Moses.

Various fragments, and remains of crude brick walls, proclaim the existence of other ruins in its vicinity; and about a thousand feet farther to the south-west is the palace and temple of Remeses II., erroneously called the Memnonium. There is, however, reason to suppose that it was the Memnonium of Strabo, and that the title of Miamun †, attached to the name of Remeses II., being corrupted by the Romans into Memnon, became the origin of the word Memnonium or Memnonia, since we find it again applied to the buildings at Abydus, which were finished by the same monarch. Strabo, who says that if Ismandes is the same as Memnon, these mo-

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"beloved" may either be formed of mai or men, the latter a shorter substitute for menrit, "beloved," the former signifying "the love."

* This is expressed by a hare, and the zigzag line, *N*, forming the Coptic word *ouôn;* a remarkable confirmation of which is found in the name of a wolf, *ouônsh,* which is written by a hare, *ou,* the zigzag, *n,* and a narrow parallelogran, *sh.*

† Mai-amun, or Mei-amun.

numents at Thebes will have the same title of Memnonian as those at Abydus, appears to have had in view the palace-temple of Remeses Miamun; and it was not till after Strabo's time that the name of Memnon was applied to the vocal statue of the plain. In short, I feel persuaded, 1st, that the word Miamun led them to imagine him the Memnon mentioned by Homer, and thence to apply the word Memnonian to the buildings erected by Remeses II.; 2dly, that later visiters to Thebes, struck with the miraculous powers of the vocal statue, transferred the name of the only monarch with whom they *supposed* themselves acquainted, to the object they admired; and 3dly, that they ascribed to Memnon the tomb of Remeses V. in like manner from his having the title of Amunmai or Miamun.

Another curious circumstance connected with the name Memnonium is the belief that this, and other monuments so called, had been built or finished by the Ethiopians*, and this may be used as an additional argument in favour of the belief that the name Ethiopia was sometimes applied to the Thebaïd.

For symmetry of architecture and elegance of sculpture, there is no doubt that the Memnonium may vie with any other monument of Egyptian art. No traces are visible of the dromos that probably existed before the pyramidal towers, which form the façade of its first hypæthral area,—a court whose breadth of 180 feet, exceeding the length by nearly thirteen yards, is reduced to a more just proportion by the introduction of a double avenue of columns on either side, extending from the towers to the north wall. In this area, on the right of a flight of steps leading to the next court, was a stupendous Syenite† statue of the king, seated on a throne, in the usual attitude of Egyptian figures, the hands resting on his knees, indicative of that tranquillity* which he had returned to enjoy in Egypt after the fatigues of victory. But the fury of an invader has levelled this monument of Egyptian grandeur, whose colossal fragments lie scattered round the pedestal; and its shivered throne evinces the force used for its destruction.

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* Agatharcides in his Periplus says, "Ποτε μεν Αιθιοπων επι τον Αιγυπτον πληθους συνελθοντος και πολλα τας πολεις ετη φρουρησαντος (υφ' ων τα Μεμνονεια συντετελεσθαι φασι), ποτε δε Μηδων και Περσων επικρατησαντων."

† Of Syenite, or granite, from the quarries in the neighbourhood of Asouan or Syene. May not this have been the work of Memnon of Syene, whose name has added so much to the confusion regarding the Egyptian Memnon? since, as Hecatæus states, it was the largest statue in Egypt. Its foot exceeds, in fact, seven cubits; and, to judge from the fragments, must have been about eleven feet in length, and four feet ten inches in breadth. The statue measures from the shoulder to the elbow twelve

If it is a matter of surprise how the Egyptians could transport and erect a mass of such dimensions, the means employed for its ruin are scarcely less wonderful; nor should we hesitate to account for the shattered appearance of the lower part by attributing it to the explosive force of powder, had that composition been known at the period of its destruction.† The throne and legs are completely destroyed, and reduced to comparatively small fragments, while the upper part, broken at the waist, is merely thrown back upon the ground, and lies in that position which was the consequence of its fall; nor are there any marks of the wedge or other instrument, which should have been employed for reducing those fragments to the state in which they now appear. The fissures seen across the head and in the pedestal, are the work of a later period, when some of the pieces were cut for millstones by the Arabs, but its previous overthrow probably is coëval with the Persian invasion. To say that this is the largest statue in Egypt will convey no idea of the gigantic size or enormous weight of a mass, which, from an approximate calculation, exceeded, when entire, nearly three times the solid contents of the great

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feet ten inches, twenty-two feet four inches across the shoulders, and fourteen feet four inches from the neck to the elbow.

* Rather than as if in the act of rising from his throne, as some have imagined.

† I am well aware of the early period at which powder was known in India and China; but there is no proof that the Persians were acquainted with it. In China, indeed, guns were used as early as the year 85 A.D., and powder had been invented ages previously; and, what is very singular, Friar Bacon, who wrote a hundred years before Schwartz's discovery, supposes that by an explosive composition of this kind, Gideon defeated the Midianites with his three hundred men. Judges, c. vii.

Were it not that no mention is made of this statue by Roman writers, we might suppose it had been destroyed in very late times, long after the Arab invasion.

obelisk of Karnak *, and weighed about 887 tons 5½ hundred weight.

No building in Thebes corresponds with the description given of the tomb of Osymandyas by Hecatæus. Diodorus, who quotes his work, gives the dimensions of the first or outer court, two plethra, or 181 feet 8 inches English, agreeing very nearly with the breadth, but not the length of that now before us; but the succeeding court, of four plethra, neither agrees with this, nor can agree with that of any other Egyptian edifice, since the plan of an Egyptian building invariably requires a diminution †, but no increase of dimensions, from the entrance to the inner chambers; and while the body of the temple, behind the portico, retained one uniform breadth, the areas in front, and frequently the portico itself, exceeded the inner portion of it by their projecting sides. The peristyle and "columns in the form of living beings," roofed colonnade, sitting statues, and triple entrance to a chamber supported by columns, agree well with the approach to the great hall of this temple. The largest statue in Egypt can scarcely be looked for but in the building before us, yet the sculptures to which he alludes remind us rather of those of Medeénet Háboo; nor is it impossible that either Hecatæus or Diodorus have united or confounded the details of the two edifices. ‡ This may be more easily seen by reference to the accompanying plan of the Memnonium.

The second area is about 140 feet by 170, having on the south and north sides a row of Osiride pillars, connected with each other by two lateral corridors of circular columns. Three flights of steps lead to the northern corridor behind the Osiride pillars, the centre one having on each side a black granite statue § of Remeses II., the base of whose throne is

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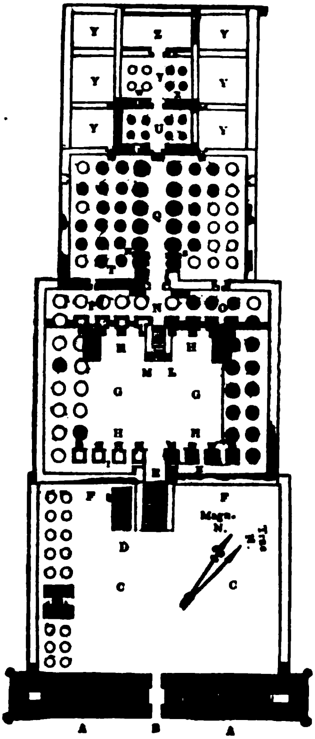
* That obelisk weighs about two hundred and ninety-seven tons ten hundred weight and two-thirds, allowing two thousand six hundred and fifty ounces to a cubic foot.

† The very door-ways decrease as they approach the sekos, or adytum, and the consequent deception in perspective adds considerably to the apparent length of these buildings.

‡ See my remarks on the situation of the Valley of the Queen's Tombs, and Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 116.

§ From this building was taken the head that has been erroneously called of Memnon, and which is now in the British Museum. It is, like the colossus before mentioned, of Remeses the Great, who founded the building.



Plan of the Memnonium, showing its great resemblance to the description of the Tomb of Osymandyas, given by Diodorus:—

A, A, Towers of the Propylon, "*πυλωνα . . . το μεν μηκος διπλεθρον, το δ' υψος τετταρακοντα και πεντε πηχων.*" B, the entrance, "*την εισοδον.*" C, C; the area, "*διελθοντι δε αυτον ειναι λιθινον περιστυλον τετραγωνον, εκαστης πλευρας ουσης τετταρων πλεθρων.*" . . . "*αντι των κιονων, ζωδια . . μονολιθα,*" as at H, H, in the next court; the area was open in the centre, and covered at the sides, "*την οροφην . . επι πλατος δυειν οργυιων.*" . . . "*εξης δε του περιστυλου τουτου παλιν ετεραν εισοδον και πυλωνα*" . . "*παρα δε την εισοδον* (E) *ανδριαντας τρεις εξ ενος λιθου . . . τουτων ενα μεν καθημενον* (D) *υπαρχειν μεγιστον παντων των κατ' Αιγυπτον.*" D is the large sitting Colossus of Remeses the Great, close to the second entrance E. "*μετα δε τον πυλωνα* (F, F) *περιστυλον του προτερου αξιολογωτερον* (O, O) *εν ῳ γλυφας . . . δηλουσας τον πολεμον.*" The battle scenes occur on these walls, and at I are traces of sculptures relating to the war; but that part, as well as J, is now in ruins. At K, the *first* wall on the right entering, the king is besieging a city surrounded by a river, "*κατα τον πρωτον των τοιχων* (K) *τον βασιλεα . . πολιορκουντα τειχος υπο ποταμου περιρρυτον.*" On the second wall were the captives led by the king, "*τα τε αιδοια και τας χειρας ουκ εχοντας,*" as at Medeenet Haboo; and in the centre of the area was an altar in the open air "*υπαιθριον,*" showing this court was also hypæthral in the centre. "*Κατα δε τον τελευταιον τοιχον υπαρχειν ανδριαντας καθημενους δυο,*" L and M,—the head of the latter of which is now in the British Museum; "*παρ' οις εισοδους τρεις* (N, O, P) *εκ του περιστυλου, καθ' ας οικον υπαρχειν υποστυλον* (Q) *ωδειου τροπον κατεσκευασμενον, εκαστην πλευραν εχοντα διπλε-*

cut to fit the talus of the ascent. Behind these columns, and on either side of the central door, is a limestone pedestal, which, to judge from the space left in the sculptures, must have once supported the sitting figure of a lion, or, perhaps, a statue of the king. Three entrances thence open into the grand hall, each strengthened and beautified by a sculptured doorway of black granite; and between the two first columns of the central avenue, two pedestals supported (one on either side) two other statues* of the king. Twelve† massive columns form a double line along the centre of this hall, and eighteen of smaller dimensions, to the right and left, complete the total of the forty-eight, which supported its solid‡ roof§ studded with stars on an azure ground. To the hall, which measures 100 feet by 133, succeeded three central and six lateral chambers, indicating, by a small flight of steps, the gradual ascent of the rock, on which this edifice is con-

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* From the form of these pedestals they were standing statues, and faced each other.

† Their height from the pavement, without the abacus, is thirty-two feet six, and circumference twenty-one feet three. The side columns are seventeen feet eight in circumference. The swell of the Egyptian column is close to the base, and I find it projects about four inches in the central columns of this hall.

‡ Such is the meaning of the word monolithon. Diod. 1. 47. Strabo's description of the Nilometer of Elephantine has been unjustly found fault with from the use of this word; while some, expecting to find a monolithic edifice, have doubted the identity of the one now existing with that which the geographer had in view.

§ In order to light this hall, the roof over the four centre rows of columns was raised above that which covered the remaining part, and had large square windows or apertures on either side, as at Karnak and old Koorneh.

θρον." R and S are pedestals, perhaps belonging to some of the statues he mentions. "*εξης δ' υπαρχειν περιπατον οικων παντοδαπων πληρη*," perhaps referring to the whole space containing the chambers U, V, Y, Z. "*εξης δ' υπαρχειν την ιεραν βιβλιοθηκην*" (U or V) "*συνεχεις δε ταυτη των θεων απαντων εικονας, του βασιλεως, ομοιως δωροφορουντος α προσηκον ην εκαστοις*," which is referred to in the sculptures of W and X. Whether his description of the parts beyond this is correct we cannot decide, as the chambers are entirely destroyed, and the general plan is scarcely to be traced; and, as it is probable Hecatæus, who is his authority, was not admitted beyond the great Hall Q, the information obtained of this part must have rested solely on report. Indeed, in this portion, he appears to have united or confounded two buildings, the temple of Remeses the Great, and that of Remeses III. at Medeenet Haboo; though with the exception of the measurement of the areas (four plethra square), his description of the first part of the Tomb of Osymandyas agrees very closely with the edifice before us; but we may be allowed to question its having been a tomb, or having been erected by that monarch.

T, Battle scene, where the testudo occurs.

structed. Of nine, two only of the central apartments now remain, each supported by four columns, and each measuring about 30 feet by 55; but the vestiges of their walls, and the appearance of the rock, which has been levelled to form an area around the exterior of the building, point out their original extent. The sculptures, much more interesting than the architectural details, have suffered still more from the hand of the destroyer; and of the many curious battle-scenes which adorned its walls four only now remain.*

On the north face of the eastern pyramidal tower, or propylon, is represented the capture of several towns from an Asiatic enemy, whose chiefs are led in bonds by the victorious Egyptians towards the camp of their army. Several of these towns are introduced into the picture, each bearing its name in hieroglyphic characters, which state them to have been taken in the fourth year of King Remeses II. This important fact satisfactorily confirms what I have stated in a former work†, that the early part of the reigns of their most illustrious monarchs was employed in extending their conquests abroad, which they returned to commemorate on the temples‡ and palaces their captives assisted in constructing. And claiming the enjoyment of that tranquillity their arms had secured and their valour merited, they employed the remainder of their reigns in embellishing their capital, and in promoting the internal prosperity of the country. Cruelty has ever been, throughout the East, the criterion of courage; and the power of a monarch or the valour of a nation have always been estimated by the inexorability of their character.§ Nor were the Egyptians behind their Asiatic neighbours in the appreciation of these qualities, and the studied introduction of unusual barbarity* proves that their sculptors intended to convey this idea to the spectator; confirming a remark of Gibbon†, that "conquerors and poets of every age have felt the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror." In the scene before us, an insolent soldier pulls the beard of his helpless captive, while others wantonly beat the suppliant, or satiate their fury with the sword. Beyond these is a corps of infantry in close array, flanked by a strong body of chariots; and a camp, indicated by a rampart of Egyptian shields, with a wicker gateway, guarded by four companies of sentries, who are on duty on the inner side, forms the most interesting object in this picture.‡ Here the booty taken from the enemy is collected; oxen, chariots, plaustra, horses, asses, sacks of gold represent the confusion incident after a battle; and the richness of the spoil is expressed by the weight of a bag of money, under which an ass is about to fall. One chief § is receiving the salutation of a foot-soldier; another, seated amidst the spoil, strings his bow; and a sutler suspends a water-skin on a pole he has fixed in the ground. Below this a body of infantry marches homewards; and beyond them the king, attended by his fan-bearers, holds forth his hand to receive the homage of the priests and principal persons, who approach his throne to congratulate his return. His charioteer is also in attendance, and the high-spirited horses of his car are with difficulty restrained by three grooms who hold them. Two captives below this are doomed to be beaten by four Egyptian soldiers; while they in vain, with out-stretched hands, implore the clemency of their heedless conqueror.

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* The traces of another may be perceived behind the granite Colossus and on the north face of this wall. On the corresponding wall similar sculptures most probably existed, others on the exterior of the areas, and perhaps even on the body of the temple itself.

† Materia Hieroglyphica, part ii. p. 92.

‡ An Ancient Egyptian prejudice may have required that every monarch who laid the foundation of a temple should have previously merited the title of conqueror; a custom partially retained by the Turks and other Asiatic nations.

§ Not unlike the picture drawn of Achilles —

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.

Hor. Ar. Poet.

The sculptures on the gateway refer to the panegyrics of the king, to whom different divinities are said to "give life and power." Over this gate passes a staircase, leading to the top of the building, whose entrance lies on the exterior of the east side.

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* This is particularly remarkable at Medeénet Hábоо.

† Gibbon, vol. ii. c. 64. note.

‡ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 394.

§ The chiefs are here armed with bows; the privates, at least the foot-soldiers, with spears, swords, and clubs. But this distinction is not always to be trusted to.

Upon the west tower is represented a battle, in which the king discharges his arrows on the broken lines and flying chariots of the enemy; and his figure and car are again introduced, on the upper part, over the smaller sculptures. In a small compartment beyond these, which is formed by the end of the corridor of the area, he stands armed with a battle-axe, about to slay the captives he holds beneath him, and who, in the hieroglyphics above, are called "the chiefs of the foreign countries." In the next compartment, attended by his fan-bearers, and still wearing his helmet, he approaches the temple; and to this the hieroglyphics before him appear to allude. On the north face of the south-east wall of the next area, is another historical subject*, representing Remeses II. pursuing an enemy, whose numerous chariots, flying over the plain, endeavour to regain the river, and seek shelter under the fortified walls of their city. One cannot fail, in looking at the details of this picture, to call to mind the battles of the Iliad; and the similarity of these subjects with the descriptions of that poem suggests that Homer† may perhaps have been indebted to his visit to Egypt for some of those scenes he has so beautifully drawn.

In order to check the approach of the Egyptians, the enemy had crossed the river, whose stream, divided into a double fosse, surrounded the towered walls of their fortified city, and opposed their advance by a considerable body of chariots; while a large reserve of infantry, having crossed the *bridges*‡, was posted on the other bank, to cover the retreat or second their advance; but, routed by the Egyptian invaders, they are forced to throw themselves back upon the town, and many, in recrossing the river, are either carried away by the stream, or fall under the arrows of the advancing conqueror. Those who have succeeded in reaching the opposite bank are rescued by their friends, who, drawn up in three phalanxes*, witness the defeat of their comrades, and the flight of the remainder of their chariots. Some carry to the rear the lifeless corpse of their chief, who was drowned in the river, and in vain endeavour to restore life, by holding the head downwards to expel the water; and others implore the clemency of the victor, and acknowledge him their conqueror and lord.

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* On a fallen block of this wall is the date of his fifth year and the month Epiphi. Remeses II., the founder of this edifice, appears throughout the sculptures. The other names, found here and there on its walls and columns, are of his son and successor, and of Remeses III., IV., and V.

† Homer flourished about 900 B.C., a little more than 400 years after the erection of this temple.

‡ These bridges are represented as if seen from above; so that it is impossible to decide if they were formed of arches, or of horizontal layers of timber. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 382.

Above this battle-scene is a procession of priests, bearing the figures of the *Theban* ancestors† of Remeses II. The first of these is Menes; then Manmoph, another Diospolitan king; and after him those of the eighteenth dynasty. The intermediate monarchs after Menes and Manmoph are omitted, from not being of a Theban family. The remaining subjects are similar to those in the coronation of the king at Medeénet Háboo, where the flight of the four birds; the king cutting ears of corn, afterwards offered to the god of generation; the queen‡; the sacred bull; and the figures of his ancestors, placed before the god, are more easily traced from the greater preservation of that building.

Beyond the west staircase of the north corridor, the king kneels before Amunre, Maut, and Khonso; Thoth notes on his palm-branch the years of the panegyries, and Mandoo, with Atmoo, introduce Remeses§ into the presence of those deities.

On the other side, forming the south wall of the great hall, is a small but interesting battle, in which the use of the ladder and of the testudo throw considerable light on the mode of warfare at this early period.* The town, situated on a lofty rock, is obstinately defended, and many are hurled headlong from its walls by the spears, arrows, and stones of the besieged; they, however, on the nearer approach of the Egyptian king, are obliged to sue for peace, and send heralds with presents to deprecate his fury, while his infantry, commanded by his sons†, are putting to the sword the routed enemy they have overtaken beneath the walls, where they had in vain looked for refuge, the gates being already beset by the Egyptian troops.

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* Over one of them is the number 8000.

† These, as well as other similar names at Medeénet Háboo, were first discovered by Mr. Burton and myself in 1825. See his first volume of Excerpta, and my Hierogl. Extracts of 1827, or Hieroglyphics of the R. Soc. of Literature, pl. 98. The whole subject was continued as at Medeénet Háboo, and appears on the fallen wall. See Anc. Egyp., pl. 76.

‡ Maut-men-Nofri-are was the first wife of Remeses II. His second queen was Isinofri. That the former was his first wife I have a satisfactory proof in an inscription at Thebes, where, with the date of his first year, her name is introduced with that of the king. She was the mother of several sons and of his favourite daughter. Indeed it appears from a tablet at Silsilis, that Isinofri was married very early to Remeses, as she is there said to be the mother of Shamakemi, his fourth son. We learn from the Memnonium that he had twenty-three sons. See below, on Silsilis.

§ In looking over the names of the Egyptian kings, it cannot but strike every one that they borrowed or quartered the symbols of those of their predecessors. The name of Remeses should perhaps be written Remesso.

I do not pretend to decide against what nation this war was waged; but it is sufficiently evident that a people of Asia are here represented; and whatever weight scepticism may have, in pronouncing these hostilities to have been carried on in the Delta, I cannot allow myself to be misled by so unfounded an hypothesis. I have already‡ stated my reasons for believing that the seat of the long war, waged by the Egyptians against these northern nations, was in the neighbourhood of Assyria and the Euphrates: and there is every probability that, were we acquainted with the earlier geography of the intermediate provinces and towns from Egypt to that country, we should find they agreed with the names attached to the captives in the temples and tombs of Thebes. If it be deemed too much for the power and extent of Egypt§ that their armies should have been able to reach the distant borders of Assyria, every one will admit the fact, that "Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Carchemish‖, by Euphrates," in the reign of Josiah, whose imprudent interference cost him his kingdom and his life. Still stronger, indeed, is the following express statement of the former extent of the Egyptian dominions, that "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt*, *unto the river Euphrates*, all that *pertained* to the king of Egypt."† And though the authorities of Herodotus and Diodorus, who make the Colchians an Egyptian colony, and of the latter, who speaks of their Bactrian subjects, may be called in question, yet the circumstantial and preponderating evidence of the Scriptures leaves no room to doubt, that the arms of the early and more potent Egyptian monarchs had extended at least as far as Assyria and the neighbouring countries. Nor does Egyptian sculpture fail to prove this interesting historical fact, which, independent of the colour of those people, of much lighter hue than the inhabitants of the Nile, is confirmed by the dress and features of the prisoners of Tirhaka‡, the Assyrians of Sennacherib, who are similar to some of those captured by the earlier Pharaohs.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 362.

† His fourth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and twenty-third sons. The seventh, generally called Amunmai, is here Maiamun, showing, what I have often remarked, that these terms are transposible. The large families of some of these monarchs will appear less incredible, when we remember that Artaxerxes had 150 children by his 250 concubines, and three by his wives. Manetho says that the Egyptian kings had many of the former, and the sculptures at Medeénet Hábоo represent those of Remeses III.

‡ Materia Hieroglyphica, pp. 85, 86. 89.

§ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. pp. 65. 83. 100. 111., &c.

‖ 2 Chronicles xxxv. 20.

The commencement of this war, which was of very long duration, probably dates soon after the death of Semiramis, who is said by some to have penetrated into Egypt, but whose effeminate successors speedily lost the conquests she had made, and were doomed in turn to witness the invasion of their own territories. And the previous aggressions of the Assyrians, by exciting the enmity of the Egyptians, may have been the origin of these protracted hostilities, which lasted at least 300 years §, or, to reckon to the epoch of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion[*], nearly 900. The captives of these Asiatic nations are continually met with as slaves of the kings and principal Egyptians; but it is remarkable that no mention is made, in the sculptures, of the bondage of the Israelites; nor do I know of any that relate to them except those of their conqueror Sheshonk (Shishak).

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* Diod. i. 68. mentions the taking of "Sidon and the subjugation of the other towns of Phœnicia" by Apries; who also defeated the Cyprians and Phœnicians in a naval fight. Necho's army had been defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, whom Necho had made king in the room of Josiah. 2 Kings xxiii. 34. Jer. xlvi. 2. But "Pharaoh's army," in the reign of his successor Zedekiah, raised the siege of Jerusalem, and obliged the Chaldeans to retire (Jer. xxxvii. 5. 11.), which agrees very well with the conquests of Apries, mentioned by Diodorus; since the victory of the king of Babylon over Pharaoh Hophra was posterior to the captivity of Zedekiah. Jer. xliv. 30. Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 162.

† 2 Kings xxiv. 7. This river of Egypt is not the Nile, but that mentioned by Joshua, xv. 4. as the boundary of the "south coast" of the Israelites.

‡ Tirhaka having fought against Sennacherib, king of Assyria. 2 Kings xix. 9.

§ Many of the same names are met with among the captives of Amunoph III., Osirei, and the second and third Remeses, which proves the identity of the countries they invaded; and though other monarchs were engaged in the prosecution of the same war, the sculptures pronounce

It would indeed be an interesting fact to discover any thing connected with their residence in Egypt; but it is in Lower Egypt rather than at Thebes, that these hopes are likely to be realised. The "strangers" at Beni Hassan have a better claim than any I have seen; and if, as I imagine, the arrivals of Joseph and of his brethren date in the reign of Osirtasen, when those grottoes were sculptured, they may be looked upon with more than common interest.[†]

To return to the great hall. One of the architraves presents a long inscription, purporting that Amunmai Remeses has made the sculptures (or the work) for his father Amunre, king of the gods, and that he has erected the hall . . . . . . of hewn stone, good and hard blocks, supported by fine columns (alluding, from their form, to those of the central colonnade) in addition to (the side) columns (being similar to those of the lateral colonnades). At the upper end of this hall, on the north-west wall, the king receives the falchion and sceptres[‡] from Amunre, who is attended by the Goddess Maut; and in the hieroglyphics mention is made of this palace of Remeses, of which the deity is said to be the guardian. We also learn from them that the king is to smite the heads of his foreign enemies with the former, and with the latter to defend or rule his country, Egypt. On the corresponding wall he receives the emblems of life and power from Amunre, attended by Khonso, in the presence of the lion-headed goddess.[§] Below these compartments, on either wall, is a

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these four to have been the most renowned for the extent of their conquests.

[*] 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

[†] See above, p. 49.

[‡] They are the two sceptres of Osiris, supposed to refer to severity and moderation. The former, however, is not a flail, as imagined from its form, since the Egyptians were unacquainted with it. The latter appears to signify dominion.

[§] She seems to be sometimes Thriphis, at others Pasht, or Bubastis.

procession of the twenty-three sons of the king; and on the west corner are three of his daughters, but without their names. His thirteenth son is here called Pthahmen, and it is highly probable that he was his successor; for, in addition to his having the same name, a kingly prenomen is here prefixed to the line of hieroglyphics in which he is mentioned. This prefix was perhaps added on his becoming heir apparent by the demise of his elder brothers, though it was altered again on his assumption of the crown.

On the ceiling of the next chamber is an astronomical subject. On the upper side of it are the twelve Egyptian months, and at the end of Mesore allusion is made to the five days of the epact and the rising of the dog-star, under the figure of Isis Sothis.* In the hieroglyphics of the border of this picture, mention is made of the columns and of the building of this chamber with "hard stone," where apparently were deposited the "*books* of Thoth." On the walls are sculptured sacred arks, borne in procession by the priests; and at the base of the door leading to the next apartment is an inscription, purporting that the king had dedicated it to Amun, and mention seems to be made of its being beautified with gold and precious ornaments. The door itself was of two folds, turning on bronze pins, which moved in circular grooves of the same metal, since removed from the stones in which they were fixed. On the north wall of the next and last room that now remains, the king is making offerings and burning incense, on one side, to Pthah and the lion-headed goddess; on the other, to Re, the sun, whose figure is gone. Large tablets before him mention the offerings he has made to different deities.

In the immediate vicinity of this temple-palace are the vestiges of another sandstone building, the bases of whose columns scarcely appear above the ground; and between this and the former ruin are several pits, of a later epoch, used for tombs by persons of an inferior class.

The one before us is Bubastis; the same whose name M. Champollion once read Koht, now Pascht.

* This gives the era of the king's reign. See the Chronological Table, Remeses II.

On the west side are also some remains of masonry, and this edifice is surrounded on three sides by crude brick vaults, which appear to have been used for habitations; but they offer no traces of inscriptions to lead us to ascertain their date, which at all events is far from being modern, as some travellers have supposed. Other vestiges of sandstone remains are traced on both sides of these brick galleries; and a short distance to the west are crude brick towers and walls, inclosing the shattered remains of a sandstone edifice, which, to judge from the stamp on the bricks themselves, was erected during the reign of Thothmes III. The total ruin of these buildings may be accounted for from the smallness of their size, the larger ones being merely defaced or partially demolished, owing to the great labour and time required for their entire destruction.

Below the squared scarp of the rock to the west of this, are other traces of sandstone; and at the south, lie two broken statues of Amunoph III., which once faced towards the palace of Remeses II. They stood in the usual attitude of Egyptian statues*, one leg placed forward, and the arms fixed to the side. Their total height was about thirty-five feet. They either belonged to an avenue leading to the temple at Kom el Hettán, or to the edifice at a short distance beyond them, which was erected by the same Amunoph, as we learn from the sculptures on its fallen walls. These consisted partly of limestone and partly of sandstone; and, to judge from the execution of the sculptures and the elegance of the statues once standing within its precincts, it was a building of no mean pretensions. Two of its sitting colossi represented Amunoph III.; the others, Pthahmen, the son and successor of Remeses II. These last were apparently standing statues in pairs, two formed of one block, the hand of one resting on the shoulder of the other; but their mutilated condition prevents our ascertaining their exact form, or the other persons represented in these groups. But an idea may be given of their colossal size by the breadth across the shoulders, which is five feet three inches; and though the sitting statues of Amunoph were much smaller, their total height could not have been less than ten feet.

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* All statues had this form before the age of Dædalus, who flourished about 1230 B.C.

I am surprised to find that M. Champollion*, in mentioning these ruins, calls them the "calcareous remains of the Menephtheion, the great building *erected* by the son and successor of Rhamses the Great;" and still more to observe that in speaking of the inscriptions at Silsilis†, he mentions the son and successor of Rhamses the Great under the name of Schahemkemé, who, as he supposes, "laying aside *this* name which he bore as prince, assumed on the monuments that of Thmeïothph." "A stela," he adds, "of the year 2, of the 5th day of Mesori, states that Silsilis furnished the stone for building the palace of the king Thmeïothph, at Thebes, where, he says, "there is no trace of it, at least to his knowledge." The successor of Remeses II. did indeed *repair* this palace of Amunoph III. with sandstone from Silsilis, but he was not, as M. Champollion evidently supposes, *its founder;* and since he considered it the building erected by him, it is singular that the existence of this palace (his Menephtheion), did not strike him in penning his letter from Thebes; and that the remains of sandstone were not observed by him, as well as the "calcareous" blocks used in its construction. But the name of Amunoph might then have hinted his claim to the title of founder; and the palace erected by Thmeïothph would still have been a desideratum.‡ If, indeed, the successor of Remeses II. is mentioned at Silsilis as its *founder*, we are still ignorant of its situation; but may not the stones taken thence have been for the *additions* he made to the original building?

About 700 feet to the south of these ruins is the Kom el Hettán, or the mound of sandstone, which marks the site of another palace and temple§ of Amunoph III.; and, to judge from the little that remains, it must have held a conspicuous rank among the finest monuments of Thebes. All that now exists of the interior are the bases of its columns, some broken statues, and Syenite sphinxes* of the king, with several lion-headed figures of black granite. About 200 feet from the north corner of these ruins are granite statues of the asp-headed goddess, and another deity, formed of one block, in very high relief. In front of the door are two large tablets (stelæ) of gritstone, with the usual circular summits†, in form of the Egyptian shield, on which are sculptured long inscriptions, and the figures of the king and queen, to whom Amunre and Sokari present the emblems of life. Beyond these, a long dromos of 1100 feet extended to the two sitting colossi‡, which, seated majestically above the plain, seem to assert the grandeur of ancient Thebes.

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* Eighteenth Letter, Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres.

† Twelfth Letter, ibid.

‡ I know not M. Champollion's reasons for making Thmeiothph and Menephtha from one and the same name. As I have not yet found his name transposed, I read Pthahmen, and not Menephtha. I mention this that the reader may not be confused by these different appellations of the son of Remeses II.

§ The temples of Thebes contained apartments for the kings as well as the priests, and may therefore be considered palaces also.

Other colossi, of nearly similar dimensions, once stood between these and the tablets before mentioned; and the fragments of two of them, fallen prostrate in the dromos, are now alone visible above the heightened level of the alluvial soil. The easternmost of the two sitting colossi has been the wonder of the ancients, and the subject of some controversy among modern writers; nor were the numerous inscriptions, which decide it to have been the Memnon of the Romans, sufficient to convince every one that this was the statue reported by ancient authors to utter a sound at the rising of the sun. Strabo, who visited it with Ælius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, confesses that he heard a sound, but could "not affirm§ whether it proceeded from the pedestal or from the statue itself, or even from some of those who stood near its base;" and independent of his total disbelief that it was uttered by the stone itself, he does not hint that the name of Memnon had as yet been given it. The superstition of the Roman visitors, however, shortly after, ascribed it to the son of Tithonus, and a multitude of inscriptions testified his miraculous powers, and the credulity of the writers.

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* These were found, by S. Yanni, below the pavement, where they must have been concealed by the priests, previous to the destruction of the temple. They are now at St. Petersburgh.

† Of this form were also the Rosetta stone, and all other similar stelæ, which refer to historical events, and which generally commence with the date of a king. There are, however, some exceptions. But I believe the Rosetta stone began in the hieroglyphics, thus: "In the ninth year of the young king," . . . . . . agreeing with the eighth year mentioned in lines 29. and 24. of the Greek; which last should be translated "in the eighth year" of his reign; and not "after eight years," as if it had been the date of the siege.

‡ These statues have been erroneously stated to be "*unconnected* with any of the various temples" of Thebes.

§ Strabo, lib. 17.

Previous to Strabo's time, the "upper part of this statue, above the throne, had been broken and hurled down," as he was told, "by the shock of an earthquake;" nor do the repairs afterwards made to it appear to date prior to the time of Juvenal, since the poet * thus refers to its fractured condition:—

> "*Dimidio* magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ."

But from the account in the Apollonius Thyaneus of Philostratus, we might conclude that the statue had been already repaired as early as the age of Juvenal, who was also a cotemporary of the emperor Domitian; since Damis, the companion of the philosopher, asserts that the "sound was uttered when the sun touched its *lips*." But the license of poetry and the fictions of Damis render both authorities of little weight in deciding this point. The foot was also broken, and repaired; but if at the same time as the upper part, the epoch of its restoration must date after the time of Adrian, or at the close of his reign; as the inscription on the left foot has been cut through to admit the cramp which united the restored part. Pliny, following the opinion then in vogue, calls it the statue of Memnon, and adds that it was erected before the Temple of Sarapis;—a strange mistake, since the temple of that deity was never admitted within the precincts of an Egyptian city †, and the worship of Sarapis was unknown in Egypt at the epoch of its foundation. ‡

The nature of the stone, which was also supposed to offer some difficulty, is a coarse hard gritstone, "spotted," according to Tzetzes' expression, with numerous chalcedonies, and here and there coloured with black and red oxide of iron. §

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* Juv. Sat. xv.

† Macrobius, Sat. i. c. 4.

‡ Macrob. loc. cit. "Tyrannide Ptolemæorum pressi hos quoque deos (Saturnum et Sarapin) in cultum recipere . . . . coacti sunt." The worship of Sarapis having been introduced by the first Ptolemy from Sinope.

§ "Ferrei coloris atque duritiæ." Plin. 36. 7.

The height of either Colossus is 47 feet[*], or 53 above the plain, with the pedestal, which, now buried from 6 feet 10 inches to 7 feet below the surface, completes, to its base, a total of 60. The repairs of the vocal statue are of blocks of sandstone, placed horizontally, in five layers, and forming the body, head[†], and upper part of the arms; but the line of hieroglyphics at the back has not been completed, nor is there any inscription to announce the era or name of its restorer.[‡] The accuracy of Pausanias, who states that "the Thebans deny this is the statue of Memnon, but of Phamenoph, their countryman," instead of clearing the point in question, was supposed to offer an additional difficulty: but the researches of Pococke and Hamilton have long since satisfactorily proved this to be the Memnon of the ancients; who, we learn by an inscription on the left foot, was supposed also to bear the name of Phamenoth. And the hieroglyphic labours of M. Champollion have thrown still further light on the question, and Amunoph once more asserts his claims to the statues he erected.

The destruction of the upper part has been attributed to Cambyses, by the writers of some of the inscriptions, and by some ancient authors, which seems more probable than the cause assigned by Strabo; since the temple to which it belonged, and the other colossi in the dromos, have evidently been levelled and mutilated by the hand of man.

The sound it uttered was said to resemble the breaking of a harp-string, or, according to the preferable authority of a witness, a metallic ring[§], and the memory of its daily performance, about the first or second hour after sunrise, is still retained in the traditional appellation of Salamat[‖], "salutations," by the modern inhabitants of Thebes. The priests, who, no doubt, contrived the sound of the statue, were artful enough to allow the supposed deity to fail occasionally in his accustomed habit, and some were consequently disappointed on their first visit, and obliged to return another morning to satisfy their curiosity.* This fact is also recorded on its feet with the precision of the credulous.

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[*] The head is a single stone.

[†] I make the west statue, by the sextant, 47 feet; and the other, by actual measurement, 47 feet 9.

[‡] Perhaps repaired by the Theban priests, who must have been considerable gainers by the credulity of those who visited their *lion*; or through the liberality of Adrian *after* his Egyptian tour.

[§] One of the inscriptions says, "Like brass when struck," *ως χαλκοιο τυπεντος*.

[‖] The names of Shama and Tama are also applied to them *collectively*.

In the lap of the statue is a stone, which, on being struck, emits a metallic sound, that might still† be made use of to deceive a visitor, who was predisposed to believe its powers; and from its position, and the squared space cut in the block behind, as if to admit a person who might thus lie concealed from the most scrutinous observer in the plain below, it seems to have been used after the restoration of the statue; and another similar recess exists beneath the present site of this stone, which might have been intended for the same purpose when the statue was in its mutilated state. Mr. Burton and I first remarked the metallic sound of this stone in 1824, and conjectured that it might have been used to deceive the Roman visitors; but the nature of the sound, which did not agree with the accounts given by ancient authors, seemed to present an insuperable objection. In a subsequent visit to Thebes, in 1830, on again examining the statue and its inscriptions, I found that one Ballilla had compared it to the striking of brass; and feeling convinced that this authority was more decisive than the vague accounts of those writers who had never heard it, I determined on posting some peasants below, and ascending myself to the lap of the statue, with a view of hearing from them the impression made by the sound. Having struck the sonorous block with a small hammer, I inquired what they heard, and their answer, "*Ente betídrob e'nahás,*" "You are striking brass," convinced me that the sound was the same that deceived the Romans, and led Strabo to observe that it appeared to him as the effect of a slight *blow*. The learned Letronne seems to think this way of accounting for the sound is not admissible. That it was a deception there can be little doubt; the fact of the Emperor Hadrian hearing it *thrice*[*] looks very suspicious; and a natural phenomenon would not have been so complimentary to the emperor when it sounded only once for ordinary mortals.

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* The Deity was polite enough to salute the emperor Adrian and his queen Sabina twice. "Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est."

† More than one modern traveller has repaired to the statue before sunrise in hopes of hearing the sound.

The form of these colossi resembles that mentioned by Diodorus, in the tomb of Osymandyas, in which the figures of the daughter and mother of the king stood on either side of the legs of the larger central statue, the length of whose foot exceeded seven cubits, or three and a half yards. Such, indeed, is the size of their feet; and on either side stand attached to the throne the wife and mother of Amunoph, in height about six yards. The traces of a smaller figure of his queen are also seen between his feet.

The proportions of the colossi are about the same as of the granite statue of Remeses II.; but they are inferior in the weight and hardness of their materials. They measure about 18 feet 3 across the shoulders; 16 feet 6 from the top of the shoulder to the elbow; 10 feet 6 from the top of the head to the shoulder; 17 feet 9 from the elbow to the fingers' end; and 19 feet 8 from the knee to the plant of the foot. The thrones are ornamented with figures of the god Nilus, who, holding the stalks of two plants peculiar to the river, is engaged in binding up a pedestal, or table, surmounted by the name of the Egyptian monarch — a symbolic group, indicating his dominion over the upper and lower countries. A line of hieroglyphics extends perpendicularly down the back, from the shoulder to the pedestal, containing the name of the Pharaoh they represent.[†]

Three hundred feet behind these are the remains of another colossus of similar form and dimensions, which, fallen prostrate, is partly buried by the alluvial deposits of the Nile.

Corresponding to this are four smaller statues[‡] formed of one block, and representing male and female figures, probably of Amunoph and his queen. They are seated on a throne, now concealed beneath the soil, and two of them are quite defaced. Their total height, without the head, which has been broken off, is 8 feet 3 inches, including the pedestal, and they were originally only about 9 feet 10 inches. They are therefore a strange pendant for a colossus of 60 feet, and even making every allowance for Egyptian symmetrophobia, it is difficult to account for their position. But the accumulation of the soil, their position on sandy ground, and their general direction satisfactorily prove that they occupy their original site.

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[*] "*Χαιρων και τριτον αχον ιη*," "rejoicing (at the presence of the Emperor) it uttered a sound a third time."

[†] Amunoph, or Amunoth, III. Pausanias (1. 42.) calls him *Φαμενωφ*, the inscriptions on the colossus *Αμενωθ*, or *Φαμενωφ*. One of the hieroglyphic characters is still uncertain. Ph is merely the article. The name was probably Amunôthp.

[‡] They measure 3 feet 6 across the shoulders, 3 feet 8 from knee to plant, 1 foot 10½ the foot, and 8 inches broad. The stone is a hard white silicious limestone. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. pp. 109. 111. and plan in Plate 18.

Eighty-three yards behind these are the fragments of another colossus which, like the last, has been thrown across the dromos it once adorned; and if the nature of its materials did not positively increase its beauty, their novelty, at least, called on the spectator to admire a statue of an enormous mass of crystallized carbonate of lime. From this point you readily perceive that the ground has sunk beneath the vocal statue, which may probably be partly owing to the numerous excavations that have been made at different times about its base.

I believe that this dromos was part of the "Royal Street" mentioned in some papyri found at Thebes; which, crossing the western portion of the city from the temple, communicated, by means of a ferry, with that of Luxor, founded by the same Amunoph, on the other side of the river; as the great dromos of sphinxes, connecting the temples of Luxor and Karnak, formed the main street in the eastern district of Thebes.

It may not be amiss to observe, with regard to the original position of the two colossi, and the rise of the alluvial soil at their base:—1st. That the dromos* descended by a gradual talus of about 2 inches in 33 feet, following the precise slope which the land *then* took, from the *present* edge of the *háger* † to the colossi. This is, according to the level of the surrounding plain; for at the statues themselves a shallow water-course makes a slight difference, which, however, is not to be estimated in order to obtain the actual surface of the alluvial deposit:—2d. That their pedestals stand upon built substructions of sandstone, lying 3 feet 10 inches below the *then* surface of the soil, or, which was the same, the level of the paved dromos:—3d. That the pedestal was buried 3 feet 10 inches below the dromos, owing to the irregular form of its lower side:—4th. That the pavement and the bases of the colossi rested not on alluvial but on a sandy soil, over which the mud of the inundation has since been deposited, and that, consequently, the Nile, during its rise, did not, at that epoch, even reach the level of the dromos:—5th. That the alluvial deposit has since risen to the height of 6 feet 10 inches *above* the surface of the dromos' pavement; that the highest water-mark is now 7 feet 8 inches above the same pavement; and that, consequently, the Nile* must overflow a very great portion of land throughout Egypt which was formerly *above* the reach of its inundation. This is contrary to the theories of several authors†, who, calculating only the elevation of the land, without observing that the bed of the river continues to rise in a similar ratio, foretell the future desert which this hitherto fertile valley is to present to its starving inhabitants.

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* The dromos was a paved approach to Egyptian temples, generally formed by an avenue of sphinxes. Sometimes two statues or stelæ commenced the avenue; but the dromos above mentioned had not only the colossi in front, but others at intervals in its course towards the temple. See above, vol. i. pp. 290, 291.

† *El Háger* is that rocky or sandy plain which is terminated on one side by the mountains, and on the other by the alluvial soil the Nile irrigates.

Continuing to the westward, along the edge of the *háger*, you arrive at the extensive mounds and walls of Christian hovels, which encumber and nearly conceal the ruins of Medeénet Háboo, having passed several remains of other ancient buildings which once covered the intermediate space.

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* El Bahr, "the ocean," is the word in use to signify the Nile; though Wadee e' Neel is the name of the valley of that river. E' Neel (Nil) more particularly refers to the inundation, as Aiam e' Neel, "the time of the Nile." Neel signifies any large river, and is often used for this word, as Neel abáwee, &c.; it also means "blue," and may hence have been originally applied to blue or deep streams. Neeleh is the Arabic name for indigo. The Egyptian god Nilus was painted of a blue colour. The ancient name of ocean is then still retained, and the epithet aëtos, "the eagle," is preserved in the modern name Tyár, "the flyer," which is applied to the current of this river. But may not Bahr be related to the Piaro, "river," (pronounced Biaro) of the Copts?

† M. Savary, M. Dolomieu, and others. "Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis."

Among these, the most remarkable are near the north-north-east corner of the mounds; where, besides innumerable fragments of sandstone, are the vestiges of two large colossi.

The ruins at Medeénet Háboo* are undoubtedly of one of the four temples† mentioned by Diodorus; the other three being those of Karnak, Luxor, and the Memnonium or first Remeseum. Strabo, whose own observation, added to the testimony of several ruins still traced on the west bank, is far more authentic, affirms that Thebes "had a great many temples, the greater part of which Cambyses defaced." Nor do these authors agree as to the extent of this city, which, according to the geographer, was 80 stadia‡ in length, while Diodorus allows the circuit to have been only 140§,—a disparity which may be partially reconciled by admitting that it was greatly enlarged after the time of Menes, to whose reign the historian here alludes.‖ The epithet Hecatompylos, applied to it by Homer, has generally been supposed to refer to the hundred gates of its wall of circuit, but this difficulty is happily solved by an observation of Diodorus, that many suppose them "to have been the propylæa of the temples"¶, and that this metaphorical expression rather implies a plurality than a definite number. Were it not so, the reader might be surprised to learn that this hundred-gated city was never enclosed by a wall—a fact fully proved by the non-existence of the least vestige of it; for, even allowing it to have been of crude brick, it would, from its great thickness, have survived the ravages of time, equally with those of similar materials of the early epoch of the third Thothmes. Or, supposing it to have been destroyed by the waters of the inundation, and buried by the alluvial deposit, in those parts which stood on the cultivated land, the rocky and uninundated acclivity of the *hâger* would at least have retained some traces of its former existence, even were it razed to the ground.

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* "The city of Háboo," a traditional king, who is said to have erected it.

† Lib. i. s. 46.

‡ About nine and a half English miles.

§ About sixteen miles, if Roman stades. Judging from the present remains, the greatest length of Thebes was five miles and a quarter, and the breadth three. See my Survey.

‖ Lib i. s. 45.

¶ These were the real bulwarks and fortresses of Thebes.

It is not alone from the authority of ancient writers that the splendour and power of this city, which could furnish 20,000 armed chariots from its vicinity, are to be estimated; but the extent of the Egyptian conquests adding continually to the riches[*] of the metropolis, the magnificence of the edifices which adorned it, the *luxe* of the individuals[†] who inhabited it, the spoil taken thence by the Persians, and the gold and silver[‡] collected after the burning[§] of the city, amply testify the immense wealth of Egyptian Thebes.

Diodorus seems to say, that the above force was not all raised in the vicinity of Thebes.[‖] But he commits a great error in the number when he computes the chariots at 20,000, and reckons only 100 stables and 200 horses in each; which, allowing two to each car, will only supply half the number; and these stables he places between Thebes and Memphis.

The first step towards the decline and fall of this city was, as we learn from Diodorus, the preference given to Memphis; and the removal of the seat of government thither, and subsequently to Saïs and Alexandria, proved as disastrous to the welfare, as the Persian invasion to the splendour, of the capital of Upper Egypt. Commercial wealth, on the accession of the Ptolemies, began to flow through other channels; Coptos and Apollinopolis[¶] succeeded to the lucrative trade of Arabia[**], and Ethiopia no longer contributed to the revenues of Thebes. And its subsequent destruction, after a three years' siege, by Ptolemy Lathyrus, struck a deathblow to the welfare and existence of this capital, which was thenceforth scarcely deemed an Egyptian city. Some few repairs were, however, made to its dilapidated temples, by Euergetes II. and some of the later Ptolemies, but it remained depopulated, and at the time of Strabo's visit it was already divided into small detached villages.

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[*] "Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana jubentur." Tacit. An. ii. 60.

[†] Homer, the sculptures of the tombs, and the remains of their furniture, fully confirm this.

[‡] Diodorus reckons upwards of 300 talents of gold, about 26,020 pounds troy weight; and 2300 of silver, or 199,518 pounds; the former worth 1,248,960*l*. sterling, the latter 598,554*l*. Diod. 1. 46.

[§] The houses at Karnak have been burnt, and bronzes, bearing evident marks of the action of fire, are frequently met with beneath the ruins of their fallen walls.

[‖] 1. 45.

[¶] Koos (Apollinopolis parva) was, in Aboolfeda's time, the next city, in size and consequence, to Fostát, or Old Cairo.

[**] It is highly probable that the Egyptians traded, at a very remote period, with the coast of Arabia, from whence a considerable quantity of spices and aromatics, constantly in use in Egypt, were imported; but this trade was greatly extended by the Ptolemies and Cæsars.

The principal part of the city, properly so called*, lay on the east bank, that on the opposite side, which contained the quarter of the Memnonia and the whole of its extensive Necropolis, bore the name of the Libyan suburb.† It is not certain whether or no cultivated spots of land were in early times admitted amidst the houses; but it appears from the sculptures of the tombs that the principal inhabitants had extensive gardens attached to their mansions, independent of their villas and farms without the city; and, in the reign of the Ptolemies, several parcels of land‡ were sold and let within the interior of the Libyan suburb.

During the empire, the village of Medeénet Hâboo was still inhabited, and the early Christians converted one of the deserted courts of the great temple into a more orthodox place of worship, by constructing an altar at the east end, and concealing with a coat of mud the idolatrous sculptures of their Pagan ancestors. The small apartments at the back part of this building were appropriated by the priests§ of the new religion, and houses of crude brick were erected on the ruins of the ancient village, and within the precincts of the temple. The size of the church, and extent of the village, prove its Christian population to have been considerable, and show that Thebes held a rank among the principal dioceses of the Coptic church.‖ But the invasion of the Arabs put a period to its existence, and its timid inmates, on their approach, fled¶ to the neighbourhood of Es'né. From thenceforth it ceased to hold a place among the villages of Thebes.

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* "Part of it is on the Arabian side, in which is the city, and part on the opposite bank. Strabo, 17.

† Papyri of Paris of S. D'Anastasi and Mr. Grey.

‡ Ibid.

§ I have been led to this conclusion by finding in them one of the large gilt crosses which ornamented the dresses of the priests.

‖ I have met with the name of a bishop of Maximianopolis, in an inscription in the eastern desert; but this was a Greek see, which Pococke supposes to have been the modern Medamot, near Thebes. See above, p. 133.

¶ See below, on Es'né, p. 268.

It was probably on this occasion that the granite doorway was entered by violence; though it is difficult to ascertain whether it took place then, or during the siege of the Persians, or Ptolemies. But it is curious to observe that the granite jambs have been cut through, exactly at the part where the bar was placed across the door.

Beginning at the southern extremity of these ruins, the first object is an open court, about eighty feet by one hundred and twenty-five, whose front gate bears, on either jamb, the figure and name of Autocrator, Cæsar, Titus, Ælius, Adrianus, Antoninus, Eusebes. Besides this court, Antoninus Pius added a row of eight columns, united (four on either side) by intercolumnar screens, which form its north end; and his name again appears on the inner faces of the doorway, the remaining part being unsculptured. On the north of the transverse area, behind this colonnade, are two pyramidal towers, apparently of Roman date, and a pylon uniting them, which last bears the names and sculptures of Ptolemy Lathyrus on the south, and of Dionysus* on the north face. To this succeeds a small hypæthral court and pyramidal towers of the vanquisher of Sennacherib, which, previous to the Ptolemaïc additions, completed the extent of the elegant and well-proportioned vestibules of the original temple. This court was formed by a row of four columns on either side, the upper part of which rose considerably above the screens, that united them to each other and to the towers at its north extremity. Here Nectanebo† has effaced the name of Tirhaka and introduced his own; and the hieroglyphics of Ptolemy Lathyrus have usurped a place among the sculptures of the Ethiopian monarch.‡

Passing these towers, you enter another court, sixty feet long, on either side of which stood a row of nine columns, with a lateral entrance to the right and left. The jambs of one of these gateways still remain. They are of red granite, and bear the name of Petamunap, who[*], if he be the same whose extensive tomb lies in the Assaséef, probably lived under the twenty-sixth dynasty, and was a person of great consequence and unusual affluence, of the priestly order, and president of the scribes. He was deceased at the time of its erection.

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* Neus Dionysus or Auletes.

† Of Sebennytus, first king of the thirtieth dynasty. Pliny calls him "Nectabis . . . . ante Alexandrum annis quingentis." Book xxxvi. c. 13.

‡ Tirhaka was an Ethiopian; but he evidently ruled at Thebes; while the lower country was perhaps left to the feeble sway of the priest-king Sethos.

The corresponding door is, like the rest of the edifice, of sandstone, from the quarries of Silsilis. This court may be called the inner vestibule, and to it succeeds the original edifice, composed of an isolated sanctuary, surrounded on three sides by a corridor of pillars, and on the fourth by six smaller chambers.

The original founder of this part of the building was the monarch[†] who raised the great obelisk of Karnak; Thothmes II. continued or altered the sculptures; and Thothmes III. completed the architectural details of the sanctuary and peristyle. To these were afterwards added the hieroglyphics of Remeses III. on the outside of the building, to connect, by similarity of external appearance, the palace-temple of his predecessors with that he erected in its vicinity. Some restorations were afterwards made by Ptolemy Physcon; and in addition to the sculptures of the two front doorways, he repaired the columns[‡] which support the roof of the peristyle. Hakóris, second king of the twenty-ninth dynasty, had previously erected the wings on either side, and with the abovementioned monarchs he completes the number of eleven[§], who have added repairs or sculptures to this building.

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[*] Petamunaph, or Petamuntápé, for his name was compounded of Petamun, and Tápe, Apé, or Thebes. Ap and Aph are synonymous. P in Thebaïc frequently becomes ph in Memphitic. Pet, as I had occasion to observe in my "Materia Hieroglyphica," does not signify "belonging to," but "giver," as petthap, "the giver of justice." Petamun is Diodotus. His wife appears to have been one of the Pallaces of Amun.

[†] The name of this monarch is uncertain. I have called it Amun-neitgori (Nitocris?). See list of Kings, Nos. Q a, R a. M. Champollion gives him the title and name of "the Regent Amenenthe." I believe this regent to be a female, being always called "*she*," though dressed as a king.

[‡] They bear the hieroglyphics and name of Thothmes III., but several blocks, with which they have been repaired, have those of Psamaticus II., and some of the princesses of the twenty-sixth dynasty, reversed, and once concealed by a coat of stucco.

[§] There is also a line of hieroglyphics at the door of the sanctuary, containing the name of the successor of Amunoph III., beginning,—"This additional work," i. e. sculpture. It will scarcely read "repairs," where none had been made, particularly as this is in the midst of the sculptures of Thothmes III.

About 95 feet from the east side of the inner court is a basin, cased with hewn stone, whose original dimensions may have been about 50 feet square; beyond which, to the south, are the remains of a large crude brick wall, with another of stone, crowned by Egyptian battlements *, and bearing the name of Remeses V. by whom it was probably erected. This wall turns to the north along the east face of the mounds, and either enclosed the whole of this village or the part containing the temples, and was, in that case, united to the east side of the front tower of the great temple. Close to the tank is a broken statue, bearing the ovals of Remeses II., and of Taia, the wife of Amunoph III., his ancestor; and several stones, inscribed with the name of this Remeses, have been used in the construction of the gateway of Lathyrus and the adjoining towers.

I next proceed to notice the great temple and palace of Remeses III.† The south part consists of a building once isolated, but since united by a wall with the towers of the last-mentioned temple ‡, before which two lodges form the sides of its spacious entrance. In front of this stood a raised platform, strengthened by masonry, bearing the name of the founder of the edifice, similar to those met with before the dromos of several Egyptian monuments. After passing the lodges you arrive at a lofty building, resembling a pyramidal tower on either hand, between which runs an oblong court, terminated by a gateway, which passes beneath the chambers of the inner or north side. The whole of this edifice constituted the pavilion of the king; and in addition to several chambers, that still remain, several others stood at the wings, and in the upper part, which have been de-

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* In the form of Egyptian shields, from which, no doubt, the shape of the battlements is borrowed. The half shield, which generally terminates the two ends of an Egyptian battled wall, may have given the idea of the ornament placed at each corner of ancient sarcophagi, as that of Scipio and others. The same half battlement occurs on the Xanthus or Fellows marbles, in the British Museum. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 123.

† M. Champollion reads Rhamses Meiamoun; but the title Meiamoun is in the first, the name Rhamses in the second oval. This *hysteron proteron* is forced, in order to make it agree with Manetho's name; but Remeses II. has quite as fair a claim to that given by Manetho, and even better, since the title and name are contained in one and the same oval. Amunmei and Meiamun are frequently found convertible or synonymous.

‡ In order not to repeat temple and palace, I use the former only

stroyed. The sculptures on the walls of these private apartments are the more interesting, as they are singular instances of the decorations that adorned the interior of an Egyptian palace. Here the king is attended by his *haréem*, some of whom present him with flowers, or wave before him fans and flabella; a favourite is caressed or invited to divert his leisure hours with a game of chess, or rather draughts; but they are all obliged to stand in his presence, and the king alone is seated on an elegant *fauteuil*, amidst his female attendants,—a custom still prevalent throughout the East. M. Champollion supposes the partner of Remeses to be the queen, but she is evidently only one of the members of his *haréem*, and no mention is here made of his consort. Indeed her oval is always blank, wherever it occurs, throughout the temple.

The same game of draughts is represented in the grottoes of Beni Hassan, which are of a much more early period than the era of the third Remeses, and date about 1700 B.C. in the time of Osirtasen, the cotemporary of Joseph.* That it is not chess, is evident from the men being all of similar size and form, varying only in colour on opposite sides of the board. I have sometimes seen them with human heads; and some have been found of a small size, with other larger pieces, as if there was a distinction, like our kings and common men in draughts.

Many have doubted the existence of chess before the time of the Arabs, and others contend that it was known to the ancients. Indeed its invention is said by some to have taken place at the siege of Troy, and Plato† ascribes "the art of reckoning, geometry, astronomy, letters, and the games of *chess* and hazard, to Thoth." But it is difficult to say whether what they call chess be not the game so like draughts represented on the Egyptian monuments; and there is more reason to believe that what we know under that name is of Persian or Arab origin.‡

On the front walls the conqueror smites his suppliant captives in the presence of Amunre, who, on the north-east side, appears under the form of Re, the physical Sun, with the head of a hawk. An ornamental border, representing "the chiefs" of the vanquished nations, extends along the base of the whole front; and on either side of the oblong court, or passage of the centre, Remeses offers similar prisoners to the deity of the temple, who says,—"Go, my cherished* and chosen, make war† on foreign nations, besiege their forts, and carry off their people to live as captives."‡

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. pp. 419, 420, 421.

† Plato in Phædo. (Trans. Taylor, p. 364.)

‡ The origin of some of our names in chess is curious:—Checkmate is *Shah mat*, "the king is dead;" the rook or castle is *Rookn*, the "corner piece;" the queen is called Vizeer; the knight is Fares, "the knight;" but the bishop is *feel*, the "elephant."

Here ornamented balustrades, supported each by four figures of African and Northern barbarians§, remind us of Gothic taste; and the summit of the whole pavilion was crowned with a row of shields, the battlements of Egyptian architecture. Hence a dromos of 265 feet led to the main edifice to the N.W., whose front is formed of two lofty pyramidal towers, or *propyla*, with a *pylon* or doorway between them, the entrance to the first area or *propylæum*. ‖

The sculptures over this door refer to the *panegyries*¶ of the king, whose name, as at the palace of Remeses II., appears in the centre. Those on the west tower represent the monarch about to slay two prisoners in the presence of Pthah Sokari, others being bound below and behind the figure of the god. In the lower part is a tablet, commencing with the twelfth year of Remeses; and on the east tower, the same conqueror smites similar captives before Amunre. Beneath are other names of the conquered cities or districts of this northern enemy; and at the upper part of the propylon, a figure of colossal proportion grasps a group of suppliant captives his uplifted arm is about to sacrifice. Amunre, under the form of Re, holds forth the sword of vengeance, and addresses the king in a long speech (contained in nineteen lines), announcing that the Gentiles, or foreigners of Libya, are beaten down beneath his* mighty feet; that the god has come to give him the chiefs of the Gentiles of the South, to carry away them and their children, . . . the goods of their country, . . . and smite them with his sword, . . . that he gives the North countries. . . . and to reduce the land of . . . under his powerful sandals; . . . that the god gives him the nations . . . to bring to the land of Egypt . . . the gold and silver to serve for the decoration of the temple (he erected) . . . that he gives him dominion over the East . . . and the land of Pount, ... that he gives him dominion over the West . . . . and other countries, whose names I have not been able to ascertain. Such, however, is the form of this inscription, of which I have given merely a general outline.

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* From temmo, nutrire. † From shogé, "to contend."

‡ The word before the figure of the captive seems to be derived from sek, "to lead away."

§ If the Greeks called all foreigners "barbarians," the Egyptians were not less *liberal* in the mode of stigmatising their enemies, who were in addition looked upon as impure. A similar idea pervaded other nations, and, above all, the Jews; nor are the natives of uncivilised countries, even in the present era, considered undeserving the degrading name of *savage*, which has been kindly appropriated to them. The Jewish expression, Gentiles, appears to suit exactly the Egyptian hieroglyphic, signifying foreigners, countries, or nations.

‖ The names of the different parts of Egyptian temples depend on their plans. The hypæthral courts may be called areas, vestibules, or propylæa; and in these temples of Thebes, there is in reality no part which needs the name of portico, the roofed chamber of the grand colonnade being rather h e grand hall. See above, Vol. I. pp. 291, 292.

¶ Or assemblies.

Passing through the pylon, you enter a large hypæthral court, about 110 feet by 135, having *on one side* a row of seven Osiride pillars, and *on the other* eight circular columns, with bell-formed capitals, generally, though erroneously, supposed to represent the full-blown lotus.

Columns of this form are usually met with in the great halls of these temples, and are undoubtedly the most elegant of the Egyptian orders. The plant from which their capital is borrowed is frequêntly seen in the sculptures of the tombs at Thebes, where every traveller must have observed the great distinction maintained between this and the blossom of the lotus, whose character not only differs from the one in question, but is very faithfully portrayed, both as to colour and general outline. For some time I imagined the form of this capital to have been derived from the leaf of the Faba Ægyptiaca†, but from finding this plant represented growing at a distance from the water with the garden-trees,

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* The word "his," in the original, is of course "thy," as the god addresses the king.

† The Nymphæa Nelumbo of Linnæus, a plant *now* unknown on this side of the Indian Ocean. What are called lotus-bud capitals are probably also taken from the bud of the papyrus.

I have been obliged to renounce this opinion, and am still undecided as to its name and nature. It is perhaps the papyrus.

The singular effect of the above-mentioned strange symmetrophobia cannot now be well seen, owing to the mounds and crude brick walls, which encumber and nearly conceal these two corridors; but it can never be considered a proof of good taste, though the Egyptians are sometimes right in avoiding the monotony of formal repetition. On the north face of the front towers is a long tablet of hieroglyphics, beginning with the eleventh year of Remeses III., the founder of this temple, on one side; and on the other, besides similar tablets, is the discomfiture of an Asiatic enemy, whose infantry, armed with long straight swords, fly before the victorious monarch. The name of the Mashaoasha occurs in the hieroglyphics, though they are of the Rebo nation, whom I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

On the western pyramidal tower, at the inner end of the first court, Remeses III. leads the prisoners he has taken of the Tochari* to Amunre, who presents the falchion of vengeance†, which the king‡ holds forth his hand to receive, saying, "Go, my cherished and chosen; make war on (or vanquish for yourself)... whom you smite with your sword and trample upon§;" and in the third line, he bids him "slay the chiefs of the foreigners, both men and women."‖ On the corresponding propylon is a large tablet, beginning with the "eighth year of his beloved Majesty" Remeses III., relating to his conquests in the North. The doorway, or pylon, between these towers, is of red granite, the hieroglyphics on whose jambs are cut to the depth of two or three inches. Those on the outer face contain offerings to different deities, among which we find a representation of the gateway itself; and at the base of the imposts are four lines, stating that "Remeses made this work for his father Amunre, (and) erected for him (this) fine gateway of good blocks of granite * stone, the door itself of wood † strengthened ‡ with plates of precious metals; gracious is his name (Remeses III.)" &c. §

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* Their handcuffs are similar to those used in Egypt at the present day. These last are two wooden segments of a circle, whose two ends are nailed together at the top and bottom, after the hands are introduced between them. This fetter is the character *r*, frequently called a mouth, being supposed to agree with ro, "the mouth," in Coptic. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 396., and vol. ii. p. 92.

† It is in fact the Egyptian sword; but it here seems to imply vengeance.

‡ This is not the case on the front of the pavilion, where the king has already a weapon in his hand. The hieroglyphics there read, "I proffer unto you strength? Son of a god, beloved of a god, strike you the heads of the Gentiles," &c. The group at the beginning will also read, "take to yourself;" "take," or "bring," from eshop, or shop, "suscipere;" but what follows cannot be "this weapon," as M. Champollion supposes.

§ From taho, "insistere," followed by the demonstrative sign.

‖ See what I have said of their treatment of the conquered, in Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. pp. 396, 397.

The summit of this pylon is crowned by a row of sitting cynocephali (or apes ‖), the emblems of Thoth.

The next area is far more splendid, and may be looked upon as one of the finest which adorn the various temples of Egypt. Its dimensions are about 123 feet by 133, and its height from the pavement to the cornice, 39 feet 4. It is surrounded by an interior peristyle, whose east and west sides are supported by five massive columns, the south by a row of eight Osiride ¶ pillars, and the north by a similar number, behind which is an elegant corridor of circular columns, whose effect is unequalled by any other in Thebes. Nor do the colours, many of which are still preserved, tend in a little to add to the beauty of its columns, of whose massive style some idea may be formed, from their circumference of nearly twenty-three feet, to a height of twenty-four, or about three diameters.

In contemplating the grandeur of this court, one cannot but be struck with the paltry appearance of the Christian colonnade that encumbers the centre; or fail to regret the demolition of the interior of the temple, whose architraves were

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* I had before supposed this to read "as was right," but since find there is good reason to adopt the above reading, in conformity with the opinion of M. Champollion.

† Here the word *she*, "wood," is followed by the figure of a tree and a branch.

‡ From amoni, "to strengthen."

§ The end of it appears to signify "Amun praises its sculpture."

‖ It must be confessed that the peculiar animals of some of the ancient deities do not appear, according to our ideas, to do much honour to the exalted personages of whom they were the representatives.

¶ Each of these square pillars has attached to it a colossal figure of the king, under the form and bearing the emblems of Osiris, whence I have borrowed the above name, in preference to that of Caryatides, which too appear to have owed their invention, in spite of the authority of Vitruvius, to these Egyptian figures.

levelled to form the columns that now spoil the architectural effect of the area; and the total destruction of the Osiride figures, which once adorned its pillars. But if the rigid piety, or the domestic convenience, of the early Christians destroyed much of the ornamental details of this grand building, we are partly repaid by the interesting sculptures they unintentionally preserved, beneath the clay or stucco with which they concealed from their view what they had not time or patience to deface.

The architraves present the dedication of the "palace of Remeses at Thebes," which is said to have been built of good hard blocks of sandstone, and the adytum to have been beautified with precious stones and silver. Mention is also made of a door-way of hard stone, ornamented in a manner similar to the one before noticed.

On the east, or rather north-east wall, Remeses is borne in his shrine, or canopy, seated on a throne ornamented by the figures of a lion, and a sphinx which is preceded by a hawk.* Behind him stand two figures of Truth† and Justice, with outspread wings. Twelve Egyptian princes, sons of the king‡, bear the shrine; officers§ wave flabella around the monarch; and others, of the sacerdotal order, attend on either side, carrying his arms and insignia. Four others follow; then six of the sons of the king, behind whom are two scribes and eight attendants of the military class, bearing stools and the steps of the throne. In another line are members of the sacerdotal order, four other of the king's sons, fan-bearers, and military scribes; a guard of soldiers bringing up the rear of the procession. Before the shrine, in one line, march six officers, bearing sceptres and other insignia; in another, a scribe reads aloud the contents of a scroll he holds unfolded in his hand, preceded by two of the king's sons and two distinguished persons of the military and priestly orders.

The rear of both these lines is closed by a pontiff‖, who, turning round towards the shrine, burns incense before the monarch; and a band of music, composed of the trumpet, drum, double pipe, and a sort of *crotala* or clappers[*], with choristers[†], forms the van of the procession. The king, alighted from his throne, officiates as priest before the statue of Amun-Khem, or Amunre Generator; and, still wearing his helmet, he presents libations and incense before the altar, which is loaded with flowers and other suitable offerings. The statue of the god, attended by officers bearing flabella[‡], is carried on a palanquin, covered with rich drapery, by twenty-two priests; and behind it follow others, bringing the table and the altar of the deity. Before the statue is the sacred bull, followed by the king on foot, wearing the cap of the "lower country." Apart from the procession itself stands the queen, as a spectator of the ceremony; and before her, a scribe reads a scroll he has unfolded. A priest turns round to offer incense to the white bull, and another, clapping his hands, brings up the rear of a long procession of hieraphori, carrying standards, images, and other sacred emblems; and the foremost bear the statues of the king's ancestors.

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* The emblem of the king as Phrah (Pharaoh).

† This refers to the double character of this goddess, my authority for whose name I have given in my Materia Hierog., p. 45.

‡ They are always distinguished by a badge appended from their head-dress, inclosing probably the lock of hair usually denoting son or child.

§ Probably the Pterophori.

‖ Not the "eldest son of the king," as M. Champollion supposes.

This part of the picture refers to the *coronation* of the king, who, in the hieroglyphics, is said to have "put on the crown of the upper and lower countries;" which the carrier pigeons, flying to the four sides of the world, are to announce to the gods of the south, north, east, and west.[§] Such appears to be the meaning of this ceremony, rather than the "*triumph*" of the king; and the presence of Remeses, wearing for the *first time* the above-mentioned crown, and the great analogy between this and part of the text of the Rosetta stone, fully justify this opinion. In the next compartment, the president of the assembly reads a long invocation, the contents of which are contained in the hieroglyphic inscription above; and the six ears of corn *, which the king, once more wearing his helmet, has cut with a golden sickle, are held out by a priest towards the deity. The white bull, and the images of the king's ancestors are deposited in his temple, in the presence of Amun Khem, the queen still witnessing the ceremony, which is concluded by an offering of incense and libation, made by Remeses to the statue of the god. †

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[*] They are two short cylindrical maces, probably of metal (surmounted by the head of a man or other ornamental device), which the performer strikes together. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 257., and vol. iv. p. 279.

[†] The choristers, if I may so call them, respond to the time by the clapping of their hands; they almost always attend in their musical fêtes. Clappers were used by the Greeks as by the Chinese.

[‡] The larger of these are in fact umbrellas, the smaller ones fans or fly-flaps. Flabella of a similar kind are carried before the Pope at the present day.

[§] I am indebted for the construction of this part of it to M. Champollion's letter.

In the lower compartments, on this side of the temple, is a procession of the arks of Amunre, Maut, and Khonso, which the king, whose ark is also carried ‡ before him, comes to meet. In another part, the gods Ombte and Hor-Hat § pour alternate emblems of life and power over the king; and on the south wall he is introduced by several divinities into the presence of the patron deities of the temple. In the upper part of the west wall, Remeses makes offerings to Pthah-Sokari and to Kneph; in another compartment he burns incense to the ark of Sokari; and near this is a tablet relating to the offerings made to the same deity. The ark is then borne by sixteen priests, with a pontiff and another of the sacerdotal order in attendance. The king joins in another procession formed by eight of his sons and four chiefs, behind whom two priests turn round to offer incense to the monarch. The hawk, the emblem of the king, or of Horus, precedes them, and eighteen priests carry the sacred emblem of the god Nofri-Atmoo, which usually accompanies the ark of Sokari.

On the south wall marches a long procession, composed of hieraphori, bearing different standards, thrones, arks, and insignia, with musicians, who precede the king and his attendants. The figure of the deity is not introduced, perhaps intimating that this forms part of the religious pomp of the corresponding wall; and from the circumstance of the king here wearing the *pshent*, it is not improbable it may also allude to his coronation.

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* A fit emblem for an agricultural people.

† See Ancient Egyptians, Plate 76.

‡ Comp. Rosetta stone.

§ I have not yet been able to ascertain the name of the former of the deities. The latter is the god Agathodæmon, and I have found the first character of his name as an *h*, in the word Ptha*h*. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. pp. 414 and 412.

The commencement of the interesting historical subjects of Medeénet Háboo is in the south-west còrner of this court, on the inner face of the tower. Here Remeses standing in his car, which his horses at full speed carry into the midst of the enemy's ranks, discharges his arrows on their flying infantry. The Egyptian chariots join in the pursuit, and a body of their allies assist* in slaughtering those who oppose them, or bind them as captives. The right hands† of the slain are then cut off as trophies of victory. The sculptures on the west wall are a continuation of the scene. The Egyptian princes and generals conduct the "captive chiefs" into the presence of the king. He is seated at the back of his car, and the spirited horses are held by his attendants on foot. Large heaps of hands‡ are placed before him, which an officer counts one by one, as the other notes down their number on a scroll, each heap containing 3000, and the total indicating the returns of the enemy's slain. The number of captives, reckoned 1000 in each line, is also mentioned in the hieroglyphics above, where the name of the Rebo points out the nation against whom this war was carried on. Their flowing dresses, striped horizontally with blue or green bands on a white ground, and their long hair and aquiline nose give them the character of some Eastern nation in the vicinity of Assyria and Persia, as their name reminds us of the Rhibii of Ptolemy. But it is not my intention to enter into a dissertation on this subject at present; and future discoveries may throw more light on the scenes of these interesting wars. A long hieroglyphic inscription is placed over§ the king, and a still longer tablet, occupying a great part of this wall, refers to the exploits of the Egyptian conqueror, and bears the date of his fifth year.

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* The same whom this monarch is represented as having vanquished in another battle scene of this temple. M. Champollion calls them the Fekkaros; but is there any authority for the first character?

† Some of the slain are without the left hand; but I have found no instance of both being taken from the same person.

‡ Another heap consists also of phalli, which are evidently neither of Jews nor Colchians.

§ M. Champollion gives a translation of this; but he does not of course intend it to be a literal one.

The suite of this historical subject continues on the south wall. The king, returning victorious to Egypt, proceeds slowly in his car*, conducting in triumph the prisoners he has made, who walk beside and before it, three others being bound to the axle. Two of his sons attend as fanbearers†, and the several *regiments* of Egyptian infantry, with a corps of their allies, under the command of three other of these princes, marching in regular step and in the close array of disciplined troops, accompany their king. He arrives at Thebes, and presents his captives to Amunre and Maut, the deities of the city, who *compliment* him, as usual, on the victory he has gained, and the overthrow of the enemy he has "trampled beneath his feet."‡

On the north wall the king presents offerings to different gods, and below is an ornamental kind of border, composed of a procession of the king's sons and daughters. Four of the former, his immediate successors, bear the asp or basilisk §, the emblem of majesty, and have their kingly ovals added to their names.

Passing through the centre door, on the inner or north side of this corridor, you arrive at the site of the portico. On either side of the entrance the king is attended by his consort, who, as usual, holds the sistrum, but her name is not introduced. Some of the chambers at the back part of the building remain, and may be visited by descending amidst the masses of crude brick walls which encumber them; but the greater part are entirely buried and concealed.

If the sculptures of the area arrest the attention of the antiquary, or excite the admiration of the traveller, those of the exterior of the building are no less interesting in an historical point of view, and the north and east walls are covered with a profusion of the most varied and instructive subjects.

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* The whip he holds is frequently represented, and generally similar to this. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 106. Plate 1.

† This is one of the many instances of the peculiar severity of filial duties in the East.

‡ I avail myself of this opportunity of noticing an error in the vocabulary of my Materia Hierog. under the word "strong;" the second and third group should read "powerful sandals," and the fifth "overpowered" or "conquered."

§ M. Champollion has very satisfactorily derived its Greco-Egyptian name *ouraios*, "royal," from *ouro*, the Egyptian word for "king." Basilisk has the same meaning "royal."

At the north-east extremity of the end wall a trumpeter assembles the troops, who salute the king as he passes in his car. In the first compartment on the east side, Remeses advances at a slow pace in his chariot, attended by fanbearers, and preceded by his troops. A lion running at the side of the horses, reminds us of the account given of Osymandyas, who was said to have been accompanied in war by that animal; and another instance of it is met with at e' Dayr, in Nubia, among the sculptures of the same Remeses. Second compartment: — He continues his march*, his troops leading the van, and a trumpeter summons them to form for the attack. Third compartment: — The Rebo await the Egyptian invaders in the open field; the king presses forwards in his car, and bends his bow against the enemy. Several regiments of Egyptian archers in close array advance on different points, and harass them with showers of arrows. The chariots rush to the charge, and a body of Asiatic allies† maintains the combat, hand to hand, with the Rebo, who are *at length* routed, and fly before their victorious aggressors. Some thousands are left dead on the field, whose tongues‡ and hands being cut off, are brought by the Egyptian soldiers as proofs of their success. Three thousand, five hundred, and thirty-five hands and tongues form part of the registered returns; and two other heaps and a third of tongues, containing each a somewhat larger number, are deposited under the superintendence of the chief officers, as trophies of victory. The monarch then alights from his chariot and distributes rewards to his troops. In the next compartment the king's military secretaries draw up an account of the number of spears, bows, swords, and other arms taken from the enemy, which are laid before them; and mention seems to be made in the hieroglyphics of the horses* that have been captured.

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* This evidently denotes the distance marched by the Egyptians before they reached the enemy's country.

† They are the Sha***, a maritime people, whose features and high-furred caps particularly denote their Asiatic origin; and a large amulet suspended from their neck reminds us of a custom very usual among the nations of the East.

‡ The Turks, at the present day, cut off the right ear. Some *sacks* of these trophies were sent by the Defterdar Bey to Cairo during the war with the upper country.

Remeses then proceeds in his car, having his bow and sword in one hand and his whip in the other, indicating that his march still lies through an enemy's country. The van of his army is composed of a body of chariots; the infantry in close order, preceding the royal car, constitute the centre, and other similar corps form the flank and rear. They are again summoned by sound of trumpet to the attack of another Asiatic† enemy, and in the next compartment the Egyptian monarch gives orders for the charge of the hostile army drawn up in the open plain. Assisted by their allies, the Shairetana, a maritime people armed with round bucklers and spears, they fall upon the undisciplined troops of the enemy, who, after a short conflict, are routed, and retreat in great disorder. The women endeavour to escape with their children on the first approach of the Egyptians, and retire in plaustra‡ drawn by oxen.§ The flying chariots denote the greatness of the general panic, and the conquerors pursue them to the interior of the country. Here, while passing a large morass, the king is attacked by several lions‖, one of which, transfixed with darts and arrows, he lays breathless beneath his horse's feet; another attempts to fly towards the jungle, but, receiving a last and fatal wound, writhes in the agony of approaching death.¶ A third springs up from behind his car, and the hero prepares to receive and check its fury with his spear. Below this group is represented the march of the Egyptian army, with their allies*, the Shairetana, the Sha***, and a third corps, armed with clubs, whose form and character are but imperfectly preserved.†

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* The figure of the horse is, as usual, preceded by its name Hthôr.

† This people are called Fekkaros by M. Champollion. I am ignorant of the force of the first character and of his reasons for adopting the F. May they not be the Tochari? "a large tribe," according to Ptolemy, on the north-east of Bactria, and at no great distance from he Rhibii. If any of the sculptures of Thebes refer to the rebellion of the Bactrians, they are here.

‡ Plaustra were also used in Egypt from the earliest times, and are mentioned in Genesis, xlv. 19. &c. Strabo also speaks of them. They are the more remarkable here as putting us in mind of a custom very prevalent among some Eastern nations of posting their waggons in the rear when going to battle. The Tartars of later times were noted for this custom.

§ With the hump of Indian cattle. They seem to have been formerly very common in Egypt also, as they are at present in Kordofân and Sennâr. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 369. Woodcut 65.

‖ One modern author has supposed this to represent a lion chase; another has discovered the lion of Osymandyas, which *assisted* him in battle. We have frequently known sportsmen shoot their *own* dogs, but nothing justifies a similar opinion with regard to the king on this occasion.

¶ The position of this lion is very characteristic of the impotent fury

The enemy, having continued their rapid retreat, take refuge in the ships of a maritime nation‡, to whose country they have retired for shelter. The Egyptians attack them with a fleet of galleys, which in their shape differ essentially from those used on the Nile.§ The general form of the vessels of both combatants is very similar; a raised gunnel, protecting the rowers from the missiles of the foe, extends from the head to the stern, and a lofty poop and forecastle contain each a body of archers; but the head of a lion, which ornaments the prows of the Egyptian galleys, serves to distinguish them from those of the enemy. The former bear down their opponents, and succeed in boarding them and taking several prisoners. One of the hostile galleys is upset, and the *slingers* in the shrouds, with the archers and spearmen on the prows, spread dismay among the few who resist. The king, trampling on the prostrate bodies of the enemy‖, and aided by a corps of bowmen, discharges from the shore a continued shower of arrows; and his attendants stand at a short distance with his chariot and horses, awaiting his return. Below this scene the conquering army leads in triumph the prisoners of the two nations they have captured in the naval fight, and the amputated hands of the slain are laid in heaps before the military chiefs. Though this custom savours of barbarism, the humanity of the Egyptians is very apparent in the above conflict; where the soldiers on the shore and in

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of the disabled animal. Of the third little is seen but part of the fore paw; the attitude of the king supplies the rest.

[*] No doubt in the pay of the Egyptians. Strabo says they had mercenary troops, from an ancient epoch.

[†] For these various nations, see Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 365—390. and 287.

[‡] The Shairetana; part of the same people who joined the Egyptians as allies in his war. The expression maritime people may imply merely that they lived near a large river or lake.

[§] See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. pp. 203. and 190.

[‖] This shows that they had been engaged on shore, previous to their taking refuge in their ships.

the boats do their utmost to rescue their enemies from a watery grave.

The lake here represented is probably one of the inland seas or lakes in Asia. And it is highly probable that the war against such distant nations was the occasion of the revolt of the Tochari, part of whom had served with the Egyptians against the Rebo. But the complete success of Remeses over his enemies necessarily led to the punishment of the Tochari, whose defection at such a crisis justly excited the vengeance of the Egyptians; and their immediate defeat and subsequent flight to a neighbouring tribe prove (and very satisfactorily has the artist conveyed an idea of this fact to the spectator) that they had not the same power of resisting the yoke of their masters, as the maritime nation, on whose successful opposition to the Egyptians they had founded the hopes of their own safety. Thus may we account for their being, in one instance, the allies of the Egyptians *against* the Rebo, and for the march of Remeses to their country *after* the defeat of that people; which might at first sight appear to present some difficulty.

In the next compartment, the king distributes rewards to his victorious troops, and then proceeding to Egypt, he conducts in triumph the captive Rebo and Tochari (Tokkari?) whom he offers to the Theban Triad, Amun, Maut, and Khonso.

In the compartments above these historical scenes, the king makes suitable offerings to the gods of Egypt; and on the remaining part of the east wall, to the south of the second propylon, another war is represented.

In the first picture, the king alighted from his chariot, armed with his spear and shield, and trampling on the prostrate bodies of the slain, besieges the fort of an Asiatic enemy, whom he forces to sue for peace. In the next he attacks a larger town surrounded by water. The Egyptians fell the trees in the woody country which surrounds it, probably to form testudos* and ladders for the assault. Some are already applied by their comrades to the walls, and while they reach their summit, the gates are broken open, and the enemy are driven from the ramparts, or precipitated over the parapet by the victorious assailants, who announce by *sound of trumpet* the capture of the place. In the third compartment, on the north face of the first propylon, Remeses attacks two large towns, the upper one of which is taken with but little resistance, the Egyptian troops having entered it and gained possession of the citadel. In the lower one the terrified inhabitants are engaged in rescuing their children from the approaching danger, by raising them from the plain beneath to the ramparts of the outer wall. The last picture occupies the upper or north end of the east wall, where the king presents his prisoners to the gods of the temple.

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* They were also acquainted with the use of the battering ram. Did not the Jews borrow from Egypt the idea of that engine?

The western wall is entirely covered by a large hieroglyphical tablet *, recording various offerings made in the different months of the year by Remeses III. The head and forepart of several lions project, at intervals, from below the cornice of the exterior of the building, whose perforated mouths, communicating by a tube with the summit of the roof, served as conduits for the rain water which occasionally fell at Thebes. Nor were they neglectful of any precaution that might secure the paintings of the interior from the effects of rain, and the joints of the stones which formed the ceiling being protected by a piece of metal or stone, let in immediately along the line of their junction, were rendered impervious to the heaviest storm. † For showers fall *annually* at Thebes; perhaps, on an average, four or five in the year; and every eight or ten years heavy rains fill the torrent-beds of the mountains, which run to the banks of the Nile; and a storm of this kind did much damage to Belzoni's tomb some years ago. Square apertures were cut at intervals in the roofs of their temples, the larger ones intended for the admission of light, the smaller probably for suspending the chains ‡ that supported lamps for the illumination of the interior.

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* A small part of this register was first cleared by Mr. Burton. M. Champollion has since excavated a very large portion of it, and it appears to continue along the whole extent of the wall.

† This is particularly remarkable at the temple, B 9. at Karnak.

‡ I suppose from a squared piece of wood or metal inserted in each of them. On many of the roofs are cut the prints of feet, with rude inscriptions.

Six hundred and fifty feet south-west of the pavilion of Medeénet Háboo is a small Ptolemaïc temple, in whose adytum are some very interesting subjects, which have thrown great light upon the names and succession of the Ptolemies who preceded Physcon, or Euergetes II. This monarch is here represented making offerings to four of his predecessors, Soter *, Philadelphus, Philopator, and Epiphanes, each name being accompanied by that of their respective queens. It is here, in particular, that the position of the Ptolemaïc cognomen, as Soter, Philadelphus, and others, satisfactorily proves what I before stated †, that "it is *after*, and not *in* the name, that we must look for the title which distinguished each of these kings;" nor will any one conversant with hieroglyphics fail to remark the adoption of these cognomens in each prenomen of a succeeding Ptolemy; a circumstance analogous to the more ancient mode of quartering from the prenomens of an earlier Pharaoh some of the characters that composed that of a later king.

This small sandstone building, whose total length does not exceed forty-eight feet, consists of a transverse outer court and three smaller successive chambers, communicating with each other. Near it, to the west, was an artificial basin, now forming a pond of irregular shape during the inundation, and surrounded on three sides by mimosas ‡; beyond which, to the north-west and west, are the vestiges of some ruins, the remains of Egyptian and Copt tombs, and the limited enclosure of a modern church.

A low plain èxtends from the south-west of this temple to the distance of seven thousand three hundred feet, by a breadth of three thousand, whose limits are marked by high mounds of sand and alluvial soil; on one series of which stands the modern village of *Kom* el Byrat, the two southernmost presenting the vestiges of tombs and the relics of human skeletons.

Whatever may be the opinions of others respecting the original purport of this extensive area, the fact of its being still much lower than the level of the adjacent country, and the appearance of the mounds of alluvial soil raised from its excavated bed, leave no doubt in my mind of this *traditional Birket* Háboo* having been *really a lake*, similar to that of Memphis, and intended for the same purpose. And it is not impossible that the tombs on its southern shores may have been of those offenders who were doomed to be excluded from a participation in the funeral honours, which the pious enjoyed in the consecrated mansions of the dead on the north side of this Acherusian lake.† For I believe that the processions of boats, so often represented in the tombs of Thebes, accompanying the deceased, took place on this lake; and the bodies being then removed from the boat, and placed on a sledge, were drawn with great solemnity to the tomb destined to receive them.

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* It is not impossible this may be Euergetes I.; in which case Lagus or Soter will be omitted.

† Materia Hieroglyphica, p. 116.

‡ Here are the Mimosa gummifera or tulh, the M. albida and sellem; besides the Sodada decidua, the Ochradenus baccatus, and other trees.

Were it necessary to bring forward my reasons for supposing it to have been a lake, I should not fail to mention that the mounds on the desert-side, where the excavation had reached the rock, are covered in several instances with fragments of limestone, which being from the lowest part of the basin, appear, in consequence, on *their* uppermost or outer surface; nor should I omit noticing several other arguments‡, with which, however, it is unnecessary to trespass on the patience of the reader.

Three thousand feet south-west of its western angle is a small temple of Roman date, bearing the name of Adrian, and of Antoninus Pius, who completed it, and added the pylon in front. Its total length is forty-five feet, and breadth fifty-three; with an isolated sanctuary in the centre, two small chambers on the north-east, and three on the south-west side; the first of which contains a staircase leading to the roof. In front stand two pylons, the outermost one being distant from the door of the temple about two hundred feet.

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* That is, "Lake of Háboo," the traditional founder of Medeénet Háboo. Were this name written Medeénet Aboo, without the aspirate, it would signify "city of his father," and be *perfectly grammatical* Arabic. The objection, therefore, is *not* in this, but in the word Haboo itself. I am at a loss to know whence the Arabs have derived this traditional name. Some have forcibly converted it into Medeeneh Thaboo, to accord with the name of Thebes.

† Diodor. lib. 1. s. 96.

‡ The large round stones at the eastern extremity of this lake are recorded by modern tradition to have been rolled from the surface before they commenced excavating the ground. I have noticed them in the Survey of Thebes, which, from its great size, cannot be introduced into this work, and has therefore been published separately.

Eight thousand feet north-north-west of Medeénet Háboo is the Gabbánet el Ḵeróod[*], or "Apes' burial-ground," so called from the mummies found in the ravines of the torrents in its vicinity.

Among other unusual figures carefully interred here are small idols in form of mummies, with the emblem of the god of generation. Their total length does not exceed two feet, and an exterior coat of coarse composition which forms the body, surmounted by a human head and mitred bonnet of wax, conceals their singular but simple contents of barley.[†]

Three thousand feet immediately behind, and to the north-west of Medeénet Háboo, is the valley of the queen's tombs. Among the most distinguished names in the sepulchres of these princesses are those of Amun-meit, or Amun-tmei, the daughter of Amunoph I.; of Taia, wife of the third Amunoph; of the favourite daughter of Remeses II.; and of the consort of Remeses V. In another appears the name of the third Remeses, but that of his queen is not met with. They have all suffered from the effects of fire, and little can be satisfactorily traced of their sculptures, except in that of queen Taia.[‡] It is not improbable, from the hieroglyphics on the jamb of the inner door of this tomb, that these are the burying-places of the Pallaces, or Pellices Jovis, mentioned by Strabo and Diodorus; and the distance of ten stadia[§] from these "first" or westernmost tombs to the sepulchre of Osymandyas, agrees remarkably well with that from the supposed Memnonium to this valley. The mummies of their original possessors must have suffered in the general conflagration, which reduced to ashes the contents of most of the tombs in this and the adjacent valley of Dayr el Medeeneh; and the bodies of inferior persons and of Greeks, less carefully embalmed [*], have occupied at a subsequent period the vacant burial-places of their royal predecessors.

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[*] Or Ḵabbánet el Geróod.

[†] In one of them, which I gave to the British Museum, it had all sprouted.

[‡] Marked No. 12. in the Survey.

[§] Diod. l. 47. The ten stadia are 6060 or 6100 feet; which, by the road to this spot, correspond exactly with their distance from the Memnonium. Their being the "first tombs" is another argument in favour of this conjecture. *First*, in relation to the sacred lake.

At the opposite or eastern extremity of this valley, are several tablets of the first Amunoph, and other monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties; and from hence a short path leads over the hills to the secluded valley of Dayr el Medeeneh, behind the K̲oornet-Murraee. Here several tombs of the early date of the same Amunoph, which claim the attention of the chronologer, rather than the admiration of the traveller, who seeks elegant designs or interesting sculptures, extend along the brow of the north-west hill; and a series of pits and crude brick chambers occupy the space between these, and the brick enclosure of a Ptolemaïc temple to the east. Among the most remarkable of these tombs, is one [†] containing the members of Amunoph's family, and some of his predecessors [‡]; and another [§], whose crude brick roof and niche, bearing the name of the same Pharaoh, prove the existence of *the arch at the remote period of* B.C. 1540. I may also mention a crude brick pyramid [‖] of an early epoch; and a tomb [¶], under the western rock, which offers to the curiosity of chronologers the names of three successive kings [**], and their predecessor Amunoph I., seated with his *black* queen.

The deity who presided over this valley, and the mountain behind it, was Athor, "the guardian of the *west;*" and many of the tombs have a statue of the cow, which was sacred to her, whose head and breast project in high relief from their innermost wall.

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[*] Greeks are also distinguished by the mode of binding the mummy-cloths; by the legs and arms being each bound with separate wrappers, and by the spare use of aromatics and bitumen.

[†] Marked *m* in the Survey.

[‡] Given in Mr. Burton's "Excerpta," and in my "Extracts," Pl. 5. Also in the "Hieroglyphics" of the Royal Society of Literature, Pl. 97.

[§] Marked *l;* but, as I have since opened its real entrance, its position is to be looked for close to *m*. It has been again buried by the *felláhs*.

[‖] Marked *h*. It is *vaulted.*

[¶] Marked *i*.

[**] In Pl. 1. No. 7. of my "Extracts."

The small* temple to the east, called *Dayr* el Medeeneh, from having been the abode of the early Christians, was erected by Ptolemy Philopator. Being left unfinished, it was completed by Physcon, or Euergetes II., who added the sculptures to the walls of the interior, and part of the architectural details of the portico; the pylon in front bearing the name of Dionysus.† The vestibule is ornamented with two columns, supporting the roof, but it is unsculptured. The corridor is separated from this last by intercolumnar screens, uniting, on either side of its entrance, one column to a pilaster surmounted by the head of Athor.‡ On the east wall of this corridor or pronaos§, Ptolemy Philometor, followed by "his brother, the god," Physcon‖, and the queen Cleopatra, makes offerings to Amunre; but the rest of the sculptures appear to present the names of Physcon alone, who adopted, on his brother's death, the name and oval of Philometor, with the additional title of "god Soter."¶

A staircase, lighted by a window of peculiar form, once led to the roof, and the back part of the *naos* consists of three parallel chambers. The centre one, or adytum, presents the sculptures of Philopator on the back and half the side walls, which last were completed by the second Euergetes, as a line of hieroglyphics, at the junction of the first and subsequent compartments, announces in the following terms: — "This additional work of good stone (?)** made he, the king of men, Euergetes††, son of the sun, Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Pthah, (and) the royal sister, the queen, mistress of the (upper and lower) regions,

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* Being only sixty feet by thirty-three.

† Neus Dionysus, or Auletes.

‡ Athor was Aphrodite, or Venus. For this and other deities, see the Pantheon in my Ancient Egyptians, vols. iv. and v.

§ The Egyptian portico is frequently very large, and supported by numerous columns, as at Dendera and Esneh. These small corridors bear a greater resemblance to the scale and dimensions of the portico in Greek architecture, particularly that of the temple at old Koorneh.

‖ It is remarkable that the former has the crown of the upper and the latter that of the lower country.

¶ It is possible that this hieroglyphic may mean "Euergetes."

** The walls were already built and sculptured on *one* part of the *same* stones which bear this inscription, in spite of Euergetes' claims (if the above be really the meaning of this group).

†† I use this name at once, without translating the titles of the prenomen.

Cleopatra, (and) the royal consort, the queen, mistress of the regions, Cleopatra, gods Euergetes, beloved of Amunre, (who is) the defender of the sanctuary." Amunre, with Maut and Khonso, Athor and Justice, share the honours of the adytum; but the dedication* of Philopator decides that the temple was consecrated to the Egyptian Aphrodite, "the president of the west." In the eastern chamber Philopator again appears in the sculptures of the end wall, where Athor and Justice hold the chief place; while Amunre and Osiris, the principal deities in the lateral compartments, receive the offerings of Euergetes II.

In the western chamber, the subjects are totally different from any found in the *temples* of Thebes. Here Philopator pays his devotions to Osiris and Isis. On the east side Physcon offers incense to the statue of Khem, preceded by Anubis, and followed by the ark of Sokari. On the opposite wall is the judgment scene, frequently found on the papyri of the Egyptians. Osiris, seated on his throne, awaits the arrival of those souls which are ushered into Amenti. The four genii stand before him on a lotus blossom, the *female* Cerberus sits behind them, and Harpocrates on the crook of Osiris. Thoth, the god of letters, arrives in the presence of the king of Hades, bearing in his hand a tablet, on which the actions of the deceased are noted down, while Horus and Aroeris are employed in weighing the good deeds† of the judged against the ostrich feather, the symbol of Justice or

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* In mentioning the dedications, I cannot but notice the commencement of the general formula which M. Champollion has adopted in his translations of them, which, I confess, I should not have expected from the usual acuteness of that *savant; e.g.* in the small temple of Medeénet Hάboo (Letter of 30th June, 1830): "The *life*, the powerful *Horus*, the beloved of Phre." In another place "*Aroeris*, the powerful;" "*The Horus;*" "*Life! Aroeris,*" &c.; which are merely the well-known title of Phrah (Phre), or Pharaoh, the sun, personified by the king. As I have explained this in "Materia Hier." p. 109. and "Extracts," p. 8., I do not think it necessary to add more on the subject, than that, if the word *Aroeris*, in Hermapion's translation of the Obelisk, had been left as in the Bible, in the original language *Phre* or *Phra* ("the sun"), the mistake would never have occurred.

† This M. Champollion supposes the heart. I still incline to the construction I have put upon it — a type of the good actions of the judged; and the same signs, frequently seen on this vase, are added to the character signifying "good."

Truth.* A cynocephalus, the emblem of Thoth, is seated on the top of the balance. At length arrives the deceased, who advances between two figures of the goddess†, and bears in his hand the symbol of Truth‡, indicating his meritorious actions, and his fitness for admission to the presence of Osiris. Above this, forty-two assessors, seated in two lines, complete the sculptures of the west wall.

Two opinions may be maintained respecting this lateral chamber; that it was used for a sepulchral purpose, or that the sculptures merely allude to the peculiar capacity of the goddess there worshipped. On one hand, the singularity of the subjects there represented, the oblong hollow recess *beneath* its pavement §, of the usual dimensions of sarcophagi, and the presence of Osiris at the end wall, instead of the goddess in question, appear to connect the whole too closely with the deities of Amenti to allow us to consider it merely intended for the worship of that goddess. On the other hand, the figure of the deceased is *unaccompanied by any name*, which ought to point out the individual to whom the sepulchre belonged, and the general tenor of the other sculptures, the style of the dedications, and the plan of the whole building, have nothing in common with the mansions of the dead.

The circumstance of its being surrounded by tombs and pits, which last lie in the area of its crude brick enclosure, does not in any way affect the original purport of the building, since the same is observable in the vicinity of the palace of the first Remeses; nor would a doubt exist on the subject, were it not for the space below the pavement, whose form bears so sepulchral a character, and which could not have been introduced at a later period. All these symbols of death were perhaps owing to its being dedicated to Osiris, in his peculiar character of judge of the dead.

On examining the sculptures of this building, every one acquainted with hieroglyphics, and the succession of the Ptolemaïc kings, will be surprised at the following remarks of M. Champollion [*]: — "*It is established,*" says that *savant,* "that the dedication of this edifice was made by the *fifth* of the Ptolemies," and that the name of the "king Ptolemy *Epiphanes, in whose reign the dedication of the monument took place,*" is contained in the dedicatory formula on "the frieze of the pronaos," commencing, "The king, the god *Epiphanes,*" &c., though he allows the "restoration" of the sanctuary to contain the name of "Euergetes II. and his two wives" mentioned above. I must first observe, that these ovals of Euergetes II. are *precisely the same* as those contained in the dedication. Secondly, that the title of Epiphanes is not that in the oval, where the Ptolemaïc cognomens, as I have before observed, are not admitted; and that this title, like all those of the Ptolemies, should have *followed* the oval, if it alluded to Epiphanes, instead of which we find that of gods Philometores, translated by M. Champollion "cherished of *the gods and of* the goddess mothers." And, lastly, that the circumstance of Philometor having, as *usual,* introduced that title, which when *following* the oval of Epiphanes denotes the fifth Ptolemy, into his own prenomen, led M. Champollion to conclude this was the cognomen of the last-mentioned monarch. Philometor's prenomen [†] was, however, adopted by his brother Euergetes II., on ascending the throne, as appears from the Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions in the small temple of Athor at Philæ, and several other legends on different monuments; and it is with the name of the second Euergetes alone that any doubts or errors can well originate on this head; nor is it always easy to distinguish these two monarchs, unless the ovals of the two Cleopatras are present to identify the younger brother. Indeed, on some monuments, the sculptures of Philometor appear to have been afterwards appropriated by Physcon as his own, and continued under the same usurped prenomen of his elder brother. This may have been the case in the pronaos of this temple, for we read on the east wall "the king Ptolemy*, also his brother, the king Ptolemy; also *their* sister, the wife of the Pharaoh†, the princess, mistress of the regions, Cleopatra, *gods Philometores*, beloved of Athor;" while the only variation in the name of the seventh Ptolemy, in the additions mentioned in the Adytum, is in the title (following the name) of "gods Euergetes."

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* I might add Perfection. The word Thmei (which is the Coptic for "truth") is closely related to tem, "to perfect."

† Alluding to her double capacity, as goddess of Truth and Justice.

‡ Sometimes, instead of the ostrich feather, the deceased wears the vase (which is placed in the other scale); it then has a similar import.

§ A similar one is met with at the *temple* of Dakkeh in Nubia.

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[*] Literary Gazette, 135.

[†] Their prenomens are solely hieroglyphical, or at least Egyptian, and are unknown in the names of these kings given by the Greeks, except the Alexanders and the last Ptolemy.

Sometimes Physcon even adopted the cognomen "*Philometor*," with the sun and rays in his prenomen; at others, having usurped the prenomen of his brother, he added the title Euergetes‡, and occasionally he adopted the *prenomen* of his predecessor and the same cognomen, "god *Philometor*."

Besides the monarchs by whom the temple was commenced, we may mention the "Autocrator Cæsar," or Augustus, whose name appears at the back of the naos.

Several enchorial and Coptic inscriptions have been written in the interior, and on the outside of the vestibule, whose walls, rent by the sinking of the ground and human violence, divulge a singular secret of Egyptian architecture, and acquaint us with the use of *wooden dovetailed* cramps, which connected the blocks of masonry. Wood, in a country where but little rain falls, and when the stones are closely fitted together, lasts for ages, as may be seen by these sycamore cramps. The Egyptians calculated very accurately the proportionate durability of different substances, and the situation adapted to their respective properties. Hence, they preferred sandstone to calcareous blocks, for the construction of their temples, a stone which, in the dry climate of Egypt, resists the action of the atmosphere much longer than either limestone or granite; and calcareous substructions, placed beneath the soil, were known to endure where the contact with the salts would speedily decompose the harder but less durable granite.

The walls of circuit present a peculiar style of building, the bricks being disposed in concave and convex curves*, forming a waving line, which rises and falls alternately along their whole length.

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* This is the prenomen with the nomen of Philometor, and the same as used by Euergetes II. throughout the building.

† The square title of the sixth Ptolemy, which refers to the "living Apis." It was also sometimes usurped by Euergetes II.

‡ Which is generally thought to be "Soter."

Of the grottoes in the K̲oornet (Goornat) Murraee I shall speak in noticing the catacombs of Thebes.

After passing the hill of Shekh *Abd el K̲oorneh!* at the northern extremity of the Assaseéf, and immediately below the cliffs of the Libyan mountain, is an ancient temple, whose modern name, Dayr el Bahree or the "northern convent," indicates its having served, like the vicinity and precincts of most of the temples of Thebes, as a church and monastery of the early Christians. An extensive dromos of 1600 feet, terminated at the south-east by a sculptured pylon, whose substructions alone mark its site, led in a direct line between a double row of sandstone sphinxes† to the entrance of its square enclosure, before which two pedestals point out the existence of the obelisks they once supported. Following the same line, and 200 feet to the north-west of this gateway, is an inclined plane of masonry, leading to a granite pylon in front of the inner court; and about 150 feet from the base of this ascent, a wall at right angles with it extends on either side to the distance of 100 feet, having before it a peristyle of eight polygonal columns‡, forming a covered corridor. The inner face of this corridor, which is the front of the first scarpe of a series of terraces§, is ornamented with elegant and finished sculptures. On the south-west side, several regiments of Egyptian soldiers, with boughs‖ in their hands, and bearing the weapons of their peculiar corps¶, march to the celebration of a triumph, to the sound of the trumpet and drum.* An ox is sacrificed, and tables of offerings to the deity of Thebes are laid out in the presence of the troops. The rest of the sculptures are destroyed, but the remains of two boats prove that the upper compartments were finished with the same care as those I have just mentioned.

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* There are instances of this style of building in stone at Tafa (Taphis) in Nubia.

† Their fragments, scattered on the site they once occupied, sufficiently mark their position, which is still more observable from the summit of the cliffs.

‡ Polygonal columns may be considered the oldest of the Egyptian orders. If they are not the grandest, they are pre-eminent for the chasteness of their style, and were undoubtedly the parents of the Greek Doric, which perhaps borrowed its capital from another Egyptian column. The oldest Egyptian buildings were of limestone.

§ These terraces or graduated courts were made to suit the rise of the ground.

‖ Apparently of olive.

¶ Similar to the archers, the spearmen, &c. of the Greeks, and of more modern nations.

On the corresponding wall† of the north-east side, two obelisks‡ are dedicated to Amunre, by the monarch who founded this building, and who erected the great obelisks of Karnak; but from the following translation of the little that remains of their hieroglyphics, it is evident they differ widely from those of the great temple of Diospolis; and I suppose them to have stood on the pedestals of the dromos above alluded to. The inscription, after the name of Pharaoh Amunneitgori§, continues:—"*She* has made (this) *her* work for *her* father Amunre, lord of the regions, (and) erected to him two fine obelisks, of granite‖ . . . . *she* did this (who is) the giver¶ of life, like the sun, for ever."

On the same wall, below the hand of the deity**, is the following inscription:—"This additional work (*i. e.* sculpture) made he, the king Remeses (II.), to his father Amunre," proving what I before stated respecting the characters signifying "addition," since *no repairs* have here been made by the monarch, whose *ex voto*, if I may so call it, is thus introduced. Beyond these are some elegant fowling scenes, and other sculpture, and on the west wall are a series of hawks in very prominent relief, about the height of a man, surmounted by the asp and globe, the emblems of the sun and of the king as Pharaoh.

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[*] The Egyptian drum was long and narrow, and braced with bands, crossing it transversely to and fro. It was suspended from the neck of the drummer, and beaten by the hand at either end, like one of those used in India. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 266.

[†] I regret that the earth has either fallen in or been purposely thrown down upon the wall since I cleared it in 1827. It is however thereby preserved, and a few days would suffice to re-open the whole.

[‡] Only two sides of each are given in the sculptures.

[§] I am uncertain as to the precise reading of this name, but cannot adopt the Amenenthe of M. Champollion. I suppose her to have been a queen. See above, p. 169.

[‖] M. Champollion is quite right in the construction of this group on obelisks and other granite remains. I had translated it "as was right."

[¶] Vide Note†, p. 197.

[**] Which forms part of the *original* sculptures.

The granite pylon at the upper extremity of the inclined ascent bore, like the rest of the building, the name of the founder, Amunneitgori; which, in spite of the architectural usurpations of the third Thothmes, is still traced in the ovals of the jambs and lintel. Nor is it from the appearance of the ovals alone that we are enabled to restore this, as well as the rest of the temple, to its original founder; the very sense of the hieroglyphics would remove all doubts, if any existed, regarding this fact, from the singular circumstance of the female signs being used throughout them, so manifestly at variance with the name of this king. For instance, on the jamb, we read, after the name of Thothmes III. (but still preceded by the square title, banner, or escutcheon of Pharaoh Amunneitgori), " *She* has made this work for *her* father 'Amunre, lord of the regions' (*i. e.* of Upper and Lower Egypt); *she* has erected to him this fine gateway, 'Amun protects' the work*, of granite; *she* has done this (who is) the giver of life for ever."†

Beyond this pylon, following the same line of direction, is a small area of a later epoch, and another granite pylon, being the entrance of a large chamber to which it is attached. This, as well as the façade on either side, presented the name of Amunneitgori, erased to admit those of Thothmes II. and III.; and in other chambers to the west and within the court between the two pylons, the same name has suffered a similar outrage. That of Thothmes I. also appears among the sculptures, but as he is stated to have been "deceased," at the time of its insertion, he must have been a *predecessor* of the founder of the building.

The vaulted chamber, built in the same manner as those of the interior, is not constructed on the principle of the arch, being composed of blocks placed horizontally, one projecting beyond that immediately below it, till the uppermost two meet in the centre; the interior angles being afterwards rounded off to form the vault. The Egyptians were not, however, ignorant of the principle or use of the arch, as I have had occasion to observe*; and the reason of their preferring one of this construction probably arose from their calculating the difficulty of repairing an injured vault, and the consequences attending the decay of a single block. Nor can any one doubt, from the great superincumbent weight applied to the *haunches*, that this style of building is devoid of strength, or of the usual durability of an Egyptian fabric†, or pronounce it to be ill-suited to the purpose for which it was erected, the support of the friable rock of the mountain, within whose excavated base it stood, and which threatened to let fall its crumbling masses on its summit.

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* These words between single commas have been introduced at a later period over the erased original characters. This is one of the many instances of the *substitution* of the name of Amun, for *other hieroglyphics*, which I have already noticed in my "Materia Hieroglyphica," p. 4. It is not confined to the name of the god himself, but is sometimes met with in those of the kings, when the word Amun occurs in them, at least previous to the close of the reign of Amunoph III. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 244.

† Should we not rather read "to whom life has been *given* for ever," or "who is gifted with eternal life?"

Within the second granite door is another of these vaulted chambers, about 30 feet by 12; ornamented with sculptures which throw great light on the names of some of the members of the Thothmes family. Here Thothmes I. and his queen Ames, accompanied by their young daughter, but all "deceased" at the time of its construction, receive the adoration and offerings of Amunneitgori, and of Thothmes III. ‡ followed by his daughter, Re-ni-nofre. The niche and inner door also present the name of the former, effaced by the same Thothmes, whose name throughout the interior usurps the place of his predecessor's. To this succeeds a smaller apartment, which, like the two lateral rooms with which it communicates, has a vaulted roof; and beyond these is an adytum of the late date of Ptolemy Physcon.

The opinion of M. Champollion regarding the founder of this edifice is, that Amunneitgori (his Amenenthe) was the husband of Amense, daughter§ of the first Thothmes, and governed in Amense's name, and was regent during the minority of Thothmes III. I can neither agree with him that "Thothmes III. was the Mœris of the Greeks," nor that a hitherto "*unknown Thothmes*," who, he adds, is again found "treated as a queen at Medeénet Háboo," is to be met with in the temple before us. This Thothmes, to whom he alludes, is no other than the second of that name; who, whenever his nomen has been sculptured *over* the half-effaced name of Amunneitgori, has been content to leave the commencing word "Amun," and has added "mei Thothmes," as making no sensible alteration in his own. And the reason of this being again found at the small temple of Medeénet Háboo, is that *it* was that *also* founded by Amunneitgori, and that Thothmes II. has inserted his nomen, in the *same* manner, within the oval of the *same* monarch.

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* Also in the Materia Hier. pp. 77. 79, 80., and Appendix, No. I., p. 1.

† Having been erected about 1500 B.C., and remaining entire except where human violence has injured it.

‡ The building might be supposed to have been erected in honour of Thothmes I. by the former monarch, but the presence of the *daughter* of Thothmes III. precludes the possibility of Ammuneitgori being regent during his "*minority*."

§ If so, how does it happen that this his consort is not here mentioned, either with him or with her father? And yet we have here a daughter of Thothmes I., *but with another name*.

The main question cannot be decided, until Amunneitgori is found in company with *his* consort, the Amense of M. Champollion; who would scarcely be omitted were he merely "regent* in Amense's name;" for whatever the figure† may be, I cannot but consider the name that of a queen.‡

Several blocks, used at a later period to repair the wall of the inner or upper court, bear hieroglyphics of various epochs, having been brought from other structures; among which the most remarkable are—one containing the name of the immediate predecessor of Remeses I., and mentioning "the father of his father's father's father§, Thothmes III., who was, in reality, his fourth ancestor; and another of the fourth year of Pthahmen, the son of Remeses II.

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[*] I do not know on what authority the name of Amense is here brought forward by M. Champollion. There was a sister of Amunoph I. of this name, whom I supposed to have been the queen Amesses of Manetho; but it seems that the wife of Thothmes I., queen Ames, has quite as good, perhaps a better claim.

[†] Though the figure is of a man, the style of the name and grammatical construction of the hieroglyphics prove them to allude to a queen, whose name this ought to be; for if the regent had sufficient authority to introduce his *own* name and figure, why should he have used a feminine pronoun? Amense's "first husband," the unknown Thothmes, to all appearances, is a nonentity; and how is he proved to be the father of Thothmes III.? or the husband of Amenses?

[‡] The best way to solve the difficulty (if it is to be done arbitrarily) would be, to suppose the ovals to belong to the queen, and affirm that the regent's figure is *alone* introduced, and his name entirely *omitted*.

[§] In my Materia Hier., Part II., Plate I., name *c*, *d*.

ASHMOLEAN OXFORD

It had been long supposed that a communication existed from this temple to the Valley of the Kings, for which reason, indeed, I was induced to open the inner part during my stay in 1827.* But the appearance of the end room sufficiently decides the question, and proves this conjecture to have been ill-founded; and it will be seen from the survey that the nearest, and consequently most opportune spot for such a communication is not on the exact line of this building.

On the east side of the dromos, and about 600 feet from the pedestals of the obelisks, are the fragments of granite sphinxes and calcareous columns of an early epoch, at least coëval with the founder of these structures; and a short distance beyond them is a path leading over the hills to the tombs of the kings.

Another road to these tombs lies by the ravine of the valley, from the vicinity of the temple of Old K̲oorneh; and to the east of the entrance of this valley are several limestone quarries, with the rude huts of the miners; who (to judge from the *name* at the south end of them) continued to work them after the accession of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

BAB, OR BIBÁN EL MOLOOK, "THE GATE" OR "GATES OF THE KINGS."

This traditional name is applied by some to the tombs themselves, by others to the narrow gorge at the entrance of the inner part of the valley; but M. Champollion, I believe, derives it from Biban-ouroou†, "the hypogeums of the kings." If it be necessary to consider it of Egyptian origin, must we not rather read (*Pi*) *be ñ melchi*, to adapt the similarity of name to the language from which we derive it?

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* I am not certain that Mr. Salt did not also open it some years previously.

† Is *bib* an Egyptian word? *Be* or *pi be* is "the tomb."

For my own part I consider it purely Arabic*, nor was *melchi* used by the Egyptians as a title of the Pharaohs, but to denote an inferior or dependent prince.

I do not propose to give a detailed account of these interesting catacombs, nor pretend to offer to the reader an explanation of the sculptures, whose interpretation our limited acquaintance with the Egyptian mysteries, to which they frequently allude, necessarily renders as yet uncertain and conjectural, and which differ so widely from the more intelligible subjects of the temples.

The tomb†, which of all others stands pre-eminently conspicuous, as well for the beauty of its sculpture as the state of its preservation, is undoubtedly that discovered and opened by Belzoni. But the plan is far from being well regulated, and the deviation from one line of direction greatly injures its general effect; nor does the rapid descent by a staircase of 24 feet in perpendicular depth, on a horizontal length of 29, convey so appropriate an idea of the entrance to the abode of death, as the gradual talus of other of these sepulchres. To this staircase succeeds a passage of 18½ feet by 9, including the jambs; and passing another door, a second staircase descends in horizontal length 25 feet; beyond which two doorways and a passage of 29 feet bring you to an oblong chamber 12 feet by 14, where a pit, filled up by Belzoni, once appeared to form the utmost limit of the tomb. Part of its inner wall was composed of blocks of hewn stone, closely cemented together, and covered with a smooth coat of stucco, like the other walls of this excavated catacomb, on which was painted a continuation of those subjects that still adorn its remaining sides.

Independent of the main object of this well, so admirably calculated to mislead, or at least check the search of the curious and the spoiler, another advantage was thereby gained, in the preservation of the interior part of the tomb, which was effectually guaranteed from the destructive inroad of the rain-water, whose torrent its depth completely intercepted; a fact which a storm[*] some years ago, by the havock caused in the inner chambers, sadly demonstrated.

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* Melek, in Arabic, signifies "king," from the verb "to possess": thus "memlook," "a slave," or one "possessed" by another.

† During my last visit to Thebes, in 1827, I marked the doors of these tombs, and therefore notice them according to the number attached to each. This is 17. But I follow the order in which they are generally visited.

The hollow sound of the wall above mentioned and a small aperture betrayed the secret of its hidden chambers; and a palm tree, supplying the place of the more classic ram, forced, on the well-known principle of that engine, the intermediate barrier; whose breach displayed the splendour of the succeeding hall, at once astonishing and delighting its discoverer, whose labours were so gratefully repaid.

The outer door was also closed by masonry; and the staircase was concealed by accumulated fragments, and by the crumbling earth of the hill in which it is excavated. The sinking of the ground at this part, from the water that had soaked through into the tomb, led the peasants to suspect the secret of its position, which was first mentioned to Dr. Rüppell, and afterwards to Belzoni; and it is from similar indications that the site of other tombs is to be determined.

Its four pillars, supporting a roof 26 feet[†] square, are decorated, like the whole of the walls, with highly-finished and well-preserved sculptures, which from their vivid colours appear but the work of yesterday; and near the centre of the inner wall a few steps lead to a second hall, of similar dimensions, supported by two pillars[‡], but left in an unfinished state, the sculptors not having yet commenced the outline of the figures the draughtsmen had but just completed. It is here that the first deviations from the general line of direction occur, which are still more remarkable in the staircase that descends at its southern corner.

To this last succeed two passages, and a chamber 17 feet by 14, communicating by a door, *nearly* in the centre of its inner wall, with the grand hall, which is 27 feet square and supported by six pillars. On either side is a small chamber, opposite the angle of the first pillars, and the upper end terminates in a vaulted saloon, 19 feet by 30, in whose centre stood an alabaster sarcophagus *, the kenotaph of the deceased monarch, upon the immediate summit of an inclined plane, which, with a staircase on either side, descends into the heart of the argillaceous rock for a distance of 150 feet. † This, like the entrance of the tomb and the first hall, was closed and concealed by a wall of masonry, which, coming even with the base of the sarcophagus, completely masked the staircase it covered and levelled with the floor.

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[*] Mr. Burton endeavoured to protect it from a similar calamity for the future, by the artificial channel and mounds he made above and on each side of it during his stay here in 1825.

[†] Or very nearly so, being 26 by 27 feet.

[‡] By this word I mean of square, by columns of round form. The Egyptians preferred the former in their unfrequented excavated monuments, but generally substituted columns when they were to be the resort of visiters. Besides the angles of pillars, plinths and pedestals are great encumbrances in a crowded place. It is strange that the one or the other were ever used.

I do not imagine that the sacred person of an Egyptian king would be exposed to the inviting situation of these sarcophagi, especially when they took so much care to conceal the bodies of inferior subjects. It is true the entrance was closed, but the position of a monarch's tomb would be known to many besides the priesthood, and traditionally remembered by others; some of whom, in later times, might not be proof against the temptation of such rich plunder. The priests must at least have foreseen the chance of this. Many tombs have been plundered in very early times; several were the resting-place of later occupants, some were burnt and re-occupied (probably at the time of the Persian invasion), and others were usurped by Greeks. Many of the sepulchres of the kings were open from a very remote period, and seen by Greek and Roman visiters; who mention them in inscriptions written within, on their walls, as the *syringes* (*συριγγες*) or tunnels — a name by which they are described by Pausanias. Diodorus, on the authority of the priests, mentions forty-seven, of which seventeen only remained in the time of Ptolemy Lagus, which implies seventeen whose entrances were known, and consequently open, since a greater number exist at the present day; and Strabo says there were about forty.

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* Now in England, in the Museum of Sir J. Soane.

† When Belzoni opened this tomb it extended much farther; but the rock, which from its friable nature could only be excavated by supporting the roof with scaffolding, has since fallen, and curtailed a still greater portion of its original length. Previous to Belzoni's visit it had been entered and ransacked.

A small chamber and two niches are perforated in the north-west wall of this part of the hall; and at the upper end a step leads to an unfinished chamber, 17 feet by 43, supported by a row of four pillars. On the south-west are other niches, and a room about 25 feet square, ornamented with two pillars and a broad bench (hewn, like the rest of the tomb, in the rock*) around three of its sides, four feet high, with four shallow recesses on each face, and surmounted by an elegant Egyptian cornice. It is difficult to understand the purport of it, unless its level summit served as a repository for the mummies of the inferior persons of the king's household; but it is more probable that these were also depositedin pits.

The total horizontal length of this catacomb is 320 feet†, without the inclined descent below the sarcophagus, and its perpendicular depth 90. But, including that part, it measures in depth about 180 feet, to the spot where it is closed by the fallen rock.

The sculptures of the first passage consist of lines of hieroglyphics relating to the king Osirei, "the beloved of Pthah," father of Remeses II. and the occupant of the tomb. In the staircase which succeeds it, are on one side thirty-seven, on the other thirty-nine genii of various forms; among which a figure represented with a stream of tears issuing from his eyes, is remarkable from having the (Coptic) word *rimi* "lamentation" in the hieroglyphics above.

In the next passage are the boats of Kneph; and several descending planes, on which are placed the valves of doors, probably referring to the descent to Amenti. The goddess of Truth or Justice stands at the lower extremity.‡ In the small chamber over the pit, the king makes offerings to different gods, Osiris being the principal deity. Athor, Horus, Isis, and Anubis, are also introduced.

On the pillars of the first hall, the monarch stands in the presence of various divinities, who seem to be receiving him after his death. But one of the most interesting subjects here is a procession of four different people, of red, white, black, and again white complexions, four by four, followed by Ra, "the sun." The four red* figures are Egyptians, designated under the name *rôt* (?), "mankind;"† the next, a white race, with blue eyes, long bushy beards, and clad in a short dress, are a northern nation, with whom the Egyptians were long at war, and appear to signify the nations of the north; as the blacks, the south; and the four others, also a white people, with a pointed beard, blue eyes, feathers in their hair, and crosses or other devices about their persons, and dressed in long flowing robes, the east.‡ These then are not in the character of prisoners, but a typification of the four divisions of the world, or the whole human race; and are introduced among the sculptures of these sepulchres in the same abstract sense as the trades of the Egyptians in the tombs of private individuals; the latter being an epitome of human life, as far as regarded that people themselves, the former referring to the inhabitants of the whole world.

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* Where the rock was imperfect it was cased with stone.

† The thermometer is nearly the same here in winter as in summer, being about 24½° Reaum. in the former, and 25½° in the latter.

‡ Conf. Diodor. l. s. 96. "The Gates of Truth, near which stands the headless figure of Justice."

On the end wall of this hall is a fine group, which is remarkable as well for the elegance of its drawing as for the richness and preservation of the colouring. The subject is the introduction of the king, by Horus, into the presence of Osiris and Athor.

Though not the most striking, the most interesting drawings in this tomb are those of the unfinished chamber beyond the hall; nor can any one look upon those figures with the eye of a draughtsman, without paying a just tribute to the skill and freedom of touch manifested in their outlines. In Egyptian bas-reliefs the position of the figures was first decided by the artist, who traced them roughly with a red colour, and the draughtsman then carefully sketched the outlines in black, and submitted them to the inspection of the former, who altered (as appears in some few instances here) those parts which he deemed deficient in proportion or correctness of attitude; and in that state they were left for the chisel of the sculptor. But the death of the king or some other cause prevented, in this case, their completion; and their unfinished condition, so far from exciting our regret, affords a satisfactory opportunity of appreciating their skill in drawing, which these figures so unequivocally attest.

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* Herodotus says the Egyptians were *black;* but the distinction always maintained between the dark red hue of the Egyptians, the copper-colour of the Ethiopians, and the black of the Africans, in the oldest sculptures, amply prove that the use of this expression was as unguarded as it was incorrect.

† This word is generally followed by the sitting figures of a man and woman, the demonstrative sign.

‡ Such is the dress of the Rebo, their Eastern enemies.

The beautiful groups at the base of the next staircase have been taken away by M. Champollion. The subjects in the succeeding passages refer mostly to the liturgies, or ceremonies performed to the deceased monarch. In the square chamber beyond them the king is seen in the presence of the deities Athor, Horus, Anubis, Isis, Osiris, Nofri-Atmoo, and Pthah.

The grand hall contains numerous subjects, among which are a series of mummies, each in its own repository, whose folding doors are thrown open; and it is probable that all the parts of these catacombs refer to different states, through which the deceased passed, and the various mansions of Hades or Amenti. The representations of the door-valves at their entrance tend to confirm this opinion; while many of the sculptures seem to relate to the life and actions of the deceased, and to the mysteries of the Egyptian rites.

In the side chambers are some mysterious ceremonies connected with fire, and various other subjects; and the transverse vaulted part of the hall or saloon of the sarcophagus, ornamented with a profusion of sculpture, is a termination worthy of the rest of this grand sepulchral monument. A chamber connected with it, on the left, is remarkable for the variety of the subjects, many of which, especially those appearing to represent human sacrifices, probably refer to the initiation into the higher mysteries, by the supposed death and regeneration of the Neophyte.

No. 11., called Bruce's *, or the Harper's Tomb, is, from the nature, though not from the execution, of the subjects, of far greater interest than the last mentioned. The monarch, whose name here occurs, is Remeses III., but that

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* Having been first mentioned by that injured traveller, whose *fault* seems to have been that he visited and examined more than his readers, judging from themselves, would allow him credit for.

of his father and predecessor is traced beneath the ovals of Remeses, who appropriated and completed the subjects on its walls.

The line of direction in this catacomb, after the first 130 feet, is interrupted by the vicinity of the adjoining tomb, and makes in consequence a slight deviation to the right, of 13 feet, when it resumes the same direction again for other 275, making its total length 405 feet.

Its plan differs from that of No. 17., and the rapidity of its descent is considerably less, being perpendicularly only 31 feet.

The most interesting part is unquestionably the series of small chambers in the two first passages, since they throw considerable light on the style of the furniture and arms, and consequently on the manners and customs of the Egyptians.

In the first to the left (entering), is the kitchen, where the principal groups, though much defaced, may yet be recognised. Some are engaged in slaughtering oxen, and cutting up the joints, which are put into caldrons on a tripod placed over a wood fire, and in the lower line a man is employed in cutting a leather strap he holds with his feet, — a practice common throughout the East. Another pounds something for the kitchen in a large mortar, another apparently minces the meat; and a pallet suspended by ropes, running in rings which are fastened to the roof, is raised from the ground, to guard against the intrusion of rats and other depredators. On the opposite side, in the upper line, two men knead a substance * with their feet, others cook meat, pastry, and broth, probably of lentils, which fill some baskets beside them; and of the frescoes of the lower line, sufficient remains, to show that others are engaged in drawing off, by means of syphons, a liquid from vases before them. On the end wall is the process of making bread, but the dough is kneaded by the hand, and not, as Herodotus and Strabo say, by the feet †; and small black seeds being sprinkled on the surface of the cakes (probably the habbeh-sóda ‡ still used in Egypt), they are carried on a wooden pallet to the oven.

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* Probably the paste for the kitchen. Herod. 2. 36.

† No doubt they used both, as we find in this tomb. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. pp. 383. 385.

‡ The Nigella sativa. Properly written hábh sodh.

In the opposite chamber are several boats, with square chequered sails, some having spacious cabins, and others only a seat near the mast.* They are richly painted and loaded with ornaments; and those in the lower lines have the mast and yard lowered over the cabin.

The succeeding room, on the right hand, contains the various arms and warlike implements of the Egyptians; among which are knives, quilted helmets, spears, *ataghâns* or daggers, quivers, bows, arrows, falchions, coats-of-mail, darts, clubs, and standards.† On either side of the door is a black cow with the head-dress of Athor, one accompanied by hieroglyphics signifying the north, the other by those of the south; probably intimating that these are the arms of Upper and Lower Egypt. The blue colour of some of the weapons suffices to prove them to have been of steel, and is one of several strong arguments in favour of the conclusion that the early Egyptians were acquainted with the use of iron. The next chamber has chairs of the most elegant form, covered with rich drapery, highly ornamented, and evincing admirable taste; nor can any one, on contemplating the beauty of Egyptian furniture, refuse for one moment his assent to the fact, that this people were greatly advanced in the arts of civilisation and the comforts of domestic life.‡ Sofas, couches, vases of porcelain and pottery, copper utensils, caldrons, rare woods, printed stuffs, leopard skins, baskets of a very neat and graceful shape, and basins and ewers, whose designs vie with the productions of the cabinet-maker, complete the interesting series of these frescoes.

The next contains agricultural scenes, in which the inundation of the Nile passing through the canals, sowing and reaping wheat, and a grain, which from its height and round head appears to be the *doora* or sorghum §, as well as the flowers of the country, are represented.‖ But however successful the Egyptians may have been in seizing the character of animals, they failed in the art of drawing trees and flowers, and their coloured plants would perplex the most profound botanist equally with the fanciful productions of an Arabic herbarium. That which follows contains different forms of the god Osiris, having various attributes.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. pp. 210, 211. and Plate 16.

† Ibid. vol. i. pp. 332. and 325. 327.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 196. 199. 201. 212.

§ It is often represented. Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. pp. 48. 98, 99.

‖ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 78.

The second chamber, on the opposite side, merely offers emblems and deities. In the next are birds and some productions of Egypt, as geese and quails, eggs, pomegranates, grapes, with other fruits and herbs, among which last is the *ghúlga**, or Periploca secamone of Linnæus, still common in the deserts of Egypt, and resembling in form† the ivy, which is unknown in this country. The figures in the lower line are of the god Nilus.

In the succeeding chamber are rudders and sacred emblems; and the principal figures in the last are two harpers playing on instruments of not inelegant form before the god Ao, or Hercules. From these the tomb received its name. One has ten or eleven, the other apparently fourteen strings, and one (if not both) of the minstrels is blind.‡

Each of these small apartments has a pit, now closed, in which it is probable that some of the officers of the king's household were buried; and the subjects on their walls will then refer to the station they held; as, the chief cook, the superintendent of the royal boats, the armour-bearer, stewards of the household, and of the royal demesne, the priest of the king, the gardener, hieraphoros, and minstrel.

The subjects in the first passage, after the recess to the right, are similar to those of No. 17., and are supposed to relate to the descent to Amenti, but the figure of Truth, and the other groups in connection with that part of them, are placed in a square niche. The character of the four people, in the first hall, differs slightly from those of the former tomb; four blacks, clad in African dresses, being substituted instead of the Egyptians, though the same name, Rot, is introduced before them.

Beyond the grand hall of the sarcophagus are three successive passages, in the last of which are benches intended apparently for the same purpose as those of the lateral chamber in No. 17., to which they are greatly inferior in point of taste. The large granite sarcophagus was removed hence by Mr. Salt. This tomb is much defaced, and the nature of the rock was unfavourable for sculpture. It was one of those open during the reign of the Ptolemies.

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* The Arabs of the desert use it for curing skins, of which its milky juice speedily removes the hair, while it has the property of rendering the skin strong and durable.

† Owing to their drawing the leaves larger than they really are.

‡ Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. Frontispiece.

No. 9. was called by the Romans the tomb of Memnon, probably from its being the handsomest then open, though the title of Miamun given to Remeses V., the occupant of this catacomb, in common with many other of the Pharaohs, may have led to this error. It was greatly admired by the Greek and Roman visitors, who expressed their satisfaction by *ex votos*, and inscriptions of various lengths, and who generally agree that having "examined these *syringes*" or tunnels, that of Memnon had the greatest claim upon their admiration; though one morose old gentleman, of the name of Epiphanius, declares he saw nothing to admire "but the stone," meaning the sarcophagus, near which he wrote his laconic and ill-natured remarks: "*Επιφανιος ιστορησα ουδεν δε εθαυμασα η μη τον λιθον.*" In the second passage is a longer inscription of an Athenian, the Daduchus* of the Eleusinian mysteries, who visited Thebes in the reign of Constantine. This was about sixty years before they were abolished by Theodosius, after having existed for nearly 1800 years. The inscription is also curious, from the writer's saying that he visited† the *συριγγες* "a long time after the divine Plato."

Ο ΔΑΔΟΥΧΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΤΑ
ΤΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ
ΜΙΝΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΗΣΑΣ
ΤΑΣ ΣΥΡΙΓΓΑΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ
ΧΡΟΝΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΑ
ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΕΘΑΥΜΑΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΙ
ΚΚΧΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΩΙ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΩΙ ΤΩ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΟΙ
ΠΑΡΑΣΧΟΝΤΙ.

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* The torch-bearer (*δαδουχος*) was the chief officer under the Hierophantes, and said to be an emblem of the sun, as the Hierophantes was of the Creator himself. The festival was performed in honour of Ceres and Proserpine, every fifth year, by the Athenians, by whom it was particularly observed. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 323.

† The word *ιστορησας* is "having examined; and *ιστορεια*, "history," means an "inquiry" or "examination." The Σ and Ω in this are written C and ω

The total length of this tomb is 342 feet, with the entrance passage, and the perpendicular depth below the surface 24 feet 6 inches; and in this gradual descent, and the regularity of the chambers and passages, consists the chief beauty of its plan. The general height of the first passages is 12 and 13 feet, about two more than that of No. 11., and three more than that of No. 17.

The sculptures differ from those of the above-mentioned tombs, and the figures of the four nations are not introduced in the first hall; but many of the ceilings present very interesting astronomical subjects.

In the last passage before the hall of the sarcophagus, the tomb No. 12. crosses over the ceiling, at whose side an aperture has been forced at a later epoch. The sarcophagus, which is of granite, has been broken, and lies in a ruined state near its original site. The vaulted roof of the hall presents an astronomical subject, and is richly ornamented with a profusion of small figures. Indeed all the walls of this tomb are loaded with very minute details, but of small proportions.

No. 8. is of king Pthahmen, the son of Remeses II. On the left side, entering the passage, is a group, of very superior sculpture, representing the king and the god Ra.

The style of this tomb resembles that of No. 17., and others of that epoch; and in the first hall are figures of the four nations. The descent is very rapid, which as usual takes off from that elegance so much admired in No. 9.; and the sculptures, executed in intaglio on the stucco, have suffered much from the damp occasioned by the torrents which, when the rain falls, pour into it with great violence from a ravine near its mouth. Its length, exclusive of the open passage of 40 feet in front, is 167 feet to the end of the first hall, where it is closed by sand and earth. This was also one of the seventeen* mentioned by Diodorus.

No. 6. is of Remeses VII. The sculptures differ widely from those of the preceding tombs. In the third passage they refer to the generative principle. The features of the king are peculiar, and from the form of the nose, so very unlike that of the usual Egyptian face, there is no doubt that their sculptures actually offer portraits, contrary to the opinion I had formerly conceived on this subject. On the inner wall of the last chamber, or hall of the sarcophagus, is the figure of Harpocrates, or a child, seated in a winged globe, and from being beyond the sarcophagus, which was the abode of death, it appears to refer to a well-known idea that dissolution was followed by reproduction into life. The total length of this tomb is 243 feet, including the outer entrance of 25. It was open during the time of the Ptolemies.

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* I have been enabled to ascertain them by the Greek inscriptions on their walls.

No. 7., which is opposite this, is of Remeses II.*, but is nearly filled up with the sand washed into it by the rains. About 180 feet of it were cleared, I believe, by Mr. Salt. This also contains Greek inscriptions.

No. 2. is a small but elegant tomb, 218 feet long, including the hypæthral passage of 47. The sarcophagus remains in its original situation, though broken at the side, and is 11 feet 6 inches by 7, and upwards of 9 feet in height. The bodies found in the recesses behind this hall would seem to favour the conjecture that they were intended, like those before mentioned, in Nos. 11. and 17., as receptacles for the dead. The inscriptions prove it to have been one of the seventeen open in the time of the Ptolemies. The name of the king is Remeses IV.

In No. 1. are also Greek inscriptions of the time of the Ptolemies. It is the catacomb of Remeses IX., but very inferior in style and dimensions to the preceding, being only 132 in length, including the exterior uncovered entrance. A small sarcophagus is hewn in the limestone rock, in the centre of the hall, and covered with a lid of red granite.

No. 3. is unsculptured, except at the entrance, which is much defaced. Its plan is very different from the other tombs; the total length is scarcely 123 feet, but its area is greater than that of No. 1. It was one of those open at an early period. The name is of Remeses III.

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* Both the names of this king (i, 1. and 2. of my list of the Pharaohs) occur here, being another proof of their belonging to one and the same monarch.

No. 4. is an unfinished tomb of Remeses VIII. At the end is a large pit 32 feet deep, 14½ in length, and 11½ in breadth. It was also open during the reigns of the Ptolemies. Its total length is 307 feet. Neither of these two are worthy of a visit.

In No. 13. a few faint traces of sculpture alone remain.

On the projecting rocks, a few paces to the east of it, are some hieratic characters; and between this and No. 14. it is probable there may be another tomb, as also between Nos. 14. and 15.

No. 14. is of king Pthahsepthah, or Pthathma Septhah, who seems to have reigned in right of his wife, the queen Taosiri; as she occurs sometimes alone, making offerings to the gods, and sometimes in company with her husband. This catacomb was afterwards appropriated by king Osirei II., and again by his successor, whose name is met with throughout on the stucco which covers part of the former sculptures, and *in intaglio* on the granite sarcophagus in the grand hall. In the passages beyond the staircase the subjects relate to the liturgies of the deceased monarch, and in the side chamber to the left is a bier attended by Anubis, with the vases of the four genii beneath it. In the first grand vaulted hall, below the cornice which runs round the lower part, various objects of Egyptian furniture are represented, as metal mirrors,—boxes and chairs of very elegant shape, vases, fans, arms, necklaces, and numerous insignia. In the succeeding passages the subjects resemble many of those in the unfinished hall of No. 17. The sculptures are in intaglio; but whenever the name of the king appears it is merely painted on the stucco; and those in the second vaulted hall are partly in intaglio and partly in outline, but of a good style. The sarcophagus has been broken, and the lid, on which is the figure of the king in relief, has the form of a royal name or oval.

This tomb was open in the time of the Ptolemies. Its total length is 363 feet, without the hypæthral entrance, but it is unfinished; and behind the first hall another large chamber with pillars was intended to have been added.

No. 15. is of Osirei II. The figures at the entrance are in relief, and of very good style. Beyond this passage it is unfinished. Part of the broken sarcophagus lies on the other side of the hall. It bears the name of this monarch in intaglio; and his figure on the lid, a fine specimen of bold relief in granite, is raised nine inches above the surface. This catacomb was open at an early epoch. Its total length is 236 feet.

No. 12. is unsculptured. It reaches only to a distance of 172 feet, but has several side chambers at the upper end. The last room crosses over No. 9. It was probably known to the Greeks and Romans.

No. 10., adjoining the Harper's tomb, presents the name of Amunmeses, whose exact era, as well as that of the two queens who are introduced in the inner part of this catacomb, is uncertain. It is however probable that he lived in the twenty-first dynasty. This was also open at an early period. It is now closed after the distance of about 250 feet.

No. 16. is of Remeses, or Remesso I., the father of Osirei *, and grandfather of Remeses II.; being the oldest tomb hitherto discovered in this valley; and is among the number of those opened by Belzoni. The sarcophagus within it bears the same name.

No. 18. is of Remeses X., but is almost entirely filled up. It was probably one of those open in the time of the Ptolemies.

No. 5. is nearly closed. Its plan differs very widely from those of the other tombs. Neither of these are deserving of a visit.

No. 19. is a small catacomb, which presents the name of a prince Remeses, or Remesso-Mandooho..., whose features are very peculiar. He was a royal scribe and commander of the troops, and appears to have been heir-apparent at the time of his death. It is only open to the distance of about 65 feet.

No. 20. is a long passage, of which only 170 feet have been explored, descending to a depth of 76 feet perpendicular. It was supposed to lead through the rocks to the plain of K̲oorneh; and to ascertain this fact, Mr. Burton cleared it to the above-mentioned distance, but he was obliged to abandon his researches owing to the danger of the mephitic air, which

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* Osirei or Osiri I.

extinguished the lights. It does not however appear, from the direction it takes, to pass through the mountain; nor is the spot one that they would have chosen for such a communication.

No. 21. is a small tomb without sculpture, and unworthy of a visit. Fragments of alabaster vases are met with in one of the chambers.

It appears that those open in the time of the Ptolemies were Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. 14, 15. and 18., fourteen out of the seventeen mentioned by Diodorus*; so that the three others have been again closed since that epoch, unless some of the unsculptured ones may be admitted to complete the number, which, from their being unworthy of a visit, were also unworthy of an inscription to record the fact of their existence. That writer says, that in all there were forty-seven, of which seventeen were open in the time of the Ptolemies, so that the rest were still unknown; but I think I have observed several places where other tombs might be found in various parts of this valley.

There are four other tombs in the western valley, behind that containing these sepulchres. If the traveller is pressed for time, he need not visit them; but they are curious to those who are interested in the foreign kings of the family of Atinre-Bakhan, already mentioned. One† is of considerable size, but the line of direction varies in three different parts, the first extending to a distance of 145 feet, the second 119, and the third 88, being a total of 352 feet in length, with several lateral chambers. The name is of Amunoph III., of the vocal statue; and, consequently, it is the oldest catacomb hitherto discovered in these valleys, except that marked W, 2. Towards the end of the first line of direction is a well now nearly closed, intended to prevent the ingress of the rain-water and of the too curious visiter; and this deviation may perhaps indicate the vicinity of another tomb behind it.

It is perhaps in this valley that other of the oldest royal catacombs may some day be discovered, and it certainly is singular that none have been yet met with of the first kings of the eighteenth dynasty.

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* Diodor. 1. 46.

† Marked W, 1.

There is one remarkable fact connected with the tombs in the western valley, that they are of kings who appear to have belonged to a foreign dynasty; the last of whom was Amunoph III., who became one of the Theban line, perhaps by right of marriage, or by some particular favour. That in features he was unlike an Egyptian is evident; his resemblance to the strange kings, whose monuments are found at Tel el Amarna and some other places, is very striking; and the recent discoveries of M. Prisse at Karnak seem to decide that he was of that family.* The discovery of the tombs in this western valley would therefore be of great interest; and it would perhaps aid our researches respecting the history of Egypt, and this most curious point in the succession of the Pharaohs.

W, 2. is 205 feet in length, including the entrance; and contains a broken sarcophagus, and some bad fresco painting of peculiarly short and graceless proportions. Of the era of the king whose name here occurs, I have only been able to ascertain that he was prior to Remeses II., and probably by several ages. He appears to be called Oeesa, Eesa, or Ioeesée, or, as some suppose, Shai.

The others are not worthy of notice.

TOMBS OF PRIESTS, AND PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.

If I could fix on any part of this vast abode of death, where the most ancient tombs are exclusively met with, I should not hesitate in commencing my notice of them in the order of their relative antiquity; but as some of a remote epoch are continually intermixed with those of more recent date, it is impossible to fix with precision the exact extent of the earliest cemeteries. It is likewise difficult to determine the particular portions set apart for the sepulture of the members of the various castes into which the Egyptians were divided, since those of the same class are found in more than one part of its extensive circuit. Some general notions may, however, be formed on this head, by looking over the Survey itself; others must be given in the following pages, where I shall also notice those kings whose names appearing in the sculptures fix in some degree the epoch at which several portions of this burial-ground were consecrated to the reception of the dead. But in many of these all clue to the determination of this fact is entirely lost, by the decay of the sculptures, or the fall of the stucco on which they were painted; and what increases our regret on this point, is that these fallen annals, from their relating to the most ancient epoch, were by far the most interesting. Among the last it is highly probable that those situated north of Old Koorneh are deserving of the first rank, as well from the total disappearance of the stucco which once lined their walls, as from the state of the rock itself, their situation opposite Karnak (the main and original part of Diospolis), and their vicinity to the river.

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* See above, pp. 73, 74, 75.

In the reign of Amunoph I., second* king of the eighteenth dynasty, other grottoes were excavated in the Drah Aboo Negga †, behind the temple of Old K̲oorneh,—one or two in the Assaseef,—and several others ‡ in the valley of Dayr el Medeéneh, which, being the westernmost, were considered more peculiarly under the protection of Athor, the "president of the West;" who is frequently there represented either receiving the Sun into her arms, coming forth under the form of a cow from behind the "Western Mountain §," or standing between the figures of the man and lady of the tomb. She bears her emblems, the long horns and feathers which compose her usual head-dress.

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* I have stated my reasons, in my "Hieroglyphic Extracts," for not placing him the *third* of this dynasty (p. 10., and Materia Hier., p. 78.). M. Champollion makes him the "*chief* of the eighteenth dynasty." Letter 15.

† Or Aboo Nedja, the *g* in Arabic being properly *always soft*. I use the modern name. The temple of Old K̲oorneh was not yet founded.

‡ I cannot account for this spot being chosen, at this early period, when so many other parts of the Theban hills offered firm rock and less distant spots for the position of very superior grottoes; but for the reason I shall presently state.

§ This goddess and similar sculptures also appear in tombs of this and later epochs, in other parts of the Theban burial-ground. There is another valley, still more to the west, set apart for the sepulchres of the queens, which was also consecrated to the same goddess, who may perhaps have presided over the whole of the Libyan Necropolis. She seems to have been the origin of that Venus who was daughter of Cœlus and Light. The goddess of Justice has sometimes *her* attributes in these sculptures.

The friable nature of the rock in part of this valley urged the necessity of protecting the roofs of some of these grottoes by vaults of brick, which, while they point out the dryness of a climate that permits crude brick to stand uninjured through a period of 3370 years, establish the antiquity of the invention of the arch.* These tombs are generally small; sometimes the sculptures are cut in the rock itself, sometimes traced on the stucco that covers its irregular surface, and some have only fresco paintings on the crude brick walls which case the interior. The facility of working this rock may have induced them to select it for the tombs of those who objected to more expensive excavations; and it is reasonable to suppose, that being in the habit of constructing their houses with brick vaults, they would employ a similar covering to the chambers of the dead, whenever they required the protection of a roof against the crumbling of an argillaceous stratum, such as that on which these limestone mountains repose, or where large fissures exposed them to the falling particles of the superincumbent rock.

In the succeeding reigns of the Thothmes and Amunophs, the hill of Abd el K̲oorneh, K̲oornet Murraee, and part of Drah Aboo Negga†, were occupied by the priestly order, who, with their wives‡ and family, were interred in the pits of those elegant catacombs, whose varied and interesting sculptures delight the antiquary, and excite his surprise at their preservation after a lapse of more than 3000 years. Here manners and customs, historical events and religious ceremonies, seem to carry us back to the society of those to whom they refer; and we are enabled to study the amusements and occupations of the ancient Egyptians, almost as though we were spectators of the scenes represented in the sculptures.

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* See p. 189.

† Or Aboo Nejja. In some of these also the tomb itself is represented in the sculptures as standing at the base of the Theban mountain. These tombs are drawn as a square building, with a pyramidal apex. See Ancient Egyptians, Plates 84, 85, 86.

‡ Diodorus (1. 80.) appears to be right when he states the priests had but one wife, as far as I can judge from the sculptures of the tombs. No doubt they were allowed (like the kings) to marry a second time on the demise of their wife, in which they were more fortunate than their Copt successors.

In the time of Osirei and his son, other tombs were opened beneath these hills, in the vicinity of the palace of the second Remeses*, and on the west of the entrance to the Assaseef. And in the early† part of the latter reign, some of those belonging to the priestly order, amidst the crude brick pyramids at the western extremity of Drah Aboo Negga, increased the number of the larger sepulchres. Others bear the name of Pthahmen, his son and successor; in one of which, having an outer area, enclosed by a stone wall‡, colossal figures of the lord and lady of the tomb are majestically seated in the first chamber. But the most interesting objects on this part of the hill are the crude brick pyramids themselves, as well from the state of their preservation, as from the existence of the *arches* which form the roofs of their central chambers; nor, judging from the style of the frescoes, can we venture to assign to them a date posterior to the third Remeses§, or about B.C. 1230.

From the above statement alone it is evident that these districts cannot be classed under particular reigns; but with regard to the exclusive appropriation of certain parts of the Theban cemetery to peculiar castes, it may be observed, that in those places where the compact nature of the rock was best suited for large excavations, the tombs of the priests are invariably to be met with, while those of the inferior classes are to be looked for, either in the plain beneath, or in the less solid parts of the adjacent hills.|| The most remarkable, which date after this epoch, are those in the Assaseef, and behind the palace of Remeses II., executed during the period of the twenty-sixth dynasty, in the seventh century before

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* Generally called the Memnonium. Remeses-êi, or Pêi-n̄-Remesso is its name, which M. Champollion has called Remescion. This is indefinite, for Medeénet Háboo is a Remeseion, but of the *third* Remeses.

† The date here is his first year, and he is seated with his queen Mautmen-nofri-are.

‡ Marked V in the Survey.

§ He may have been the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus.

|| For the position of these tombs I must refer the reader to the Survey.

our era. Their plans, though very different from those of the other Theban tombs, bear a general resemblance to each other; and they are not less remarkable for their extent, than for the profusion and detail of their ornamental sculpture.

The smallest, which are those behind the palace of Remeses, commence with an outer court, decorated by a peristyle of pillars.* To this succeeds an arched entrance to the tomb itself, which consists of a long hall, supported by a double row of four pillars, and another of smaller dimensions beyond it, with four pillars in the centre. The largest of them, and indeed of *all* the sepulchres of Thebes, are those in the Assaseef, one of which† far exceeds in extent any one of the tombs of the kings. Its outer court, or area, is 103 feet by 76, with a flight of steps descending to its centre from the entrance, which lies between two massive crude brick walls, once supporting an arched gateway. The inner door, cut like the rest of the tomb in the limestone rock, leads to a second court, 53 feet by 67‡, with a peristyle of pillars on either side, behind which are two closed corridors. That on the west contains a pit and one small square room, and the opposite one has a similar chamber, which leads to a narrow passage, once closed in two places by masonry, and evidently used for a sepulchral purpose.

Continuing through the second area you arrive at a porch, whose arched summit, hollowed out of the rock, has the light form of a small segment of a circle; and from the surface of the inner wall project the cornice and mouldings of an elegant doorway.

This opens on the first hall, 53 feet by 37, once supported by a double line of four pillars, dividing the nave (if I may so call it) from the aisles, with half pillars as usual attached to the end walls. Another ornamented doorway leads to the second hall, 32 feet square, with two pillars in each row, disposed as in the former. Passing through another door you arrive at a small chamber, 21 feet by 12, at whose end wall is a niche, formed of a series of jambs, receding successively to its centre. Here terminates the first line of direction. A square room lies on the left (entering), and on the right another succession of passages, or narrow apartments, leads to two flights of steps, immediately *before* which is another *door* on the right. *Beyond* these is another passage, and a room containing a pit 45 feet deep, which opens at about one-third of its depth on a lateral chamber.

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* "Pillars;" *i. e.* square.

† Marked R in the Survey.

‡ As usual, the breadth of the court or *area* exceeds its length.

A third line of direction, at right angles with the former, turns to the right, and terminates in a room, at whose upper end is a squared pedestal.

Returning through this range of passages, and re-ascending the two staircases, the *door* above alluded to presents itself on the left hand. You shortly arrive at a pit (opening on another set of rooms, beneath the level of the upper ground plan), and after passing it, a large square, surrounded by long passages, arrests the attention of the curious visiter. At each angle is the figure of one of the eight * following goddesses: — Neith, Sâté, Isis, Nephthys, Netpe, Justice, Selk, and Athor, who, standing with outspread arms, preside over and protect the sacred enclosure, to which they front and are attached.

A gentleman, an author, whose reading is far more respectable than his judgment, has not failed to discover something extraordinary in the position of these figures, referring, as he supposes, to the crucifix adopted by the Christians.

Eleven niches, in six of which are small figures of different deities, occur at intervals on the side walls, and the summit is crowned by a frieze of hieroglyphics. Three chambers lie behind this square, and the passage which goes round it *descends* on that side, and rejoins, by an *ascending* talus on the next, the level of the front. A short distance further terminates this part of the tomb; but the above-mentioned pit † communicates with a subterranean passage opening on a vaulted chamber, from whose upper extremity another pit leads, *downwards*, to a second, and, ultimately, through the ceiling of the last, *upwards*, to a third apartment, coming immediately below the centre of the square above noticed.

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* The names which remain are Neith, Sâté, and Netpe.

† Nineteen feet deep.

It has one central niche, and seven on either side, the whole loaded with hieroglyphical sculptures, which cover the walls in every part of this extensive tomb.

But to give an idea of its length, and consequently of the profusion of its ornamental details, I shall briefly state the total extent of each series of the passages, both in the upper and under part of the excavation. From the entrance of the outer area to the first deviation from the original right line is 320 feet. The total of the next range of passages to the chamber of the great pit is 177 feet. The third passage, at right angles to this last, is 60 feet; that passing over the second pit is 125; and adding to these three of the sides of the isolated square, the total is 862 feet, independent of the lateral chambers.

The area of the actual excavation is 22,217 square feet, and with the chambers of the pits 23,809, though from the nature of its plan, the ground it occupies is nearly one acre and a quarter; an immoderate space for the sepulchre of one individual, even allowing that the members of his family shared a portion of its extent.

He was a distinguished functionary of the priestly order, and possessed apparently unusual affluence and consequence, since the granite gateway, added by his order * to the small temple of Medeénet Hâboo, bears the name of Petamunap alone, amidst buildings on which kings were proud to inscribe their own. In one of the side chambers of this tomb is the royal name, which may possibly be of king Horus of the eighteenth dynasty. If so, this wealthy priest lived in the reign of that Pharaoh; but the style of the sculptures would rather confine his era to the later period of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

I have already † mentioned the wealth of private individuals who lived under this dynasty and immediately before the Persian invasion; nor can any one, on visiting these tombs, doubt a fact corroborated by the testimony of Herodotus and other authors, who state that Egypt was most flourishing about the reign of Amasis.

But though the labour and expense incurred in finishing

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* Or by his will, being "deceased" at the time of its erection.

† Materia Hierog., p. 101., and Ancient Egyptians, vol. i, p. 181. where I have endeavoured to reconcile this fact with the prophecy of Ezekiel.

them far exceed those of any other epoch, the execution of the sculptures charged with ornament and fretted with the most minute details*, is far inferior to that in vogue during the reign of the eighteenth dynasty, when freedom of drawing was united with simplicity of effect. And the style of the subjects in the catacombs of this last-mentioned era excite our admiration, no less than the skill of the artists who designed them; while few of those of the twenty-sixth dynasty can be regarded with a similar satisfaction, at least by the eye of an Egyptian antiquary. One however of these tombs†, bearing the name of an individual who lived under the second Psamaticus, deserves to be excepted, as the subjects there represented tend to throw considerable light on the manners and customs, the trades and employments of the Egyptians; nor can I omit the mention of some elegant and highly-finished sculptures in the area of the tomb ‡ immediately behind that of Petamunap, which I fortunately saved from being broken up for lime, a few years ago, by the Turkish miners.

In noticing the most interesting of the other catacombs of Thebes, I shall commence with those of Koornet Murraee; where a few have escaped the ravages of time and the still more baneful injuries of human hands. Finding scarcely any already open which presented sculpture worthy of a visit, or which threw any light on the era of their execution, I had several uncovered (during my visit in 1827) in hopes of satisfying my curiosity, which, except in one instance, was but badly repaid. I there§ found the name of king Amun-Toônh, the cotemporary of Amunoph III. Though his nomen and prenomen had, as usual, been carefully erased, yet, from some of the subordinate parts of the various subjects which cover its walls, where the erasure had been partially or entirely overlooked, I was enabled to ascertain to whom the ovals belonged, and consequently to fix the date of this interesting catacomb.

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* This is the florid style of Egyptian art. The scenes are less varied, and a greater profusion of less interesting hieroglyphics generally prevails.

† Marked Q in the Survey.

‡ Marked P. They are fowling scenes and other subjects, at the base of the south-south-west wall.

§ Marked *b* in the Survey.

The king is seated on his throne, within a richly ornamented canopy, attended by a fan-bearer, who also holds his sceptre. A procession advances in four lines towards the presence of the Pharaoh. The lower division consists of Egyptians of the sacerdotal and military classes, some ladies of consequence, and young people bringing bouquets and boughs of trees. They have just entered the gates of the royal court, and are preceded by a scribe, and others of the priestly order, who do obeisance * before the deputy of his majesty, as he stands to receive them. This officer appears to have been the person of the tomb, and it is remarkable that he is styled "Royal Son," and "Prince of Cush," or Ethiopia. In the second line black "chiefs of Cush" bring presents of gold rings, copper, skins, fans or umbrellas of feather-work, and an ox, bearing on its horns an artificial garden † and a lake of fish. Having placed their offerings, they prostrate themselves before the Egyptian monarch. A continuation of these presents follows in the third line, where, besides rings ‡ of gold, and bags § of precious stones or gold dust, are the cameleopard, panthers' skins, and long-horned cattle, whose heads are strangely ornamented with the hands ‖ and heads of negroes.

In the upper line, the queen ¶ of the same people arrives

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* It was a common custom with the Egyptians to prostrate themselves before their kings and other persons of consequence. The Carthaginians and many nations of the East did the same. The Copts at the present day kneel down and kiss the ground before their patriarch.

† This offering will appear less singular when we think of our own flower-pots, and vases of gold and silver fish; which last are not less incomprehensible to the modern Egyptians than the above-mentioned lake may seem to us. The garden indeed may have been of *artificial flowers*, which appear to have been known to the Egyptians.

‡ The money of the Ethiopians and Egyptians was in rings of gold and silver, like those still in use about Sennár. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 11. and vol. iii. p. 237.

§ The hieroglyphic of these bags is the staff of power passing through the centre of the character gold; which may signify gold dust or precious stones. They are sealed.

‖ Probably artificial. They would scarcely have decapitated their own people to adorn their offerings to a foreign prince. This breed of cattle is extinct in Egypt, where it was formerly very common. It is still found in Abyssinia, and much resembles that of Tuscany.

¶ It is remarkable that we so frequently find mention of *queens* of Ethiopia, many of whom have the name Candace. Was this a title, like the Pharaoh of Egypt? See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 179.

in a chariot drawn by oxen and overshadowed by an *umbrella*, accompanied by her attendants, some of whom bear presents of gold. She alights, preceded and followed by the principal persons of her suite, and advances to the presence of the king; but whether this refers to any marriage that was contracted between the Egyptian monarch and a princess of Ethiopia, or merely to the annual tribute paid by that people, I have not been able to decide. Among the different presents are a chariot, shields covered with bulls' hides, bound with metal borders and studded with pins *, chairs, couches, head-stools †, and other objects. The dresses of the negroes differ in the upper line from those below, the latter having partly the costume of the Egyptians, with the plaited hair of their national head-dress; but those who follow the car of the princess are clad in skins, whose projecting tail, while it heightens the caricature the artist doubtless intended to indulge in, proves them to be persons of an inferior station, who were probably brought as slaves to the Egyptian monarch. Behind these are women of the same nation, bearing their children in a kind of basket suspended to their back.

Ethiopian and Negro slaves were common in Egypt from a very remote time, long before the era of Amunoph III.; and it is highly probable that a tribute, as well of slaves as of gold, ivory, ebony, wild animals, skins, and other productions of the South, was continually exacted from the land of Cush. Indeed it seems that the captives of their northern wars were also doomed to a similar fate, and that, like the servi or servati of the Romans, and the prisoners ‡ of some nations of modern § as well as ancient times, they purchased their lives by the sacrifice of freedom.

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* Not unlike some described by Homer.

† Still used in Abyssinia and Nubia. The same are described by Porphyry, iv. 7., "a half cylinder of wood, well polished, to support their heads." They are frequently found at Thebes, and generally of acacia or other hard wood. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 204., and vol. ii. pp. 201. 204, 205.

‡ This was a very old custom. The Jews made those who sued for peace "*serve*" them; but "every male" of a captured city was "smitten with the sword," "their women and children, cattle, and the spoil" becoming the property of the conqueror. Deut. xx. 13, 14.

§ Still usual in many parts of Africa and among other uncivilised nations. In the Galla and Jimma countries, to the south and south-east of Abyssinia, the same custom is observed on both sides by the contending parties;

Many other interesting subjects cover the walls of this tomb, which throw much light on the customs of the Egyptians.

In another catacomb, unfortunately much ruined, is a spirited chase, in which various animals of the desert are admirably designed.* The fox, hare, gazelle, ibex, eriel (Antelope oryx), ostrich, and wild ox fly before the hounds; and the porcupine and hyæna retire to the higher part of the mountains.† The female hyæna alone remains, and rises to defend her young; but most of the dogs are represented in pursuit of the gazelles, or in the act of seizing those they have overtaken in the plain.‡ The chasseur follows, and discharges his arrows among them as they fly. The arrows§ are very light, being made of reed, feathered, and tipped with stone.

In observing the accuracy with which the general forms and characters of their animals are drawn, one cannot but feel surprised that the Egyptians should have had so imperfect a knowledge of the art of representing the trees and flowers of their country, which, with the exception of the lotus, palm, and dôm, can scarcely ever be identified; unless the fruit, as in the pomegranate and sycamore, is present to assist us.

The most numerous and interesting grottoes are those in the hill of Shekh Abd el K̲oorneh; but as a detailed account of their sculpture would extend beyond the proposed limits of my description of Thebes, I can only notice briefly the principal subjects of those most worthy of a visit.‖

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but the friends of the captive may ransom him for five hundred heifers (or more, according to his rank) as soon as intelligence, which it is generally the interest of the captor to contrive means to forward, reaches them of his personal safety.

* Madame de Staël justly observes, "Les sculpteurs Egyptiens saisissoient avec bien plus de génie la figure des animaux que celle des hommes." Corinne, vol. i. p. 127.

† See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 22.

‡ The gazelle prefers the plain when pursued; the ibex and wild sheep the acclivities of the mountains.

§ Arrows of this kind are used by the natives of South America, and several Indian tribes. The Egyptians sometimes mounted them with bronze heads. The stone was probably the *Ethiopicus* lapis, a *trap*, or a *black* flint. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. pp. 306, 307. 309, 310., and vol. ii. p. 18. Woodcuts.

‖ The most interesting are Nos. 1, 2. 5. 11. 14. 16. 17. 29. 31. 33, 34, 35. 37.; and in the plain below *k* and *q*.

No. 1. which bears the name of Osirei, father of Remeses II., presents some well-executed sculptures on the right and left walls. The king is seated under a rich canopy, attended by the goddess of Justice; before him is the individual of the tomb, a distinguished functionary of the priestly order, with the title of high-priest, followed by others of the same caste; who, introduced by an officer of the royal household, advance to "offer their praises" to the monarch.

In No. 2. (now closed) are figures of women dancing or playing on the harp, the double pipe, and lyre, accompanied by choristers. Various offerings are presented to the deceased; and his relations, with the upper part of the body* exposed above the waist, bewail his death, and that of his consort, whose mummies they bathe with their tears. In another compartment, a priest pours a liquid into cups, placed on a lofty stand, and another, by means of three *siphons*†, draws off their contents into a larger vase below. Siphons again occur in the tomb of Remeses III., in the valley of the kings, so that these two instances prove their invention at all events as early as the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. They are first mentioned by the elder Hero, of Alexandria, who flourished under Ptolemy Euergetes II.

No. 5. bears the name of Remeses VII., but the stucco, on which this and the present subjects are drawn, has been placed over sculptures of an earlier period; the tomb, which was frequently the case, having been sold to another person by the priests; who, when a family became extinct, and no one remained to pay the expenses of the liturgies, and other claims constantly kept up by their artifices, indemnified themselves by the appropriation of the tomb, and resold it to another occupant. This was also sometimes the case with the sarcophagi, and even their wooden coffins; where the name of its earlier inmate is often found obliterated, and that of its new possessor substituted in its stead. In most of the reoccupied tombs the sculpture was suffered to remain unaltered, with the exception of those parts that immediately referred to its original tenant; and where a fresh name has never been introduced, it would appear that the second sale had either not yet taken place, or that it had been purchased by one, whose family was unlikely to continue the regular payment for the offices performed to their deceased relative.

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* Conf. Herodot. 2. s. 85.

† This word is probably of Egyptian origin, and may be traced in the Arabic root "sif," "to imbibe." Many Arabic words are met with in the Egyptian language. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 341. Woodcut.

The sculptures do not, I think, refer exclusively to the life and actions of the individual of the tomb, except to a certain extent, or in those compartments which peculiarly relate to him,—such as the ovals of the king in whose reign he lived*—the hieroglyphics stating his name and office, his conduct and occupations during his lifetime, with some few other subjects. And the fact of these being omitted in some, and their site left blank, while the trades, the agricultural scenes, and other of the general employments of the Egyptians, equally suited to all, are already introduced, strongly confirms this opinion. It was in this state that the purchaser, during his lifetime, or his friends† after his decease, saw the tombs offered for sale by the priests, who, keeping a sufficient number always prepared, afforded a choice of different qualities, suited to the means and tastê of every purchaser.

The numerous subjects, as, for instance, *glass*-blowers, saddlers, curriers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, boat-builders, chariot-makers, sculptors, musicians, fowlers, fishermen, husbandmen engaged in agricultural occupations, &c., could not of course refer to one person, the occupant of the catacomb, who, even to allow the utmost extent of his office, could not be superintendent of all those different branches of Egyptian art and employment. Nor could the figures of the king, who sometimes receives presents borne by Ethiopians and blacks, at others by men of a white nation, or a deputation of Egyptians, relate any further to the person of the tomb than as it showed the era in which he lived. This, as well as the above-mentioned subjects, must necessarily allude to the manners and customs of the Egyptians as a people, and in short be an *epitome of human life;* an idea perfectly in harmony with their constant introduction into all the large tombs, at least of the earliest times, and of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and at once accounting for the name of the individual, and the scenes immediately relating to him, being alone altered when re-occupied by another person.

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* If the second occupant lived in another reign, the name of the king is generally changed.

† Diodorus I. 92.

In No. 11. is an interesting agricultural scene, containing the different operations of reaping, carrying, gleaning, trituration by oxen, winnowing, and housing.

No. 14. is much ruined, but remarkable as being the only* one in which a drove of pigs† is introduced. They are followed by a man holding a knotted whip in his hand, and would appear, from the wild plants before them, to be a confirmation of Herodotus's account of their employment to tread-in the grain after the inundation; which singular use of an animal so little inclined by its habits to promote agricultural objects, has been explained by supposing they were introduced beforehand, to clear the ground of the roots and fibres of the weeds which the water of the Nile had nourished on the irrigated soil.‡ They are here brought, with the other animals of the farmyard, to be registered by the scribes; who, as usual, note down the number of the cattle and possessions of the deceased; and they are divided into three distinct lines, composed of sows with young, pigs, and boars. The figures of the animals in this catacomb are very characteristic.

No. 16. is a very interesting tomb, as well in point of chronology, as in the execution of its paintings. Here the names of four kings, from the third Thothmes to Amunoph III., inclusive, satisfactorily confirm the order of their succession as given in the Abydus tablet and the lists of Thebes. In the inner chamber, the inmate of the tomb, a "royal scribe," or basilico-grammat, undergoes his final judgment, previous to admission into the presence of Osiris. Then follows a long procession§, arranged in four lines, representing the lamentations* of the women, and the approach of the *baris* or coffin, containing the body of the deceased, drawn on a sledge by four oxen. In the second line men advance with different insignia belonging to the king Amunoph; in the third, with various offerings, a chariot, chairs, and other objects†; and in the last line a priest, followed by the chief mourners, officiates before the boats, in which are seated the basilico-grammat and his sister.‡ "The rudders," as Herodotus§ observes, "are passed through the keel" in their larger boats of burthen, while those of smaller size have one on either side. They consist, like the other, of a species of large paddle‖, with a rope fastened to the upper end, by which their sway on the centre of motion is regulated to and fro. One square sail, lowered at pleasure over the cabin, with a yard at the top and bottom, is suspended at its centre to the summit of a short mast, which stands in the middle, and is braced by stays fastened to the fore and after part of the boat.¶

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* We have not yet met with the camel in the sculptures, but it does not follow that it was unknown in Egypt. Were the single instances of swine and of the plaustrum wanting, should we conclude they were also unknown? But we find mention of the camel in Genesis, xi. 16. The buffalo is not seen in the sculptures; it is said to have been brought from Persia, but this is very doubtful, as it is indigenous and wild in Abyssinia. The modern Abyssinians are more surprised than Europeans to see Egyptian children riding an animal from pasture whose ferocity they dread so much in their own country. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 34.

† We find them *singly* in sacred sculptures.

‡ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 34, vol. iv. p. 46., and vol. v. p. 183.

§ Ibid. Plate 83.

On the opposite wall is a fowling and fishing scene; and the dried fish suspended in the boat remind us of the observations of Herodotus** and Diodorus††, who mention them as constituting a very considerable article of food among this people, for, with the exception of the priesthood ‡‡, they were at all times permitted to eat those which were not comprised among the sacred animals of the country.§§ Here is also the performance of the liturgies to the mummies of the deceased.* Nor do the frescoes of the outer chamber less merit our attention. Among the most interesting is a party entertained at the house of the Basilico-grammat, who, seated with his mother, caresses on his knee the youthful daughter of his sovereign, to whom he had probably been tutor. Women dance to the sound of the Egyptian guitar in their presence, or place before them vases of flowers and precious ointment; and the guests, seated on handsome chairs, are attended by servants, who offer them wine in "golden goblets †," each having previously been welcomed by the usual ceremony of putting sweet-scented ointment on his head.‡ This was a common custom; and in another of these tombs a servant is represented bringing the ointment in a vase, and putting it on the heads of the guests, as well as of the master and mistress of the house. A lotus flower was also presented to them on their arrival.

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* They had also hired mourners, like the Romans, and as at the present day in Egypt, "qui conducti plorant in funere." Hor. Ar. Poet.

† The small wooden chambers, about the height of a man, so frequently seen in these tombs, were used as repositories for mummies, or as sedan-chairs, which being placed on sledges, were drawn by their servants. They were even put into boats as a temporary cabin. Palanquins were also used by the grandees.

‡ Though it was a common custom of the Egyptians to marry their sisters, it does not appear that she was also his wife, as this would not be omitted in the hieroglyphics. See Diodor. 1. s. 27., the Hieroglyphics, the History of the Ptolemies, and Isis and Osiris, &c.

§ Herodot. lib. 2. s. 96.

‖ As in the Birmese and other boats.

¶ In rowing, the Egyptians generally stood to the oar.

** Lib. 2. s. 92. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 37. Woodcut 333. figs. 1, 2.

†† Diod. lib. 1. s. 36.

‡‡ Herodot. 2. s. 37.

§§ Some even of those sacred in one part of Egypt were eaten in other districts.

In the lower part of the picture, a minstrel, seated *cross-legged*, according to the custom of the East §, plays on a harp of seven strings, accompanied by a guitar, and the chorus of a vocal performer, the words of whose song appear to be contained in eight lines of hieroglyphics, which relate to Amun, and to the person of the tomb, beginning, "Incense, drink-offerings, and sacrifices of oxen," and concluding with an address to the basilico-grammat. Beyond these an ox is slaughtered, and two men, having cut off the head, remove the skin from the leg and body.‖ Servants carry away the joints as they are separated, the head and right fore-leg being the first, the other legs and the parts of the body following in proper succession. A mendicant receives a head* from the charity of one of the servants, who also offers him a bottle of water. This gift of the head shows how great a mistake Herodotus has made on the subject, when he says, "no Egyptian will taste the head of any species of animal." There were no Greeks in Egypt at the time this was painted; and the colour of the man (for the Egyptians were careful in distinguishing that of foreigners) is the same as usually given to the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile. Indeed the head is always met with, even in an *Egyptian* kitchen.†

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* Similar to the inferiæ or parentalia of the Romans.

† I infer this from the frequent use of wine in their offerings and repasts. Nor was it forbidden to the priests. (Plut. s. 6.) Herodotus says, "they drink out of brass or bronze goblets, which they take care to cleanse every day; not one," he adds, "but all adopt this custom." (Lib. 2. s. 37.) But they had gold, silver, and porcelain vases; and the expression, "with a cup of gold" in the hieroglyphics above confirms this fact. Conf. Genesis xliv. 2. 5. Joseph's "silver cup," and the sculptures passim. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 223. Plate 12.

‡ Washing the feet and anointing the head was an old Eastern custom. Gen. xliii. 24. Luke vii. 46. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. pp. 214, 215.

§ Including Egypt: there, however, it was generally confined to the lower orders.

‖ Conf. Herodot. 2. s. 39. .... "they cut off the head and then skin the body.

On the opposite wall are some buffoons who dance to the sound of a drum, and other subjects.

In No. 17. is a very rich assortment of vases, necklaces, and other ornamental objects, on the innermost corner to the right (entering); and some scribes, on the opposite wall, take account of the cattle and possessions of the deceased. A forced passage leads to the adjoining tomb, where, at one end of the front chamber, are several interesting subjects, as chariot-makers, sculptors, cabinet-makers, and various trades; and at the other, two pyramidal towers, with the tapering staffs to which streamers were usually attached, and with two sitting statues ‡ in front.

On the opposite side a guest arrives in his chariot at the house of his friend, attended by six running-footmen, who carry his sandals, tablet, and stool. He is very late, and those who have already come to the entertainment are seated in the room, listening to a band of music, composed of the harp, guitar, double-pipe, lyre, and tambourine, accompanied by female choristers.§

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* The animal to which this head belongs is not added; perhaps by *one* ox we are to understand the slaughter of *several others*, which it was not considered necessary to show to the "*oculis fidelibus*" of the spectator.

† I have attempted to explain the origin of his mistake in my Materia Hierog. pp. 16, 17. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. pp. 378. and 383. Woodcut.

‡ Here is a singular specimen of Egyptian drawing. These statues are supposed to *front* to the spectator, but as the Egyptians preferred profile, a *side view* is given of them. They are placed back to back, to show they *are not facing each other* like the sphinxes of a dromos; the only situation they could then have is with their back to the building, which, from their actual position, we are left to infer.

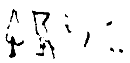
§ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 210., and Woodcut, p. 211.

Near 21. and 22. are rude statues, cut in the rock, probably very ancient.

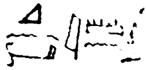
Behind the Christian ruins, close to No. 23., are the remains of a curious Greek inscription, being the copy of a letter from the celebrated "Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, to the orthodox" monks at Thebes.

In No. 29. are some very richly-coloured vases of not inelegant form.

No. 31. presents some curious subjects, among which are offerings of gold rings, eggs*, apes, leopards, ivory, ebony, skins, and a cameleopard, with several other interesting frescoes, unfortunately much destroyed. The names of the Pharaohs here are Thothmes I. and III. In the inner room is a chase, and the chariot of the chasseur, partially preserved.



In No. 33. the chief object worthy of notice is the figure of a queen, wife of Thothmes III. and mother of Amunoph II., holding her young son in her lap, who tramples beneath his feet nine captives of nations he afterwards subdued.†



Before the canopy, under which they are seated, are a fan-bearer, some female attendants, and a minstrel, who recites to the sound of a guitar the praises of the young king.‡

On the corresponding wall is a collection of furniture and ornamental objects, with the figures of Amunoph II., his mother, and Thothmes I.

On the opposite wall, an offering of ducks and other subjects are deserving of notice.

No. 34. has the name of the same Amunoph, and of Thothmes I., his immediate predecessor. It contains a curious design of a garden and vineyard, with other subjects. The next tomb to this, on the south, though much ruined, offers some excellent drawing, particularly in some dancing figures to the left (entering), whose graceful attitudes remind us rather of the Greek than the Egyptian school; and indeed were we not assured by the name of Amunoph II. of the remote period at which they were executed, we might suppose them the production of a Greek pencil.*

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* The word *sôouhi*, "an egg," appears in the hieroglyphics above.

† These and similar subjects relate, as I before observed, to historical facts, and not to the person of the tomb. We have here a summary view of the early life and subsequent events of the reign of the monarch under whom he lived. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 345.

‡ Such appears to be the construction of the hieroglyphics above.

On the right hand wall are some very elegant vases, of what has been called the Greek style, but common in the oldest tombs in Thebes. They are ornamented as usual with *Arabesques* and other devices. Indeed all these forms of vases, the *Tuscan* border and the greater part of the painted ornaments which exist on Greek remains, are found on Egyptian monuments of the earliest epoch, even before the Exodus of the Israelites; which plainly removes all doubts as to their original invention. Above these are curriers, chariot-makers, and other artisans.† The semi-circular knife used for cutting leather is precisely similar to that employed in Europe at the present day for the same purpose, of which there are several instances in other parts of Thebes‡; and another point is here satisfactorily established, that the Egyptian chariots were of wood§, and not of *bronze*, as some have imagined,

The person of this catacomb was a high-priest, but his name is erased.

No. 35. is by far the most curious, I may say, of all the tombs in Thebes, since it throws more light on the manners and customs of the Egyptians than any hitherto discovered.

In the outer chamber on the left hand (entering) is a grand procession of Ethiopian and Asiatic chiefs, bearing a tribute to the Egyptian monarch, Thothmes III.‖ They are arranged in five lines. The first or uppermost consists of blacks, and others of a red colour, from the country of Pount, who bring ivory, apes, leopards, skins, and dried fruits. Their dress is short, similar to that of some of the Asiatic tribes, who are represented at Medeénet Háboo.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 329. Woodcut.

† Others are employed in *weighing* gold and silver rings, the property of the deceased. Their weights are an entire calf, the head of an ox (the half weight) and small oval balls (the quarter weights). They have a very ingenious mode of preventing the scale from sinking, when the object they have weighed is taken out, by means of a ring upon the beam. Comp. Genesis xliii. 21. "Our money in full *weight*." See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 240., and vol. ii. p. 10. Woodcut.

‡ As in the tomb marked Q in the Assaseef.

§ "Solomon made himself a chariot of the *wood* of Lebanon." (Song of Solomon, iii. 9.) He also bought chariots from Egypt. 1 Kings x. 29.

‖ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. pl. 4. at end.

In the second line are a people of a light red hue, with long black hair descending in ringlets over their shoulders, but without beards: their dress also consists of a short apron, thrown round the lower part of the body, meeting and folding over in front*, and they wear sandals richly worked. Their presents are vases of elegant form, ornamented with flowers, necklaces, and other costly gifts, which, according to the hieroglyphics, they bring as "chosen (offerings) of the chiefs of the Gentiles of Kufa."

In the third line are Ethiopians, who are styled "Gentiles of the South." The leaders are dressed in the Egyptian costume, the others have a girdle of skin, with the hair, as usual, outwards. They bring gold rings and bags of precious stones (?), hides, apes, leopards, ebony, ivory†, ostrich eggs, and plumes, a camelcopard, hounds with handsome collars, and a drove of long-horned oxen.

The fourth line is composed of men of a white nation, clad in long white garments, with a blue border, tied at the neck, and ornamented with a cross or other devices. On their head is either a close cap, or their natural hair, short, and of a red colour, and they have a small beard. Some bring long *gloves*‡, which, with their close sleeves, indicate, as well as their colour, that they are the inhabitants of a cold climate. Among other offerings are vases, similar to those of the Kufa, a chariot and horses, a bear§, elephant, and ivory. Their name is Rot-ñ-no, which reminds us of the Ratheni of Arabia Petræa; but the style of their dress and the nature of their offerings require them to have come from a richer and more civilised country, probably much farther to the north.

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* Similar to this was the working dress of the lower orders among the Egyptians. It is used to the present day.

† These are very similar to the presents brought to Solomon. 1 Kings x. 25. and xi. 22.

‡ Two other instances of gloves are met with in Egyptian sculpture.

§ I have found the bear in another tomb, but the elephant is not met with in any other hitherto opened. Neither the bear nor the otter are natives of Egypt. The wooden bar fastened to the rope by which the bear is led, is intended to prevent his biting it. I have seen this used in Egypt for securing the dogs sent in 1831 from Erment to Abbas Pasha, grandson of Mohammed Ali, who was *then* very anxious to train some to fight those of the Defterdar Bey.

In the fifth line Egyptians lead the van, and are followed by women of Ethiopia [*], "the Gentiles of the South," carrying their children in a pannier suspended from their head.[†] Behind these are the wives of the Rot-ñ-no, who are dressed in long robes, divided into three sets of ample flounces.

The offerings being placed in the presence of the monarch, who is seated on his throne at the upper part of the picture, an inventory is taken of them by Egyptian scribes. Those opposite the upper line consist of baskets of dried fruits, gold rings[‡], and two obelisks probably of artificial composition. On the second line are ingots and rings of silver, gold and silver vases of very elegant form, and several heads of animals of the same metals. On the third are ostrich eggs and feathers, ebony, precious stones and rings of gold, an ape, several silver cups, ivory, leopard skins, ingots and rings of gold, sealed bags of precious stones, and other objects; and on the fourth line are gold and silver rings, vases of the same metals, and of porcelain, with rare woods and various other rich presents.

The inner chamber contains subjects of the most interesting and diversified kind. Among them, on the left (entering), are cabinet-makers, carpenters, rope-makers, and sculptors, some of whom are engaged in levelling and squaring a stone, and others in finishing a sphinx, with two colossal statues of the king. The whole process of brick-making[§] is also introduced. Their bricks were made with a simple mould; the stamp (for they bore the name of a king or of some high-priest) was not on the pallet, but was apparently impressed on the upper surface previous to their drying. But they do not seem to have used pressure while exposing them to the sun, as I had supposed, from the compact nature of Egyptian crude bricks, several of which I have found as firm as when first made, bearing the name of Thothmes III., the contemporary of Moses, in whose reign this tomb was also executed. They are not however Jews, as some have erroneously supposed, and as I have elsewhere shown.

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[*] The Ethiopians are generally styled Cush in the hieroglyphics. Eusebius is right in calling Chus an Ethiopian. It is worthy of remark that Kish, the modern name of the district of Gerf Hossayn in Nubia, was called in Coptic Thosh, and Ethiopia bore in the same language the name of Ethaush. See Legh's "Nubia," and below, on Gerf Hossayn.

[†] The Mogháraba, and others in the vicinity of Egypt, frequently carry their children suspended in a cloak or blanket in the same manner.

[‡] Money used at that epoch was, as I have already observed, of gold and silver rings.

[§] See Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. pp. 98, 99.

Others are employed in heating a liquid over a charcoal fire, to which are applied, on either side, a pair of bellows. These are worked by the feet, the operator standing and pressing them alternately, while he pulls up each exhausted skin by a string he holds in his hand. In one instance the man has left the bellows, but they are raised, as if full of air, which would imply a knowledge of the valve.* Another singular fact is learnt from these frescoes—their acquaintance with the use of glue †—which is heated on the fire, and spread, with a thick brush, on a level piece of board. One of the workmen then applies two pieces of different-coloured wood to each other, and this circumstance seems to decide that glue is here intended to be represented, rather than a varnish, or colour of any kind.

On the opposite wall the attitude of a maid-servant pouring out some wine to a lady, one of the guests, and returning an empty cup to a black slave who stands behind her, is admirably portrayed; nor does it offer the stiff position of an Egyptian figure.‡ And the manner in which the slave is drawn, holding a plate with her arm and hand reversed, is very characteristic of a custom peculiar to the blacks. The guests are entertained by music, and the women here sit apart from the men. Several other subjects are worthy of notice in this tomb; among which may be mentioned a garden (on the right-hand wall) where the personage of the tomb is introduced in his boat, towed on a lake § surrounded by Theban palms and date trees. Numerous liturgies or parentalia are performed to the mummy of the deceased, and a list of offerings, at the upper end of the tomb, are registered, with their names and number, in separate columns.

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* For this and many other subjects, see my Ancient Egyptians.

† We also find it used in some of the wooden figures and boxes discovered in their tombs.

‡ This is drawn in very good *perspective*, of which it may not be amiss to observe the Egyptians were not altogether ignorant. It may have been forbidden in their sacred subjects, but some instances of it are found in the tombs.

§ The houses of the Egyptian grandees seem generally to have had a

The form of this inner chamber is singular, the roof ascending at a considerable angle towards the end wall; from below which the spectator, in looking towards the door, may observe a striking effect of false perspective. In the upper part is a niche, or recess, at a considerable height above the pavement. The name of the individual of the tomb has been erased.

In that marked *q*, below this hill, are some fowling scenes, and the return from the chase. In this last the figure of a man carrying a gazelle, accompanied by his dogs, is remarkably good.* Other very elegant and well-designed sculptures adorn a tomb†, immediately below the isolated hill to the west of the entrance of the Assaseef. In bears the early date of Amunoph I. In the outer chamber is the most complete procession of boats‡ of any met with in the catacombs of Thebes. Two of them contain the female relatives of the deceased, his sister being chief mourner. One has on board the mummy, deposited in a shrine, to which a priest offers incense; in the other several women seated, or standing on the roof of the cabin, beat their heads in token of grief. In a third boat are the men, who make a similar lamentation, with two of the aged matrons of the family; and three others contain the flowers and offerings furnished by the priests for the occasion, several of whom are also in attendance.

The Egyptians could not even here resist their turn for caricature. A small boat, owing to the retrograde movement of a larger one, that had grounded and was pushed off the bank, is struck by the rudder, and a large table, loaded with cakes and various things§, is overturned on the boatmen as they row.

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garden attached, with a lake or moat of water, as well for the purpose of irrigation as for beauty, in the centre, on whose surface floated the elegant blossoms of the lotus and other aquatic plants.

* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 13. Woodcut.

† Marked *a* in the Survey.

‡ The form of the Egyptian oars is the same as those now used on the Red Sea. See Ancient Egyptians, Plate 84.

§ Palm branches are among the number. These are still carried by the Moslem inhabitants of Egypt in their weekly visit to the tombs of their relations.

The procession arrives at the opposite bank, not, I imagine, of the river, but of the Lake* of the Libyan suburb, and follows the officiating priest along the sandy † plain. The "sister" of the deceased, embracing the mummy ‡, addresses her lost relative; flowers, cakes, incense, and various offerings are presented before the tomb; the ululation of the men and women continues without, and several females, carrying their children in shawls suspended from their shoulders, join in the lamentation. On the corresponding wall, men and women, with the body exposed above the waist, throw dust on their heads, or cover their face with mud §, a custom recorded by Herodotus ‖ and Diodorus ¶, and still retained in the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptian peasants to the present day. The former states, that "the females of the family cover their heads and faces with mud, and wander through the city beating themselves, wearing** a girdle, and having their bosoms bare, accompanied by all their intimate friends; the men also make similar lamentations in a separate company."

But I cannot agree with the learned M. Larcher (whose admirable notes and translation of Herodotus do him so much honour), that "this custom was not yet introduced into Egypt at the death of the patriarch Jacob;" nor can I admit, that the reason for embalming the body arose from "their being unable to bury their dead during the whole of the inundation." The latter would indeed prove that the Egyptians had not advanced very far in the arts of civilisation, since we should infer that the use of boats was totally unknown to them; and the former is at variance with all that history or the sculptures have transmitted to us concerning their ideas on the subject.

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* See above, p. 187.

† It is coloured yellow.

‡ There are two female figures in this tomb. Eight lines of hieroglyphics above contain the address or lamentation of a female, who calls herself "your sister Re-mait" (or Re-tmai).

§ It is scarcely necessary to observe that this cannot be "*clay*," which in some cases they would have to bring from a great distance, but the dust and earth beneath their feet.

‖ Lib. 2. s. 85.

¶ Lib. 1. s. 91.

** The word in the original may imply that the girdle was supported by a strap over the shoulder, as we see on some of the figures in this tomb.

Besides other interesting groups on this wall, are the figures of the mother, wife, and daughter of the deceased, following a *baris* drawn by oxen, where the character of the three ages is admirably portrayed.

In the inner chamber are an Egyptian house and garden, the cattle, and a variety of subjects, among which may be traced the occupations of the weaver, and of the gardener drawing water with the pole and bucket, the *shadoof* of the present day.

Statues in high relief are seated at the upper end of this part of the tomb, and on the square pillars in its centre are the names of Amunoph I. and his queen Ames-nofri-are.

There are few other catacombs* worthy of a visit; unless the traveller makes a protracted stay at Thebes, and is desirous of collecting every thing that they present for the study of hieroglyphics or the customs of the Egyptians; in which case he will do well to examine all that are numbered in my Survey, except those behind the hill of Shekh abd el K̲oorneh, which are unsculptured.

Few indeed feel inclined to devote their time to a research of this kind. Some are in a hurry to get through the labour of sight-seeing; others fancy they *must* be at some particular place at a certain time; and some persuade themselves that one or two days suffice *to look over* the whole of Thebes.

All, it must be allowed, cannot be equally interested in the examination of Egyptian antiquities; and to become sufficiently acquainted with the style of their architecture and sculpture, so as to judge of and compare those of different epochs, to comprehend the subjects represented, or impassionately to distinguish their beauties or defects, require much more time and attention than the generality of travellers can be expected to afford; but the limited space of one or two days is not actually sufficient to entitle any one to the pretensions of having *seen* Thebes.

The greatest enemy to deviation from the rules of Grecian art cannot fail to take a lively interest in works of the Egyptian school, were it merely from the circumstance of its having been the parent of that refined and exquisite taste, which has ennobled the name of Corinth and of Athens; where superior talent, unrestrained by the shackles of superstitious regulations, forbidding the smallest deviation from prescribed rules as unpardonable profanation*, rose to that perfection which the student of nature can alone attain. In spite of all the defects of Egyptian art, it has at least the great merit of originality; nor can any one, however prepossessed against it, deny the imposing grandeur of the Theban temples, or the admirable style of drawing in the unfinished chamber of Belzoni's tomb, and other monuments of the earlier eras, where the freedom of the outlines evinces the skill of no ordinary artist.

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* In the Assaseef the principal tombs are those marked K, P, Q, R, which I have already mentioned; and on the Drah Aboo Negga a few sculptures are found in C, D, G, J, L, R, S, T, U, V, W, and Y.

The character of the animals of their country, whether quadrupeds, birds, or fish, will be allowed by every one to be faithfully maintained; nor is this a slender proof of the progress of the arts, or of the talent of a draughtsman. And though the employment of granite†, particularly for statues, cannot be considered the result of refined taste, it will at least be admitted that the perfection they arrived at in sculpturing this stone shows wonderful ingenuity, and testifies the advanced state of Egyptian art at a most remote period.

That they borrowed nothing from the Greeks will be admitted by every one in the least acquainted with Egyptian antiquities, though some have imagined that the accession of the Ptolemies introduced a change, and even an *improvement*, in the style of Egyptian sculpture. A change had, indeed, *already commenced*, and was making fatal progress during the era of those monarchs, but it was the prelude to the total decadence of Egyptian art; and shortly after the Roman conquest, the human figure, the hieroglyphics, and even the subjects represented in the temples, scarcely retained a trace of their former spirit. Yet their edifices were grand and majestic, and the antiquary feels additional regret as he contemplates the remains of that era, bespeaking still the existence of Egyptian science, whose unworthy sculpture betrays the secret of its downfall. Architecture, more dependent on adherence to certain rules than the sister art, was naturally less speedily affected by the decline of the taste and ingenuity of its professors; and as long as encouragement was held out to their exertions, the grandest edifices might yet be constructed from mere imitation, or from the knowledge of the means necessary for their execution. But this could never be the case with sculpture, which had so many more requisites than previous example or mere custom,—nor could success be attained by the routine of mechanism, or the servile imitation of former models.

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* According to Synesius, the profession of artist was not allowed to be exercised by any common or illiterate persons, lest they should attempt any thing contrary to *the laws* and regulations regarding the figures of the gods; and Plato (in his second Book of Laws) says "they never *suffered* any painters or statuaries to *innovate* any thing in their art, or to invent any new subjects or any new habits .... Hence the art still remains the same, the rules of it still the same."

† They covered the granite with a thin coating of stucco, and coloured the hieroglyphics generally red, green, or blue.

LUXOR, EL UKSOR, OR ABOO 'L HAGGÁG, CALLED BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS "SOUTHERN TAPÉ;" AND EL KARNAK.

Luxor, or Luk̲sor, which occupies part of the site of ancient Diospolis, still holds the rank of a market town, the residence of a Káshef, and the head-quarters of a troop of Turkish cavalry. Its name signifies the Palaces*, and some might perhaps feel inclined to trace in that of El K̲asryn, or El Uk̲sorayn (the dual of the word K̲asr) by which it is sometimes designated, the existence of the two distinct parts of this building, erected by Amunoph III. and Remeses II.†

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* 'Lúk̲sor, El Uk̲sor, and El K̲osóor, are the plurals of K̲asr, a palace, country seat, pavilion, or any large mansion. In Luk̲sor the vowel follows the *l*, instead of preceding it, instances of which are common in Arabic, as Lússon for El Sohón, &c. Aboo 'l Haggág signifies "the father of the pilgrims," from the Shekh there *adored*. Throughout Egypt, victims are immolated to these demi-gods, *more veterum*.

† On the obelisks, and on some of the architraves, we find mention made of the palace or "abode of Remeses;" but it does not imply that this monarch resided merely in the part erected by him. If so, where were the apartments of the royal abode? An open court, or the staircases of the propyla, would have been *uncomfortable*. The addition of this front gave Remeses a right to introduce the mention of *his* palace; and his accession

The former monarch built the original sanctuary and the adjoining chambers, with the addition of the large colonnade and the pylon before it, to which Remeses II. afterwards added the great court, the pyramidal towers, or propyla, and the obelisks and statues.

These, though last in the order of antiquity, necessarily form the present commencement of the temple, which, like many others belonging to different epochs, is not "two separate edifices," but one and the same building. A dromos, connecting it with Karnak, extended in front of the two beautiful obelisks of red granite, whose four sides are covered with a profusion of hieroglyphics, no less admirable for the style of their execution than for the depth to which they are cut, which in many instances exceeds two inches. The faces of the obelisks, particularly those which are opposite each other, are remarkable for a slight convexity of their centres, which appears to have been introduced to obviate the shadow thrown by the sun, even when on a line with a plane surface. The exterior angle thus formed by the intersecting lines of direction of either side of the face, is about 3°; and this is one of many proofs of their attentive observation of the phenomena of nature.

The westernmost of these two obelisks has been removed by the French; and is the one now in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. Being at Luxor when it was taken down, I observed beneath the lower end, on which it stood, the nomen and prenomen of Remeses II. *, and a slight fissure extending some distance up it; and what is very remarkable, the obelisk was cracked *previous* to its erection, and was secured by two wooden dove-tailed cramps. These, however, were destroyed by the moisture of the ground, in which the base had become accidentally buried.

Behind the obelisks are two sitting statues of the same

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to the throne, long since evacuated by Amunoph, authorised him to occupy also that part which his predecessor had erected. Had Amunoph still reigned, Remeses might have been contented with what *he added to the original building;* but if he really intended it to be a "separate monument, distinct from the Amenophium," as M. Champollion states, it does not maintain the appearance he proposed.

* Marked i, 2., in my plate of the Pharaohs. See below, on this king, at Bayt el Wellee, in Nubia.

Remeses, one on either side of the pylon or gateway; but, like the former, they are much buried in the earth and sand accumulated around them. Near the north-west extremity of the propyla, another similar colossus rears its head amidst the houses of the village, which* also conceal a great portion of the interesting battle-scenes on the front of the towers. At the doorway itself is the name of Sabaco, and on the abacus of the columns beyond, that of Ptolemy Philopator, both added at a later epoch.

The area within, whose dimensions are about 190 feet by 170, is surrounded by a peristyle, consisting of two rows of columns, now almost concealed by hovels, and the mosk of the village. The line of direction no longer continues the same behind this court, the Remessean front having been turned to the eastward†; which was done in order to facilitate its connection with the great temple of Karnak, as well as to avoid the vicinity of the river.

Passing through the pylon of Amunoph, you arrive at the great colonnade, where the names of this Pharaoh and of Amun-Toônh are sculptured. The latter, however, has been effaced, as is generally the case wherever it is met with, and those‡ of Horus (the immediate successor of Amunoph III.) and of Osirei are introduced in its stead.

The length of the colonnade, to the next court, is about 170 feet, but its original breadth is still uncertain, nor can it be ascertained without considerable excavation. Indeed, it can scarcely be confined to the line of the wall extending from the pylon, which would restrict its breadth to 67 feet; but there is no part of the wall of the front court where it could have been attached, as the sculpture continues to the very end of its angle. The side columns were probably never added.

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* They have since been removed by the French.

† M. Champollion accounts for this deviation from its being "a separate monument, distinct from the Amenophium," and censures travellers for "supposing them to form one whole, which," he adds, "is not the case." This idea is singular for an Egyptian antiquary. (Lit. Gazette, Letter 12.) Besides, it cannot be said to be "*connected by* the great colonnade with the Amenophium," as that savant affirms, since the colonnade has the name of Amunoph, and not of Remeses.

‡ On the exterior of the temple, at the south-east side, is the name of Remeses III.

To this succeeds an area of 155 feet by 167[*], surrounded by a peristyle of twelve columns in length and the same in breadth, terminating in a covered portico of thirty-two columns, 57 feet by 111.

Behind this is a space occupying the whole breadth of the building, divided into chambers of different dimensions, the centre one leading to a hall[†] supported by four columns, immediately before the entrance to the isolated sanctuary.

On the east of the hall is a chamber containing some curious sculpture, representing the *accouchement* of Queen Maut-m'-shoi[‡], the mother of Amunoph. Two children nursed by the deity of the Nile are presented to Amun, the presiding divinity of Thebes; and several other subjects relate to the singular triad worshipped in this temple.

The sanctuary, which had been destroyed by the Persians, was rebuilt by Alexander (the son of Alexander, Ptolemy being governor of Egypt), and bears his name in the following dedicatory formula:—"This additional work made he, the king of men, lord of the regions, Alexander[§], for his father Amunre, president of Tapé (Thebes); he erected to him the sanctuary, a grand mansion, with repairs[‖] of sandstone, hewn, good, and hard stone, instead of[¶] . . . . . his majesty, the king of men, Amunoph." Behind the sanctuary are two other sets of apartments, the larger ones supported by columns*, and ornamented with rich sculpture, much of which appears to have been gilded.

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[*] This is the measurement within the walls, which are entirely gone, and have been supplied from a comparison with other buildings in the plan I have made of it.

[†] The door of this was closed by the Christians, who cut the niche of their altar in its place.

[‡] Tmau-hm-shoi or Tmau-m̄-shoi. The Thebans use *s* or *sh* for *g*, as *som* for *gom*, *n'shi* for *n'ge*, *shoi* for *goi* ("a boat"), &c.

[§] I omit the prenomens of these kings, as being mere titles, and forming no part of the name, unless we reserve that in the original Egyptian. The meaning of this is "Beloved of Amun and approved by Re."

[‖] We have no exact word to express this group, for it signifies any addition made to a built or excavated temple in sculptural or architectural details. Here, in fact, "repairs" is not the word we want, as the sanctuary was entirely *rebuilt*. It answers rather to "addition," as I have already stated.

[¶] The meaning is evidently, "instead of that destroyed (by the Persians), which had been erected by Amunoph." At Karnak, the expression "*pounded*" seems to refer to the contemporary destruction of its sanctuary.

Behind the temple is a stone quay, of the late era of the Ptolemies or Cæsars, since blocks bearing the sculpture of the former have been used in its construction. Opposite the corner of the temple it takes a more easterly direction, and points out the original course of the river, which continued across the plain, now lying between it and the ruins of Karnak, and which may be tracéd by the descent of the surface of that ground it gradually deserted. The southern extremity of the quay is of brick, and indicates in like manner the former direction of the stream, which now, having hollowed out a space behind it, threatens to sweep away the whole of its solid masonry, and to undermine the foundations of the temple itself.

The road to Karnak lies through fields of *halfeh*†, indicating the site of ancient ruins; and a short distance to the right is a mound, with the tomb of a shekh called Aboo Jood; a little beyond which, to the south, are remains of columns and an old wall. Here and there, on approaching the temple, the direction of the avenue (once a great street) and the fragments of its sphinxes are traced, in the bed of a small canal, or watercourse, which the Nile, during the inundation, appropriates to its rising stream. To this succeeds another dromos of Criosphinxes, and a majestic pylon of Ptolemy Euergetes, with his queen and *sister*, Berenice‡, who, in one instance, present an offering to their predecessors and parents, Philadelphus and Arsinoë. In one of the compartments, within the doorway, the king is represented in a Greek costume, instances of which are rare, even on Ptolemaïc monuments. Another avenue of sphinxes extends to the towers or propyla of the isolated temple behind this pylon, which was founded by Remeses IV., and continued by Remeses VIII. and a late Pharaoh, who added the hypæthral area and its towers. His name, and the exact area at which he flourished, are not precisely ascertained; but if, as is very probable, we are authorised to read Bocchoris*, this part will date in the time of the twenty-fourth dynasty, or about B.C. 810. Other names appear in different parts of the building, among which are those of Amyrtæus and Alexander, on the inner and outer gateways of the area.

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* The mode of roofing their buildings prevented the possibility of their having halls of any great size without a profusion of columns, which necessarily took off from the general effect and from the actual space.

† A coarse wild grass: the Poa cynosyroïdes.

‡ Philadelphus had a daughter named Berenice, who married Antiochus Theos; but this queen should be daughter of Magas, king of Cyrene, and half-brother of Philadelphus.

The principal entrance of the grand temple lies on the north-west side, or that facing the river. From a raised platform commences the avenue of Criosphinxes† leading to the front propyla, before which stood two granite statues of a Pharaoh.‡ One of these towers retains a great part of its original height, but has lost its summit and cornice. In the upper part their solid walls have been perforated through their whole breadth, for the purpose of fastening the timbers that secured the flag-staffs usually placed in front of these propyla; but no sculptures have ever been added to either face, nor was the surface yet levelled § to receive them.

Passing through the pylon of these towers, you arrive at a large open court, 275 feet by 329, with a covered corridor on either side, and a double line of columns down the centre.‖ Other propyla ¶ terminate this area, with a small vestibule before the pylon, and form the front of the grand hall; which measures 170 feet by 329, supported by a central avenue of twelve massive columns, 66 feet high (without the pedestal and abacus), and 12 in diameter; besides 122 of smaller, or rather less gigantic dimensions, 41 feet 9 inches in height, and 27 feet 6 inches in circumference, distributed in seven lines on either side of the former. The twelve central columns were originally fourteen, but the two northernmost have been enclosed within the front towers or propyla, apparently in the time of Osirei himself, the founder of the hall. The two at the other end were also partly built into the projecting wall of the doorway, as appears from their rough sides, which were left uneven for that purpose.* Attached to this doorway are two other towers, closing the inner extremity of the hall; beyond which are two obelisks, one still standing on its original site, the other having been thrown down, and broken by human violence. Similar, but smaller, propyla succeed to this court, of which they form the inner side. The next contains two obelisks† of larger dimensions, the one now standing being 92 feet high and 8 square, surrounded by a peristyle, if I may be allowed the expression, of Osiride figures. Passing between two dilapidated propyla you enter another smaller area, ornamented in a similar manner, and succeeded by a vestibule, in front of the granite gateway of the towers that form the façade of the court, before the sanctuary. This last is also of red granite, divided into two apartments, and surrounded by numerous chambers of small dimensions, varying from 29 feet by 16, to 16 feet by 8.

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* In the "remarks" of my Materia Hierogl. I have stated my reasons for this conclusion. Pehor is the reading of the hieroglyphics, in the nomen of this king, which being pronounced Ba*h*or, and in the Memphitic dialect Ba*kh*or, gives with the Greek termination the name before us.

† These, like many other sphinxes, have an Osiride figure of the king attached to their breast.

‡ No doubt of Remeses II., who added the front area and propyla. The three isolated chambers in this area are of the second predecessor of Remeses III.

§ I have already noticed in Vol. I. p. 339., and in my "Extracts," p. 14. the real acceptation of this expression of Herodotus when speaking of the pyramids, which has been translated "to cover with a casing."

‖ I merely now propose giving the position and dimensions of the principal parts of this temple, according to their architectural situation, since their chronological order must necessarily be rather retrograde and complex, and commence in the centre, not at the entrance of the building.

¶ The lintel-stones covering the entrance between these propyla were forty feet ten inches long. Though propylon is applied to the gateway as well as the name pylon or pylônê, I prefer for distinction using *propylon* or *propyla* for the towers, and *pylon* for the gateway. See above, pp. 290, 291, 292, 293. on Heliopolis.

A few polygonal columns of the early date of Osirtasen I. appear behind the sanctuary, in the midst of fallen architraves of the same era; and beyond are two pedestals of red granite, crossing the line of direction, in the centre of the open space to the south-east. They may have supported obelisks; but they are not square, like the basements of those monuments, and rather resemble, for this reason, the pedestals of statues. Their substructions are of limestone.

After this you come to the columnar edifice of the third

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* In the plan I have represented them built over by the square wall.

† Dedicated to Amunre by Amunneitgori, in honour of Thothmes I.

Thothmes. Its exterior wall is entirely destroyed, except on the north-east side. Parallel to the four outer walls is a row of square pillars, going all round, within the edifice, thirty-two in number; and in the centre are twenty columns, disposed in two lines, parallel to the back and front row of pillars. But the position of the latter does not accord with the columns of the centre, and an unusual caprice has changed the established order of the architectural details, the capitals and cornices* being reversed, without adding to the beauty, or increasing the strength of the building. Adjoining the south-west angle of its front is a small room†, containing the names of the early predecessors of Thothmes III., hence called the chamber of kings; and a series of small halls and rooms occupy the extremity of the temple.

In the southern side adytum‡ are the vestiges of a colossal hawk, seated on a raised pedestal; the sculptures within and without containing the name of Alexander, by whose order it was repaired and sculptured.

The total dimensions of this part of the temple, behind the inner propyla of the grand hall, are 600 feet, by about half that in breadth, making the total length, from the front propyla to the extremity of the wall of circuit, inclusive, 1,180 feet. The additions made at different periods, by which the distant portions of this extensive mass of buildings were united, will be more readily understood from an examination of the Survey itself, than from any description, however detailed, I could offer to the reader. And from this it will appear that Diodorus is fully justified in the following statement§: that "the circuit of the most ancient of the four temples at Thebes measured thirteen stadia," or about one mile and a half English. The thickness of the walls, "of 25 feet," owing to the great variety in their dimensions, is too vague to be noticed; but the height he gives to the building, of 45 cubits, is far too little for the grand hall, which, from the pavement to the summit of the roof, inclusive, is not less than 80 feet.*

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* For this innovation of the cornices there is some excuse, as more light was thereby admitted from the windows of the upper part.

† Marked 14. ‡ Marked 17.

§ Diod. lib. 1. s. 46. Indeed it will be found to surpass the measurement of the historian by at least two or three stadia.

We next proceed to examine the comparative antiquity of the various parts of the grand pile of Karnak, and to trace the gradnal extent of the oldest of the four great temples of Diospolis.†

No part, in my opinion, remains of its earliest foundation; but the name of Osirtasen‡ suffices to support its claim to an antiquity, surpassing that of every other building in Thebes, by at least one hundred years. The original sanctuary, which was probably of sandstone, doubtless existed in, and previous to, the reign of that monarch, and stood on the site of the present one§, — an opinion confirmed by our finding the oldest remains in that direction, as well as by the proportions of the courts and propyla, whose dimensions were necessarily made to accord with those of the previous parts, to which they were united. All is here on a limited scale, and the polygonal columns‖ of Osirtasen evince the chaste style of architecture in vogue at that early era.

Subsequently to his reign were added the small chambers of Amunoph I.¶ — the obelisks of Thothmes I. — the great obelisks, and the rooms** near the sanctuary, of Amunneitgori — and on the corresponding side those of Thothmes II.

They constituted the main part of the temple at that period. The succeeding monarch, Thothmes III., made considerable additions to the buildings and sculptures, as well in the vicinity of the sanctuary as in the back part of the great enclosure; where the columnar edifice above mentioned, the side chambers, and all the others in that direction, were added by his orders.

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* The propyla are of course considerably higher. Diodorus alludes to the temple itself.

† As I must refer the reader to the Survey, I shall indicate each by the letter attached to it. This Survey from its size could not be made to accompany the present work, and I must therefore refer those who wish for its assistance to Mr. Arrowsmith, in Soho Square, where copies of it may be obtained.

‡ Many names of Egyptian monarchs anterior to Osirtasen I. appear in the sculptures of Thebes, but no monument remains erected by them. I have found in the Assaseef a broken block, the fragment of an ancient building, having that of his immediate successor.

§ Marked 9. The restoration of Philip is mentioned in the hieroglyphics, as also the name of Thothmes, the first monarch who made this sanctuary of *granite*.

‖ Marked 12. of the ground plan in the Survey.

¶ Marked 8.

** Marked 12.

The sanctuary destroyed by the Persians, and since rebuilt by Philip Aridæus*, was also of the same Pharaoh; who seems to have been the first to build it of red granite; and a block of that stone which now forms part of the ceiling, and bears the name of the third Thothmes, belonged most probably to the sanctuary he rebuilt.

The wall No. 11. is double, the inner part bearing the name of Amunneitgori, the actual face that of Thothmes III., who presents to the god of Thebes a variety of offerings; among which are two obelisks †, and two lofty tapering staffs, similar to those attached to the propyla. ‡ At the close of his reign the temple only extended § to the smaller obelisks; before which were added, by Amunoph III., the propyla (D), whose recesses ‖ for the flagstaffs, proving them to have been originally the *front* towers of the temple, are still visible on the north-west face.

The propyla to the south-west were already erected in the reigns of the Thothmes, as I shall have occasion to remark presently.

In the third reign after Amunoph, the grand hall (C) was added by Osirei, the father of Remeses II., about 1380 B.C.; and besides the innumerable bas-reliefs that adorn its walls, historical scenes, in the most finished and elegant style of

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* That is, during his reign, Ptolemy Lagus being then only governor of Egypt in his name.

† Mr. Burton, who first discovered and cleared the sculptures of this wall, has given a copy of them in his "Excerpta." The obelisks were of "granite."

‡ I once thought they might be the granite pillars before the sanctuary, whose summits are fallen; but these sculptured representations do not imitate the devices of the water-plants with which they are ornamented.

§ To give a minute explanation of the different additions made previous to this Pharaoh, requires a very large plan; I therefore only propose for the present a general view of the subject.

‖ The back wall of the grand hall has been placed *against* the north-west face of these propyla.

Egyptian sculpture, were designed on the exterior of the north-east side.

In the next reign other grand additions were made by the son of the last monarch, who completed the sculptures on the south-west side of the grand hall, and on the exterior of the wall of circuit. He also built the area in front, with massive propyla, preceded by granite colossi and an avenue of sphinxes. Succeeding monarchs continued to display their piety, gratify their own vanity, and court the good-will of the priesthood, by making additions to the buildings erected by their predecessors; and the several isolated monuments, becoming attached to the principal pile, formed at length one immense whole, connected either by grand avenues of sphinxes, or by crude brick enclosures. The principal edifices united to the *main* temple by the successors of the second Remeses are the three chambers below the front propyla (B, 2.), and the small but complete temple on the west side of this area*; the latter by Remeses III., the former by his second predecessor, Osirei II.†

Several sculptures were added, during the twenty-second dynasty, at the western corner of the same area; and on the exterior wall, near the doorway, are the names of the captive towns and districts, which the first Sheshonk (Shishak of the Scriptures) boasted to have taken, in his expedition against Jerusalem, B. C. 971. Among them is the Yooda-Melchi, "kingdom of Judah," mentioned by Champollion.

The columns in this court, one alone of which is now standing, bear the name of Tirhaka, Psamaticus I., and of Ptolemy Philopator; and the gateway between them and the grand hall having been altered by Ptolemy Physcon, additional sculptures ‡, bearing his name, were inserted amidst those of the second Remeses. On the left, as you *enter*, he wears a Greek helmet. §

These columns, twelve in number, stood in an avenue, six on each side; we may however conclude, from the breadth of the intercolumniations, and the proportionate smallness of the columns, that they were never intended to support a roof, nor even architraves, but rather to bear hawks or similar emblems.

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* Marked 9. in the Plan.

† I am by no means certain as to the real phonetic name of this or of the first Osirei. It is perhaps Oei.

‡ At 6. and 7.

§ At 7.

Of the other monuments, originally detached from the main body of the temple, the most ancient are the south-west propyla, and a temple of Amunoph III. (K)[*] on the north-east of the great enclosure. It was once adorned with elegant sculptures and two granite obelisks, but is now a confused heap of ruins; whose plan is with difficulty traced beneath its fallen walls.

In front of it stands a well-proportioned pylon, bearing the names and sculptures of Ptolemy Euergetes with Berenice, and of Philopator; beyond which an avenue of sphinxes extends to a raised platform at its north-east extremity. The pylon, which was of a much earlier date than the sculptures it bears, having attached to it the statues of Remeses II.[†], is the only portion of this building which has escaped the fury of the invader; and though we may with reason attribute a considerable part of the destruction of Thebes to the Persian conquest, the names on this pylon, and many *Ptolemaïc* additions to the temple of Amun, fully prove that its capture by Lathyrus[‡] was not less detrimental to this city, than the previous invasion of Cambyses.

A protracted siege of three years had exasperated the Ptolemaïc conqueror against his rebellious subjects; and he sought, by the destruction of Thebes, to wound the pride of its inhabitants, while he wrested from them for ever the means and prospect of future resistance.

The feeling which induced the Persians to deface its monuments was of a different nature. They had become masters of Egypt; they were not more inimical to the Thebans, than to any other of the inhabitants of the country; the destruction of the statues or the sanctuaries[§] was prompted by a contempt for their votaries, not by the fury of an injured master; and the pillage of all that was capable of being removed, and the burning of a captured city, were rather the custom of the day than any extraordinary severity exercised by the conquering enemy.

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[*] Other names, in the different parts of this building, are of Pthahmen, Remeses IV., Amyrteus, Hakōris, and some of the Ptolemies.

[†] The feet, and fragments scattered before them, are all that remain of these colossi, having been destroyed at the same time as the temple. They were of gritstone, and of a very good style.

[‡] Pausanias (1. 9.) says Philometor, but this was a title given also to Lathyrus.

[§] Ptolemy spared the sanctuaries, the abode of the gods he pretended to respect, as being common to other parts of Egypt; the Persians, on the contrary, derided the religion of the Egyptians.

The Persians were hostile to Egypt; Lathyrus was solely enraged against the Thebans; and on them the whole weight of his vengeance naturally fell. And the animosity of civil war, inflamed by jealousy against a neighbouring rival, prompted the Egyptian victors to destroy those monuments, which contributed to the grandeur or the strength of Thebes.

Had the temple before us been demolished at the earlier period of the Persian invasion, it is needless to remark that the sculptures of this pylon would not have been added during the Ptolemaïc reigns, to adorn a mass of ruins, or that the Persians would not have left it *alone* untouched. And though to the conquest of Cambyses is to be attributed a great part of the destruction of Thebes, modern visiters have more reason to regret the implacable rage of the Greek monarch, which reduced it to so deplorable a state that it "no longer deserved a rank among the cities of Egypt." Nor did it ever revive from this fatal blow; and though the respect for the deities there worshipped, or the influence of the Theban priesthood, induced the succeeding Ptolemies* to repair several of the gateways, and other parts of its ancient buildings, Thebes gradually sank into oblivion; and its reduced population, divided into separate bodies, withdrew to small villages within its former precincts.†

The S.W. propyla before alluded to‡ are of the early date of the first, second, and third Thothmes, and of Amunoph II.; and on the north side of the southernmost of the two nearest the temple§, we find the mention of "additional work" or "repairs" made by king Osirei to the temple of Amunre.

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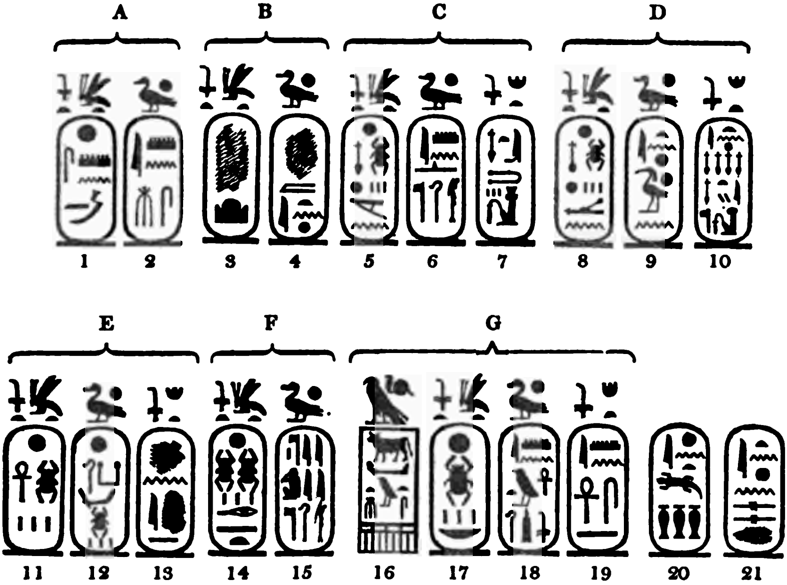
* Particularly Auletes, or Dionysus, who also restored part of *this* temple of Amunoph; so that it must have been destroyed *again* subsequently to his reign. There happened a sedition in the Thebaïd under Corn. Gallus, but Strabo says it was easily quelled; which would imply that Thebes was not besieged on that occasion.

† This happened before the time of Strabo, who mentions the circumstance, lib. 17.

‡ P. 251.

§ Behind the statues 34, 35.

On the other (No. 32.) which has lately been destroyed, and on the walls connecting it with the temple, is the name of king Horus, who not only cut his name over that of an older monarch, Amun-Toônh, but used the stones of earlier buildings, bearing the ovals of king Atinre-Bakhan and others of that foreign family, which he doubtless destroyed for this purpose. The fact is very important, as it limits the reign of Bakhan to the period intervening between Horus and Thothmes IV. whom I have already shown to have been his second predecessor[*]; and from these ruins, M. Prisse has been enabled to make out the probable succession of some of those kings as follows:



The succession of the five first (A, B, C, D, E,) M. Prisse thinks to be in the above order; and since the era of Atinre-Bakhan (D) has been ascertained, it appears to me that F and G should follow them, the latter, Amun-Toônh, being a cotemporary of Amunoph III., and therefore the last of those foreign princes. As I have already stated, they were not admitted into the Theban lists of kings. F is of Eesa, whose tomb is in the western valley of Thebes.

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[*] See above, pp. 73, 74. 132. and 244.

Nos. 20. and 21. are uncertain. The first is from a ring belonging to Mr. Burton, and the other from the handle of a vase I found at Tel el Amarna. Nos. 7. 10. 13. and 19. are names of queens belonging to the kings they accompany, and 16. is the usual square title or banner prefixed to the ovals of the Pharaohs. A is from the third propyla of Karnak, and E from a grotto at Tel el Amarna.

The interesting inquiry to which the discovery of the above names has led, induces me to mention them more particularly, in order to invite the attention of travellers to the subject, and to show the importance of any observations they may have it in their power to make, respecting the succession and history of these stranger princes; and no opportunity should be allowed to pass of copying hieroglyphics that contain their ovals.

Other monarchs have added sculpture to different parts of the two areas before and behind these propyla; and we here find the names of Remeses II. and III. with some other early Pharaohs.

To the south-east of them is a lake or spacious reservoir, lined with masonry, which still receives the water of the rising Nile, as it oozes through the ground; and on its banks are a few small ruins*, of the late epoch of Psammouthis, of the twenty-ninth dynasty.

The small edifice † attached to the front area is of the second Amunoph, but the name on the neighbouring outer propyla is of the successor of Amunoph III., and the andro-sphinxes ‡ before them bear that of Osirei II. In a small isolated edifice (O), are the ovals of Thothmes I. and the third Amunoph §, whose statues of black granite adorn the inner doorway.

The ruins within the crude brick enclosure of the other, or western lake, are of various epochs; and among the sculptures are observed the names of Thothmes III., Amunoph III.,

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* Marked 25, 26, 27. † Marked 28. ‡ Number 39.

§ These are *sitting* statues; the former *stood* somewhere near the same door.

Sheshonk I., and Ptolemy Dionysus. The temple (T, 3.), and statues, which once stood before it, are of Remeses II.; and that on the western corner of the lake, also adorned with two granite statues, is of Remeses III. Numerous figures of black granite, representing the lion-headed goddess, are deposited in the precincts of the inner enclosure; and some elegant androsphinxes, on the left of the front door, are worthy of notice.

The water of this lake also receives an annual supply, through the soil, from the Nile; but being strongly impregnated with nitre, and other salts, and stagnant during the heat of the summer, it is no longer drinkable.

The sculptures of the pylon*, behind the great temple, have never been completed. In the doorway is the name of Nectanebo, and on the upper part of the south-east side those of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and of Arsinoë, his sister and second wife.

In the area, within this gateway, are a few other remains, of the time of Osirei, Remeses II.†, Tirhaka‡, Ptolemy Physcon, Dionysus, and Tiberius. The commencement of it, however, dates from the earlier era of the third Thothmes, as the statues§ placed against the wall of circuit of the great temple have the name of that Pharaoh. By the same monarch was founded the small edifice‖ on the east of the crude brick enclosure; where the names of Remeses III.¶, of Sabaco, and of the Ptolemies Philopator, Euergetes I. and II., Alexander I., and Auletes or Dionysus, are also met with. The small ruin E is of Psamaticus III.; and H of Amyrtæus of the twenty-eighth dynasty; L of Philopator; Q of Euergetes II. with the two Cleopatras, and of Dionysus; and at R is the name of a Cleopatra.

There is also a small temple, dedicated to Amun by Sabaco, a short distance from the southern angle of the smaller lake; and near the village, called Nega el Fokánee, to the eastward, about 1000 feet from the pylon of Nectanebo (No. 21.), is a temple built in the time of the Ptolemies.**

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* Marked 21. † Number 19. ‡ The columns, Number 20.

§ Number 18. ‖ F.

¶ Probably only a stone used at a later period. The gateway to the south of E was added by his order.

** Omitted in my Survey.

Such are the dates of the principal parts of this extensive mass of buildings, which I have endeavoured to state in as brief a manner as possible, omitting, of course, the mention of the numerous repairs made at different times by many of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies.

The principal historical sculptures are on the exterior of the great hall; and towards the base of the S. E. propylon-tower of the great hall, on its inner face (to the right as you approach it from the sanctuary and the obelisks), is represented a large boat, or ark*; which calls to mind the "boat of cedar, 280 cubits long, overlaid with gold without, and with silver within, dedicated by Sesostris to the principal deity in Thebes," mentioned by Diodorus.†

The sculptures of this hall were commenced by Osirei I., and finished by his son Remeses the Great, the supposed Sesostris. Those on the N. E. side are of Osirei I.‡, and relate to his campaigns in the East.

To commence with the northern extremity §: the upper compartment represents the king attacking a fortified town situated on a rock, which is surrounded by a wood, and lies in the immediate vicinity of the mountains, whither the flying enemy drive off their herds on the approach of the Egyptian army. The suite of it is entirely lost.

In the first compartment of the second line, the king engages the enemy's infantry in the open field, and having wounded their chief with a lance, entangles him with his bow-string, and slays him with his sword. The drawing in these figures is remarkably spirited, and cannot fail to be admired; nor are the principal groups of any one of these subjects the productions of inferior artists, but of men whose talents would do credit to a later epoch than the fourteenth century before our era. In the second compartment (following the same line) the Egyptian hero, having alighted from his car, fights hand-in-hand with the chiefs of the hostile army; one has already fallen beneath his spear, and trampling on the prostrate foe, he seizes his companion, who is also destined to fall by his powerful hand. Returning in triumph, he leads before his car the fettered captives, whom he offers, with the spoil of the cities he has taken, to Amunre, the god of Thebes. This consists of vases, silver, gold, precious stones (?), and whatever the monarch has been enabled to collect from the plunder of the conquered country.

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* At C 5. in the Plan. † Diodor. 1. 57.

‡ By adding the article, which would make Posirei, we might suppose him to be the Busiris of Diodorus, and the great additions made by him to this temple to have led to the belief of his having been the founder of Thebes itself. The P in Coptic is pronounced B. If Remeses II. be Sesostris, the name Amunoph, which was said to be that of his father, may have been derived from, or confounded with, the title Amunmai, "the love (or beloved) of Amun," forming part of the nomen of Osirei.

§ Marked C 1.

The lowest line commences with an encounter between the Egyptians and the chariots and infantry of the Rot-ñ-no. Their chief is wounded by the arrows of the Egyptian monarch, who closely pursues him, and disables one of his horses with a spear. He then attempts to quit his car, as his companion falls by his side covered with wounds. The rout of the hostile army is complete, and they fly in the utmost consternation.* The victorious return of king Osirei is the next subject; and, alighting from his chariot, he enters the temple of Amunre, to present his captives and booty to the protecting deity of Thebes. He then slays with a club† the prisoners of the two conquered nations, in the presence of Amunre, the names of whose towns and districts are attached to other figures, on the lower part of the wall.

The order of the other historical subjects commences at the S. E. angle.‡ In the lower line the Egyptians attack the infantry of an Asiatic enemy in the open field, — the Rot-ñ-no, or Retenno; whose dress and colour, if they are the same as those represented in the Theban tombs, prove them to have inhabited a country very far to the north of Egypt. The Egyptians subdue them and make many captives; and their march, perhaps during their return, is directed through a series of districts, some of which are at peace with, others tributary to, them.* The inhabitants of one of these fortified cities come out to meet them †, bringing presents of vases and bags of gold, which, with every demonstration of respect, they lay before the monarch, as he advances through their country. He afterwards meets with opposition ‡, and is obliged to attack a hostile army, and a strongly fortified town, situated on a high rock, and surrounded by water, with the exception of that part which is rendered inaccessible by the steepness of the cliff on whose verge it is built. It seems to defy the Egyptian army, but the enemy are routed and sue for peace.

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* One is on horseback. There are several instances of this in their battle scenes, but no Egyptian is thus represented, at least of early time. Hence it would seem that this custom was considered by the Egyptians more particularly characteristic of the Eastern or Northern nations. Homer, in like manner, describes his heroes in cars. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 289.

† I do not suppose from this that the Egyptian monarchs actually sacrificed their captives; they were found much more useful as slaves than victims. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. pp. 392. 397, 398.

‡ Marked C 3. in the Survey.

Their arms are a spear and battle-axe, and they are clad in a coat of mail, with a short and close dress. The name of the town, Kanana, and the early date of the first year of the king's reign, leave little room to doubt that the defeat of the Canaanites is here represented; as I have elsewhere shown. §

In the other compartments is represented the return of the Pharaoh to Thebes, leading in triumph the captives he has taken in the war, followed by his son and a "royal scribe," with a body of Egyptian soldiers, "the royal attendants, who have accompanied him to the foreign land of the Rot-n̄-no."

The succession of countries and districts he passes through on his return is singularly but ingeniously detailed: a woody and well-watered country is indicated by trees and lakes, and the consequence of each town by the size of the fort that represents it; bearing a slight analogy to the simple style of description in Xenophon's retreat.

The Nile is designated by the crocodiles and fish peculiar to that river; and a bridge serves as a communication with the opposite bank. This is very remarkable, as it shows they had bridges over the Nile at that early period; but being drawn as seen from above, we cannot decide whether it was made with arches or rafters. A concourse of the priests and distinguished inhabitants of a large city comes forth to greet his arrival*; and he then proceeds on foot to offer the spoil, and captives he has taken, to the deity. Though probable, it is by no means certain, that Thebes is here represented, especially as the name of that city does not occur in the hieroglyphics. The deputation consists of the "priests, and the chief men of the upper and lower countries;" it should therefore rather refer to his entrance into Egypt; and Tanis would agree better with the hieroglyphics. But Thebes is more likely to be represented in Theban sculptures. The battled edifices on the road, bearing the name of the king, appear to be out of Egypt; and may either point out the places where he had a palace, or signify that they were tributary to him.

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* The following, inscribed over the king, is peculiarly Egyptian: "The good god, the sun of Khemé (Egypt), the moon of all the regions, Mandoo towards the Gentiles," &c. To the nations mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, who were famed for pompous titles, we might now add the Chinese and Turks, who vie with any people of antiquity for absurdities of this kind. "The brother of the sun and moon" is a good pendant to "the shadow of Allah on earth."

† From the date of his first year this should be the first campaign of Osirei, and precede the others I have before described.

‡ At the angle of the wall.

§ See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 387., and Woodcut, p. 385. fig. 8.

In the compartments of the upper line, the Egyptians attack the enemy in the open field, and oblige them to take shelter in a fortified town, situated on a lofty hill flanked by a lake of water. Near its banks, and on the acclivity of the mountain, are several trees and caverns; amongst which some lie concealed, while others, alarmed for the fate of their city, throw dust on their heads†, and endeavour to deprecate the wrath of the victor.

Their chariots are routed, and the king, having seized the hostile chief, smites off his head, which he holds by the beard. The pursuit of the enemy continues‡, and they take refuge amidst the lofty trees that crown the heights of their mountainous country. The Egyptians follow them to the woods, and heralds are sent by the king to offer them their lives, on condition of their future obedience to his will, and the payment of an annual tribute.* The trees here represented are probably cedars, the place being evidently called Lebanon, or as the hieroglyphics write it Lemanon.†

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* The interesting sculptures of the lower part of this wall were discovered by Mr. Hay and Mr. Burton. The latter has given a copy of this subject in his "Excerpta."

† An Eastern custom mentioned in the Bible, represented in the Egyptian tombs, and common at the present day.

‡ Round the corner of the wall. The suite then returns to the former part of the sculptures.

Alighting from his car, he awaits their answer, which is brought by an Egyptian officer, who on his return salutes his sovereign, and relates the success of his mission.

In the third compartment, the hero, who in the heat of the fight had alighted from his chariot, gives proofs of his physical powers‡ as well as his courage, and grasps beneath each arm two captive chiefs; while others, bound with ropes, follow to adorn his triumph, and grace the offerings§ of victory to the god of Thebes.

On the other wall, at the south-west side of the grand hall, are represented the conquests of his son Remeses II.; from which it appears that the war against the same people was continued during the reign of this monarch.

In the upper compartments, at the north-west end, Remeses attacks the enemy, who are routed, and take refuge in their fortified town, situated on a high mountain. He then storms another fort; and in the next compartment he gives them battle in the open plain, where he obtains a complete victory, and secures many prisoners. The remnant of their army retreats to a fortified city, which he storms, and obliges to surrender at discretion.

In all these compartments, except one, the king is represented on foot, with his shield before him and a spear in his hand, indicating that the places were taken by assault.|| In the lower line he advances in his car to the walls of a fort; in the next compartment he storms another on foot; and afterwards appears before a third, mounted in his chariot. The rest is much defaced; but sufficient remains to show that he offers the spoils and captives to the god of the temple.

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* Such is the probable construction of the supplications they address to the king, through the intercession of an Egyptian officer.

† The substitution of *m* for *b* is very common.

‡ Probably, like Homer's heroes, by the miraculous assistance of some deity. Here is at least a "dignus vindice nodus."

§ A tribute was also imposed on the vanquished countries,—as on the land of Judah, by Necho. 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 35.

|| See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 359.

Behind the side door of the hall, in the upper line, he besieges a fortified town, on foot; he then attacks the enemy in the open field, and having overtaken the car of their chief, entangles him with his bowstring, and stepping forward on the pole, despatches him with his sword. The discomfiture of the hostile army is now complete, and they fly* to their fenced city in the utmost confusion. The subjects in this line terminate with offerings to the deity of Thebes.

In the lower series are a large tablet of hieroglyphics, and the attack of another fortified town. The battle scenes continue on the wall of the court†, where the Egyptians attack the foe in the plain, who are routed‡ and pursued to the walls of their city.

In the other compartments are many similar subjects, and a tablet of the twenty-first year of Remeses II., in which mention is made of his father Osirei and grandfather Remeses I. Beyond this, the Egyptian monarch storms another fort; his troops apply scaling ladders to the walls, and, forcing the gates, oblige the inhabitants to surrender at discretion. In the next compartment, he alights from his car, and binds the prisoners he has taken, to serve as a token of his victory, and as an offering to the god of Thebes.

The remaining walls of these courts were ornamented with a continuation of similar historical sculptures; but few traces of them now remain.

The captives taken by Sheshonk (Shishak), in his expedition against Jerusalem, are on the south-west wall of the main temple§; but the greater part of the other subjects relate to offerings made by the kings, who officiate before the different deities of the temple.

Beyond the circuit of ancient Thebes may be noticed, on the east side, some stone remains near the road to Medamot, and some grottoes[*] in the mountains towards the south-east of Karnak, from near which an ancient road runs southwards into the desert of the Ababdeh.

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* One is on horseback, as in the battle scene of the Memnonium.

† Marked No. 29.

‡ One of these is also on horseback, mounted sideways. They had no saddles, but always bridles. The Numidian cavalry had neither. With regard to the Egyptians, we may conclude that they also had cavalry, since we read in Isaiah (xxxvi. 9.) "put thy trust in Egypt for chariots and for *horsemen;*" and in Moses's song, "the horse and his *rider.*" Besides these, we find Shishak went against Jerusalem "with twelve thousand chariots and threescore thousand *horsemen.*" 2 Chron. xii. 3. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 288.

§ Marked 8.

On the Libyan side, upon the summit of the mountain, which projects to the north of the Akaba road, and the entrance to the valley of the king's tombs, are the ruins of a crude brick building, called *E' Dayr*, most probably of *Christian* date. Hence a road leads over the mountains to the northwards[†], joining the other at a short distance inland, and leading towards Farshoot.

THEBES TO ASOUAN AND WADEE HALFEH.

On quitting Thebes, the first ruins worthy of notice are those of Erment, the ancient Hermonthis. The principal object is a small temple, which appears to have been the *mammeisi* or "lying-in-house[‡]," belonging to a large temple now destroyed, where Reto, the second member of the triad of the place, gave birth to Hor-pi-re, the infant child of that goddess and of Mandoo. It was built by the celebrated Cleopatra, who is there accompanied by Neocæsar, or Cæsarion[§], her son, by Julius Cæsar; and consists of an exterior court, formed by two rows of columns, connected by intercolumnar screens, a small transverse colonnade, serving as a portico, at right angles with the former, and the naos, which is divided into two chambers. Ptolemy Neocæsar and his mother have both the titles gods Philometores, Philopatores; but the offerings are mostly made by the queen Cleopatra, who is also represented adoring Basis, the bull of Hermonthis. This sacred animal is found on the reverse of the coins of the Hermonthite nome. Its head is depressed, while that of the Apis on the Memphite coins is raised, which may serve as a distinguishing mark, when the legend containing the name of the nome has disappeared. I need scarcely add that these are of the Roman empire, the ancient Egyptians under the Pharaohs having no coinage.

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[*] This is on the report of the Arabs.

[†] The Arabs speak of a ruin some distance to the north-west; but it is ery doubtful. I could find no one to show me the way.

[‡] See above, p. 124. [§] Put to death by Augustus. Sueton. Octav. 17.

Strabo says that Apollo and Jupiter were both worshipped at Hermonthis, and that the bull was also held sacred in this city; but by Apollo he doubtless means Mandoo, who was the principal deity of the place; and Jupiter was the Amun of the Thebaïd. In the sculptures at the back of the *naos* are the cameleopard and several Typhonian figures; and those of the interior are interesting in a mythological point of view; but their style is very inferior, and proves that Egyptian sculpture had already approached the era of its downfal. Near it stood the other larger temple, now entirely destroyed, of which the substructions alone can be traced, the materials having been doubtless used to build the Christian church. There is also a reservoir cased with hewn stone, appertaining to the temple, the water of which Wansleb says was used in his time for bleaching linen. The same traveller mentions a tradition of the people claiming for their town the honour of having been the birth-place of Moses, with the same gravity as the natives of Bornoo pretend that their country received its name (*Bur-nóoh*) from being "the country of Noah."

The Christian church dates in the time of the lower empire. It was evidently of considerable size, measuring 75 paces by 33 (about 190 feet by 85); and from the style of the small portion of the outer wall that still remains, and its granite columns, there is little doubt that it was erected after Christianity had become the established religion of the country. But though of a date considerably less remote than the neighbouring temple, it has suffered much more from the ravages of time and human violence.*

Tuot, in Coptic Thouôt, the ancient Tuphium, lies on the opposite bank, in the district of Seleméëh, and is easily distinguished by its lofty minaret. The only ruins consist of a small temple, probably also a *mammeisi*, now nearly concealed by the hovels of the villagers, who inhabit the few chambers that remain. On one of the blackened walls I observed the name of Ptolemy Physcon. It presents little worthy of a visit, and will not repay the traveller for the trouble of an excursion from the river, unless he is very much interested in Egyptian researches.

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* Since writing the above I regret to hear that the small temple of Hermonthis is threatened with destruction, the materials being wanted for some ephemeral modern building.

Crocodilopolis is the next town mentioned by Strabo on the west bank, after Hermonthis. Its site is uncertain; but it may have been at the Gebelayn, where the vestiges of an ancient town appear on the hill nearest the river; and where I observed some grottoes, whose paintings have long since been destroyed.

Tofnées is on the site of an ancient town, perhaps Aphroditopolis; as Asfoon of Asphinis: and in the plain, about two miles and three-quarters to the north-west of Esné, is the small temple of E' Dayr ("the convent"), which appears to mark the position of Chnoubis; though Ptolemy seems to place it on the east bank, 20′ south of Tuphium, and 15′ north of Eilethyas. Chnoubis and Chnumis were the same place.

Owing to the depredations of the Turks, who have removed the stones of this temple to build the manufactory of Esné, little now exists but a part of the side wall and one column, having the names of Ptolemy Euergetes with his queen Berenice, of Epiphanes*, and of Antoninus Aurelius. On a former visit to this ruin, in 1822, I had the satisfaction of seeing it in a much better state of preservation, little being then wanting but the adytum itself. On the ceiling of the portico was represented the Zodiac, and though some of the blocks had fallen, the only sign which could not be discovered was that of Virgo.

It appears to have been founded by the third Ptolemy; but being left in an unfinished state, the sculptures were afterwards completed by Epiphanes, Augustus, Adrian, and Marcus Aurelius, whose names occurred in different parts of the interior. On the southern wall Ptolemy Euergetes was represented, accompanied by a lion, in the act of smiting the chiefs of several captive nations, whose names were arranged in a series of ovals below. Among them, M. Champollion read the names of Armenia, Persia, Thrace, and Macedonia; and this fact, as M. Letronne observes, agrees with what the inscription of Adulis relates of the conquests of Ptolemy Euergetes. Under the capital of the second column of the bottom, contiguous to the door of the naos, Mr. Bankes found in 1818 a Greek inscription, of which the following could be traced:—

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* Not Philopator, as M. Champollion supposes. The Ptolemies, as I have already observed, adopted the title of their predecessors to form the commencement of their own prenomens.

*Θεῳ μεγιστῳ Αμμωνι . . . . . και Αρποκρας Τιθοητους εποησαν * την γλυφην και την ζωγραφιαν του στυλου, ευσεϐιας † χαριν, επαγαθῳ.* $\overline{\mathrm{LI}}$ *Αντονινου του κυριου, Παχων. . . .*

"To the very great Amun . . . . . . (persons whose names are lost) and Harpocras, the son of Tithoêtes, have made the sculpture and paintings of this column, out of piety, for good ‡, in the year 10 of the Lord Antoninus (A.D. 147).

E´sné, or Esna §, in Coptic Sne ||, was known to the Greeks and Romans by the name of Latopolis, from the worship of the Latus fish, which, according to Strabo, shared with Minerva the honours of the sanctuary. But the deity who presided over Latopolis was Chnouphis or Kneph, as is abundantly proved by the sculptures and dedications of the portico; which is the only portion of the temple now free from the mounds that have accumulated over the whole of the back part, and from the intrusion of modern habitations. The imposing style of its architecture cannot fail to call forth the admiration of the most indifferent spectator, and many of the columns are remarkable for elegance and massive grandeur. It has lately been cleared out to the floor, by order of Mohammed Ali, during his visit to Esné in 1842; and it is easy to imagine the improvement thus made in the effect of this beautiful monument.

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* For *εποιησαν*. † For *ευσεϐειας*. See Letronne, Inscr. p. 204.

‡ M. Letronne translates *επαγαθῳ* "for a useful purpose;" but it is a common ending of exvotos, which were rather put up for "good luck," than for any good purpose.

§ Some write it Esneh, but it is not correct. Aboolfeda has Esna, or E´sné.

|| This name occurs in the hieroglyphics also, but generally written Tosne, or Shne, "a garden."

Whatever may have been the date of the inner portion of this temple, the portico merely presents the names* of some of the early Cæsars; those of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, and Autocrator Cæsar Vespasianus, occurring in the dedication over the entrance; and those of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus, in the interior.

On the ceiling is a zodiac, similar to that of Dendera; and upon the pilasters, on either side of the front row of columns, are several lines of hieroglyphics, which are interesting from their containing the names of the Egyptian months. Aboolfeda, quoting from Edrisi, says "that Esna is one of the oldest cities of the Copts, or Egyptians. It has many palm trees, cultivated lands, beautiful gardens, and ancient monuments of the Egyptians, as well as large remains."

Extensive mounds sufficiently prove the size and consequence of ancient Latopolis, but no other remains are now visible, except the portico and a stone quay on the east side. That the latter is of Roman date, may be inferred from the style of the building; and I may add, in confirmation of this conjecture, that Mr. Bankes is said to have discovered a Greek inscription upon it, mentioning the time of its erection.

Esné has become the place of exile for all the *Almehs*†, and other women of Cairo, who offend against the rules of the police, or shock the prejudices of the *Ulemas.*‡ The learning of these "*learned women*" has long ceased; their poetry has sunk into absurd songs; their dancing would degrade even the *motus Ionicos* of antiquity; and their title *Almeh* has been changed to the less respectable name of *Ghowázee*, or women of the Memlooks. In 1832 the Pasha permitted them publicly to exercise their vocation in Cairo, and the Almeh's dance was allowed to satisfy the curiosity of strangers, or the taste of the inhabitants. But the doctors of Islam took alarm, the government was obliged to give up the annual tax levied, *à l'instar de Paris,* upon this class of the community, and their dancing was forbidden. And such is the consistency of these modern Pharisees, that they, in the true spirit of straining at gnats and swallowing camels, permit men publicly to assume the dress of women, and dance in their stead.

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* Mention is also made of Thothmes III., by whom the original temple was perhaps founded.

† Almeh, or Ulmeh, "learned women."

‡ The doctors of law; Ulmas, or Ulemas, the priests of Islam.

Wansleb mentions the tombs of Christian martyrs, who were buried near Esné, and whom some suppose to have been put to death during the persecutions of Diocletian. But they are doubtless the same, who are reported to have fled from Medeénet Háboo at the time of the Arab invasion, and to have been overtaken and slain at this spot.*

Near the village of El Helleh, on the opposite bank, stood the small town of Contra Laton, whose site is marked by a temple of the time of Cleopatra Cocce and Ptolemy Lathyrus; but the sculptures were not completed till the reigns of Aurelius and Commodus.

It has a portico, 23 feet by 19, with four columns in front, and two in depth, beyond which are one central and two lateral chambers, the former 10 feet by 16; and this last is succeeded by an inner room, probably the sanctuary. But from the whole of the back part being ruined, its original extent is now doubtful.†

The subcarbonate of soda, natron, is found in the vicinity of El Helleh. The Ababdeh also bring from the eastern desert a talcose stone, called *hamr*, for which there is a great demand throughout Upper Egypt, being peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of the *birám*, or earthen vessels for cooking, which have the power of resisting a great degree of heat, and are universally used by the peasants. The hamr is first pounded and sifted; and, after being moistened and mixed with brick-dust, is fashioned with the hand, and baked in a kiln heated to a proper temperature. But they have not yet become acquainted with the process of vitrifying their pottery, and the glazed earthenware now used in Egypt is imported from foreign countries.‡

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* See above, p. 167. Norden confounds this with the cemetery of Asouan.

† I understand this temple has shared the fate of the monuments at Hermopolis, Antinoë, K̲ow, part of Dendera, and of Karnak, K̲oos, El Kab, E'Dayr, part of Edfoo, Asouan, Elephantine, and others; whose materials have been used to erect government buildings in their vicinity.

‡ An inferior kind is made at Cairo.

On the west bank, seven miles above Esné, are mounds of an old town, now called Kom Ayr.

A short distance above El Kenán, and about fourteen miles from Esné, is an ancient quay of hewn stone; but I have not been able to discover any town of consequence in the immediate neighbourhood, to which it is likely to have belonged. Some suppose it to mark the site of Chnubis.

Three miles beyond this, and a short distance from the river, is a ruined pyramid, called El Koófa. It is built in degrees, like the small pyramids of Geezeh, and is composed of limestone blocks, from the rock on which it stands, of irregular form, and hewn with but little care. Though in a dilapidated state, twenty-five tiers still remain, and its total height, now reduced to about 35 feet*, may perhaps originally have exceeded 50; the base being about 60 feet square.

Four miles farther to the southward is El Kom el ahmar, or "the red mound." It marks the site of Hieraconpolis, which, as Strabo informs us, was opposite Eilethyas; and though little now exists of the ancient buildings that once adorned the "city of the hawks," the name of the first Osirtasen suffices to establish their claim to a very remote antiquity. Near them is a large enclosure of brick, with double walls, of considerable height.

Opposite El Kenán commences the region of sandstone, whose compact and even grain induced the ancient Egyptians to employ it in the erection of most of the large buildings in Upper Egypt.

A short distance from El Mahamíd is an isolated rock, which has been quarried at an early period, and on whose southern side the workmen have sculptured a few rude triglyphs.

Between this and El Kab stood a small peripteral temple, which has suffered the fate of all the interesting ruins of Eilethyas, and whose needless destruction necessarily excites our regret at the ignorance of the Turks.†

It was surrounded by a peristyle of square pillars, and resembled the temple of Kneph, at Elephantine, in its general plan, and even in the sculptures of the interior, where the king was represented offering to the sacred shrine of Re. It was founded by the third Thothmes, and on one of the pillars was the name of Amunoph II., his son and successor.

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* By sextant. Colonel Vyse makes it 59 ft. 6 in. square, and 38 ft. 6 in. high.

† Mohammed Ali has frequently given orders that these Vandalisms should not be repeated. We may hope he will do more, and put a stop to them.

El Kab is the modern name of Eilethyas.* The town was surrounded by a large crude brick wall: and on the south side was another enclosure, furnished with doorways of masonry, which contained the temples, and a reservoir cased with hewn stone. On the east was a vacant space of considerable extent, encompassed also by a strong wall, to whose summit led several spacious staircases, or inclined planes, as usual in the fortified towns of ancient Egypt.

The temples were on a small scale, but the style of the sculptures and the name of the second Remeses *cut in intaglio* over that of a more ancient king, served to indicate their antiquity, and consequently to enhance our regret at their destruction.

Amunoph II. and Pthahmen added to the sculptures, but the original founder was the first Hakóris; whose hieroglyphics, *executed in bas-relief*, left no doubt regarding the fact of Remeses the Great having introduced his name at a subsequent period, and satisfactorily proved that this could not be the Hakóris of the twenty-ninth dynasty.

Re shared with Lucina the worship of the city; but most of the dedications, in the sacred buildings that remain, only present the name of the goddess. The principal ruins now consist of a small isolated chapel or *naos*, a short distance up the valley to the eastward, dedicated by Remeses II. to Re; a Ptolemaïc temple, partly built and partly excavated in the sandstone rock; and about a mile further to the eastward, another isolated ruin, bearing the name and sculptures of Amunoph III. The dimensions of the chapel of Re are only 20 feet by 16, and it consists of but one chamber. Re is of course the principal divinity; and the Goddess of Justice holds the most conspicuous place among the contemplar deities.

The excavated temple was consecrated to Lucina by

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* Eilethyia, Ilethya, Eilethyas-polis, or Lucinæ Civitas.

Physcon or Euergetes II., the courts in front having been built at a later period by Ptolemy Alexander I.; who, with his mother Cleopatra, added some of the sculptures on the exterior of the subterranean chamber. The front court is composed of columns united by intercolumnar screens, and opens by a pylon on a staircase of considerable length, having on either side a solid balustrade of masonry: and on the face of the rock, to the east of the inner court, is a tablet of the time of the second Remeses, who presents an offering to Re and Lucina.

I have been told by M. Prisse, that on a rock beyond these two temples is another tablet, bearing the name of king Papi.

The temple of Amunoph III. stands about a mile from these to the eastward, in the same valley, between two and three miles from the river. And, from the circumstance of these ruins being but little known to travellers who visit El Kab, it may not be amiss to observe, that this building bears about 70° *east of north* from the ruined town of Eilethyas, and that the two above-mentioned, lying close to the left of the road, may be visited on the way.

This temple was also dedicated to the goddess of Eilethyas. It consists of a single chamber, supported by four columns, 11 paces by 9, with a paved platform on three sides, and an open area in front, 8 paces by 17, formed by columns and intercolumnar screens; to which the pylon, connected with the body of the temple by a double row of columns, forms the entrance.

The subjects of the interior are mostly offerings made by king Amunoph to the contemplar deities; and near the door are represented this Pharaoh and his father Thothmes IV. On one of the jambs of the door, the name of king Osirei has usurped the place of his ancestor's prenomen; and beyond, on the outside wall, is a tablet of the forty-first year of Remeses II., in which the fourth son of that Pharaoh, a priest of Pthah, is attending his father in the capacity of fan-bearer.

On returning from this ruin, and following the bed of the valley, nearly opposite the *naos* of Remeses, the geologist may examine the numerous ponds, on whose brink crystallizes a quantity of natron. This may be seen in greater abundance in a valley to the north of Mahamíd.

But of all that Eilethyas now presents to the antiquary, nothing can equal, in point of interest, the grottoes in the mountain to the north of the ancient town.

The first sculptured tomb to the eastward is most curious as a chronological monument, since it contains the names of several monarchs who reigned at the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, from Amosis to Amunoph II.

Above it is a larger grotto, still in good preservation, containing coloured drawings relating to agricultural and other occupations of the early Egyptians. But the outlines of the figures, and the subjects here detailed, though so highly praised by many travellers, are of a very inferior style, and do not deserve similar encomiums when compared to the private tombs in the mountain of K̲oorneh. They are, however, highly interesting.

In the first line of the agricultural scene, on the western wall, the peasants are employed in ploughing and sowing; and from the car which is seen in the field, we are to infer that the owner of the land (who is also the individual of the tomb) has come to overlook them at their work. In the second line they reap wheat, barley, and doóra; the distinction being pointed out by their respective heights. In the third is the carrying, and *tritura*, or treading out the ear, which was generally performed throughout Egypt by means of oxen; and the winnowing, measuring, and housing the grain. But the doóra or sorghum was not submitted to the same process as the wheat and barley, nor was it reaped by the sickle; but after having been plucked up by the roots, was bound up in sheaves, and carried to the *threshing floor*, where, by means of a wooden beam, whose upper extremity was furnished with three or four prongs, the grain was stripped from the stalks which they forcibly drew through them.*

Below are the cattle, asses, pigs, and goats belonging to the deceased, which are brought to be numbered and registered by his scribes. In another part they weigh the gold, his property; and fowling and fishing scenes, the occupation of salting fish and geese, the wine press, boats[*], a party of guests, the procession of the bier, and some sacred subjects occupy the remainder of the wall.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 99.

From these, and other paintings, we find that the Egyptian boats were richly coloured, and of considerable size. They were furnished with at least twelve or fourteen oars, and besides a spacious cabin, there was sufficient room to take on board a chariot and pair of horses, which we see here represented.[*] It was these *painted* boats that surprised the Arabs, when they invaded the country.

On the opposite side, the individual of the tomb, seated with his wife on a handsome *fauteuil*, to which a favourite monkey is tied, entertains a party of his friends; the men and women, as usual, seated apart. Music is introduced, as was customary at all the Egyptian entertainments, but the only instruments here are the double pipe, *maces*, and harp.

The greater part of the remaining tombs are very imperfectly preserved; but some of them still present a few useful hints for the study of Egyptian chronology.

Those behind the hill are not worthy of a visit.

Edfoo, in Coptic Phbôou, or Atbô, is the ancient Apollinopolis Magna. M. Champollion thinks that the Coptic name Ⲁⲧⲃⲱ, signifies "the place without trees."

It has two temples, the larger one of which is on a grand scale. But the whole of the interior is so much concealed by the houses of the modern inhabitants, that a very small part of it is accessible, through a narrow aperture, and can only be examined with the assistance of a light. It appears to have been founded by Ptolemy Philometor, and completed by Physcon or Euergetes II., his brother, by Ptolemy Lathyrus, Alexander, and the son of Auletes. The face of the temple itself, and the portico, have the names of Philometor and Euergetes, and on the abacus of the columns is the oval of Lathyrus, which again occurs, with that of his queen Cleopatra, on the exterior of the area and portico. On the towers of the propylon are the sculptures of Ptolemy, the elder son of Auletes, and his sister Cleopatra *Tryphæna* *; Alexander I. having previously completed those of the wall of circuit, enclosing the back part of the temple, where we find his name, with that of his wife Cleopatra. In one compartment are the figure and name of Berenice; and from her presenting an offering alone, we may conclude that this refers to the short reign of the daughter of Lathyrus, after the death of Alexander I.; though the titles "royal wife" and "sister of Alexander" would seem to relate to the queen of the second of that name; or to imply that Alexander I. had married his own sister, who at all events survived him. The small figures at the corner of the western propylon have been added at a later period, and are accompanied by the name of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar.

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[*] See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. pp. 196, 197.

The general effect of this grand edifice is exceedingly imposing, and from the state of its preservation it is capable of giving a very good idea of Egyptian temples. It also shows the respective proportion and distribution of the different parts†; their exterior appearance when entire; and the strength of those formidable citadels; which, while they served as a protection to the town, commanded the respect of the inhabitants, and effectually prevented or defeated any attempts of the disaffected to dispute the authority of their priestly rulers. The god Hor-Hat, who is the same as Agathodæmon, so frequently represented by the winged globe, is the deity of Edfoo; and we learn from the small temple (which was one of those buildings attached to the principal edifice, called by M. Champollion "lying-in chambers"), that Athor‡, the Egyptian Aphrodite, with the god Hor-Hat, and their son Hor-senet-to, "Horus the support of the world," or "of the *two regions* § (of Egypt)," formed the triad worshipped in this city. But the honours paid to the crocodile by Ombos, Silsilis, and other neighbouring towns, were, if we may believe Strabo, never acknowledged by the inhabitants of Apollinopolis.

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* We do not find her with this cognomen in ancient authors; but it occurs in the hieroglyphics.

† There is, however, a slight difference in the general plan from that of other temples, owing to the addition of an exterior court enclosing the back part of the building.

‡ Or Hathor.

§ I have authority for translating it thus as well as "*the world*," having found it used in the following sense, "Lord of all the *regions* of the Gentiles, the *region* of the southern country, and the *region* of the northern country." *To* is, however, the "*world*" in Coptic.

The small temple was also erected by Ptolemy Physcon and Lathyrus, and consists of two chambers, with a peristyle of pillars. It had an area in front, which has lately suffered from the depredations of the Turkish miners; though the stones *quarried* from it still remain unused, a counter order having been received to stop the erection of the manufactory, for which this temple has been so unnecessarily disfigured.

In a low hill, between two and three miles to the south-west of Edfoo, appear to be some grottoes, which I did not visit.

On the east bank at Redeséëh are the head-quarters of the Ababdeh Arabs; and another portion of the tribe is settled at Derów, above Ombos.

Halfway from Edfoo to Gébel Sílsileh is a ruined town on the east bank, once fortified with a wall, flanked by round towers, not of very ancient date, and apparently throughout of Arab construction. It *may* have been the site of another Pithom or Toum, the ancient Thmuis; though this should be halfway between[*] Edfoo and Ombos. Thmuis is evidently the Tooum of Ptolemy, who places it inland, 14′ north of Ombos, and 25′ south of Eilethyas.[†] Some suppose Thmuis to be the same as Silsilis. Halfway between this fortified place and Tonáb is a grotto in the rock.

At Hágar, or Gébel, Sílsileh—the "stone," or "mountain of the chain," are extensive quarries of sandstone, from which the blocks used in the greater part of the Egyptian temples were taken. The Arabs account for the modern name by pretending that a tradition records the stoppage of the navigation of the river at this spot by a chain, which the jealousy of a king[‡] of the country ordered to be fastened across it. The narrowness of the river, and the appearance of a rock resembling a pillar, to which the chain was thought to have been attached, and the ancient name *Silsilis*, so similar to the Arabic *Silsileh*, doubtless gave rise to the tradition; and the Greek Silsilis was itself a corruption of the old Egyptian name, preserved in the Coptic Ϫⲟⲗϫⲗ, Golgl.

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[*] The Itinerary mentions Contra-Thmuis half-way between Apollinopolis and Contra-Ombos.

[†] Ptolem. Geogr. 4, 5.

[‡] Arab kings have invariably been introduced, like the gods of Greek fable, whenever any miracle was wanted.

On the eastern side of the Nile, and near the commencement of the quarries, stood the ancient town of Silsilis; of which nothing now remains but the substructions of a stone building, probably a temple. On this bank the quarries are very extensive, but less interesting to the antiquary than those on the west; where, in addition to the quarries themselves, are several curious grottoes and tablets of hieroglyphics, executed in the early time of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty.

It is not by the size and extent of the monuments of Upper Egypt alone that we are enabled to judge of the stupendous works executed by the ancient Egyptians: but these quarries would suffice to prove the character they bore, were the gigantic ruins of Thebes and other cities* no longer in existence. And safely may we apply the expression used by Pliny, in speaking of the porphyry quarries, to those of Silsilis: "quantislibet molibus cædendis sufficiunt lapidicinæ." †

The first grotto to the north consists of a long corridor, supported by four pillars, cut in the face of the rock, on which, as well as on the interior wall, are sculptured several tablets of hieroglyphics, bearing the names of different kings. It was commenced by Horus, the successor ‡ of the third Amunoph, the ninth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, who has here commemorated his defeat of the Kush (Cush), or Ethiopians. He is represented in a car, pursuing with bended bow the flying enemy, who, being completely routed, sue for peace. He is then borne in a splendid shrine by the Egyptian chiefs, preceded by his troops, and by captives of the conquered nation, a trumpeter having given the signal for the procession to march. Other soldiers are employed in bringing the prisoners they have captured; and in another part, the monarch is seen receiving the emblem of life from the god Amun Re.

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* Pliny affirms that in the time of Amasis, Egypt contained 20,000 cities, and that in his time many still existed, though few of them of any consequence, lib. 5. c. 9.

† Lib. 36. c. 7.

‡ He is generally called Horus, from the hawk, but his phonetic name is not certain.

Other of these tablets are of the time of Remeses II., of his son Pthahmen, and of Pthah-men-Se-pthah, the first king of the nineteenth dynasty. In an historical point of view they are exceedingly interesting; particularly from the mention of assemblies held in the thirtieth, thirty-fourth, thirty-seventh, and forty-fourth years of Remeses the Great; from the presence of the name of Isinofri, the queen of Pthahmen, being the same as that of his mother, the second* wife of Remeses; and from their relating to other of the sons of that conqueror. Indeed, it would appear from one of them that the fourth son of this Remeses, whom M. Champollion styles Schahemkeme†, was by his second wife Isi-nofri: though, which is singular, we find all his twenty-three sons‡ in the procession of the Memnonium, where the name of his first queen, Nofri-ari, alone occurs. It is, however, possible that this building was not erected till the *latter* part of his reign; and as his coronation, at which ceremony his first queen is represented on its walls, necessarily occurred at the *beginning* of it, her presence there may be accounted for.

But the prince Shamakêmi, called the high-priest of Pthah, could never have been the same as the successor of Remeses the Great; who was his thirteenth son, and who bore the name of Pthahmen§, "the beloved of Pthah," previous to, and after his succession; the title "chosen of truth" being merely added to complete his nomen.

These tablets, like similar ones at Asouan, show that the stones used in different Egyptian buildings were taken from the quarries in their vicinity; but it must be observed that various other parts of the same sandstone strata afforded their share of materials; as may be seen from the numerous quarries about El Hellál, and on the way to Silsilis, though but trifling when compared with the extensive ones of this mountain.

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* Unless queen Isinofri be the same as Nofri-ari.

† I am not yet certain if the group called by M. Champollion Keme, or Egypt, refers to the name of the country or to the east bank only.

‡ At Asouan, on one of the rocks, is a tablet representing this king in presence of Kneph (Chnoubis), accompanied by his second wife Isinofri, and his fourth son; beneath which are his first son Remeses, his favourite daughter (whose name, however, I cannot read, with M. Champollion, Bathianti), and his thirteenth son and successor Pthahmen. May not Nofri-ari have, at a later period, changed her name to Isi-nofri?

§ Pthahmai and Mai-Pthah signify "the love of Pthah," Pthahmen "beloved of Pthah." I frequently find Mai-Amun and Amun-mai used synonymously; the former implies "the love of Amun," the latter "beloved of Amun," upon the authority of the Rosetta stone; though I am inclined to give them both the same meaning, "the love of Amun."

The earliest Egyptian edifices were principally erected of limestone, which continued in use occasionally even in Upper Egypt, till the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty; though the Pharaohs of the sixteenth had already introduced the sandstone of Silsilis to build the walls and colonnades of the larger temples; and its fitness for masonry, its durability, and the evenness of its grain became so thoroughly appreciated by their architects, during the eighteenth and succeeding dynasties, that it was from that time almost exclusively used in building the monuments of the Thebaïd. But as its texture was less suited for the reception of colour than the smoother limestone, they prepared its surface with a coat of calcareous composition, which, while it prevented the stone from imbibing an unnecessary quantity of colour, afforded greater facility for the execution of the outlines. The subjects when sculptured, either in relief or intaglio, were again coated with the same substance, to receive the final colouring: and the details of the figures and of the other objects could thereby be finished with a precision and delicacy, in vain to be expected on the rough and absorbent surface of the sandstone.

Their paint was mixed with water. The reds and yellows were ochre, but the greens and blues were extracted from copper, and, though of a most beautiful hue, the quality was much coarser than either of the former, or their ivory black. And so carefully were they prepared, that I have been enabled to form cakes of what remains, after a lapse of three thousand years, which might yet be employed in representing on paper the colour of figures copied from Egyptian ruins.*

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* Lest the reader should suppose I had defaced any of the figures in the ruins, I may as well state that those colours were all taken from the fallen stones in the tomb opened by Belzoni, where a sufficient number still remain to enable any future traveller to make a similar experiment. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 301.

The white is a very pure chalk, reduced to an impalpable powder; and the brown, orange, and other compound colours, were simply formed by the combination of some of the above. Owing to their being mixed with water, they necessarily required some protection, even in the dry climate of Egypt, against the contact of rain; and so attentive were they to this point, that the interstices of the blocks which form the roofs of the temples, independent of their being well fitted together and cemented with a tenacious and compact mortar, were covered by an additional piece of stone, let into a groove of about eight inches in breadth, extending equally on either side of the line of their junction.*

However the partial showers and occasional storms in Upper Egypt might affect the state of their painted walls, it was not sufficient to injure the stone itself; which still remains in its original state, even after so long a period, except where the damp, arising from earth impregnated with nitre, has penetrated through its granular texture; as is here and there observable near the ground at Medeénet Háboo, and in other ruins of the Thebaïd. But exposure to the external atmosphere, which here generally affects calcareous substances, was found not to be injurious to the sandstone of Silsilis; and, like its neighbour the granite, it was only inferior to limestone in one respect, that the latter might remain buried for ages without being corroded by the salts of the earth; a fact with which the Egyptians, from having used it in the substructions of obelisks and other granitic monuments, were evidently well acquainted.

Beyond the grotto above-mentioned are others of smaller dimensions, that have served for sepulchres, and bear the names of the first monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty: among which I observed those of the first and third Thothmes, and of the queen who erected the great obelisks of Karnak. The few sculptures found in them relate to offerings to the deceased, and some of the usual subjects of tombs; and on a rock in the vicinity I noticed the name of a very ancient king,

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* I have had occasion to mention this before. It may be seen on the roof of the inner area of the palace of Remeses III. at Medeénet Háboo, and at Karnak. See above, p. 185.

Remai, but not attached to any tablet or other hieroglyphical subject.

To the south of these again are other tablets and chapels of very elegant form. They are ornamented with columns, having capitals resembling the lotus bud, surmounted by an elegant Egyptian cornice, and in general style and design they very much resemble one another. The first, which is much destroyed, was executed during the reign of Osirei I., father of the second Remeses; the next by his son; and the third, which is the most northerly, by Pthahmen, the son and successor of the same Remeses. The subjects of the two last are very similar, and their tablets date in the first * year of either monarch. In the chapel of Remeses, the king makes offerings to Amunre, Maut, and Khonso, the Theban triad; and to Re †, Pthah, and Hapimôou (the god Nilus); the other contemplar deities being Savak, Mandoo, Osiris, Ao or Hercules, *Justice*, Tafne, Seb or Saturn, Atmoo or Thothmoo, Khem, Athor, Thoth, Anouke or Vesta, and a few others, whose name and character are less certain.

In the principal picture Remeses presents an offering of incense to the Theban triad, and two vases of wine to Re, Pthah, and the god Nile, who is here treated as the other divinities of Egypt. Indeed it is remakable that he is only represented in this manner at Silsilis, and that he usually bears lotus plants and *hydriæ*, or the various productions of Egypt, rather as an ornamental device at the *base* of the walls in certain parts of the temples, or on the thrones of statues; alluding perhaps to his being the origin and support of all, and the cause by which all things are produced into existence ‡, and nourished when created.

Isinofri, the queen of this Pharaoh, also holds forth two sistra before a curious triad of deities: and at the base of the side walls the god Nilus is again introduced, carrying water-plants and various offerings, the produce of the irrigated land of Egypt. Some small tablets occur at the side of these chapels; one of them of the time of Amunoph I., second monarch of the eighteenth dynasty; others of Pthahmen; and a larger one of Remeses III., offering to Re and Nilus.

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* Not "the fourth year, tenth of Mesore," but "the first year, the third month of the waters (or Epiphi), the tenth day." That of Pthahmen is dated "the first year, the second month of the plants or (Paopi), the fifth day."

† This name of the sun is written Re, but pronounced Ra.

‡ This idea is expressed in the hieroglyphics over his name at Silsilis. He was also considered the father of the gods of Egypt, as may be seen in my Materia Hieroglyphica, pl. 42. No. 2.; a fact which, as M. Champollion observes, is noticed by Cicero. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 58. and Plate 57.

The particular honour, however, thus paid to the deity of the Nile, at the quarries of Silsilis, was not perhaps merely owing to the narrowness of the river, which, as M. Champollion observes, "seems to make a second entrance into Egypt, after having burst through the mountains that here oppose its passage, as it forced its way through the granite rocks at the cataract;" but also to its being the place where the blocks cut from the quarries were committed to the charge of the river god, when placed upon the rafts or boats that conveyed them to their place of destination, for the erection of the temples. It does not however appear that they sent the large masses of granite, for the obelisks and colossi, by water from Asouan; these seem to have been taken by land; and Herodotus, in mentioning one of the largest blocks ever cut by the Egyptians, says it was conveyed from Elephantine, or rather Syene, by land, during the reign of Amasis, to the vicinity of Saïs, and that it employed two thousand men for three years.

Savak, the deity of Ombos, with the head of a crocodile, is the presiding god of Silsilis, and his titles of Lord of Ombos, and Lord of Silsilis, are frequently found alternating in the stelæ of these quarries.

Kom Ombo, the ancient Ombos, in Coptic M̄bô, Ⲙ̄ⲃⲱ, is about 16 miles from the mountain of the *chain*. The ruins consist of a temple, founded in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, continued by his brother Physcon, who is introduced as usual with his queens, the two Cleopatras, and finished by Auletes or Neus Diónysus *; whose oval having been placed at a later period above the Greek inscription of Philometor, before the western adytum, led me, on my first journey in 1822, in common with other visiters to this temple, to suppose his hieroglyphic name to be that of a Philometor. I have, however, satisfactorily ascertained, by a subsequent examination of the two, that the Greek refers to the original founder, and that, as the hieroglyphics of Auletes have been added long afterwards, these two can no longer be considered parallel inscriptions. The Greek is —

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* M. Champollion supposes him to be Lathyrus or Soter II.

> *Υπερ βασιλεως Πτολεμαιου και βασιλισσης Κλεοπατρας της αδελφης, ϑεων Φιλομητορων, και των τουτων τεκνων, Αροηρει ϑεῳ μεγαλῳ Απολλωνι, και τοις συνναοις ϑεοις, τον σηκον οι εν τῳ Ομϐιτῃ τασσομενοι πεζοι και ιππεις και οι αλλοι, ευνοιας ενεκεν της εις αυτους*

> " For the (welfare of) king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, his sister, gods Philometores, and their children, the infantry, cavalry, and others (stationed) in the Ombite nome (have erected) the adytum to the great god Aroeris Apollo, and to the contemplar gods, for their benevolence towards them."

Savak shared with Aroeris the worship of Ombos, of which he was more particularly the guardian and protecting deity; and his name is always found in the dedications throughout the temple, in conjunction with that of the hawk-headed god.

On the under surface of some of the architraves of the portico, the figures have been left unfinished, and present a satisfactory specimen of the Egyptian mode of drawing them in squares, when the artists began their pictures.

The circumstance of this building having a double entrance and two parallel sanctuaries (in which respect indeed it is singular among the existing temples of Egypt), was owing to the equal honours therein paid to the two divinities, the god of the temple itself and the protecting deity of Ombos; but the appearance of the two winged globes over the exterior of the portico, instead of injuring, rather adds to the effect; nor is the distribution of the parts of the interior deranged by this unusual innovation. The sanctuaries themselves have been destroyed, and the position of the back walls can no longer be traced; but several small chambers in the front of the naos still remain, as well as the greater part of the portico or pronaos.

The other ruin, which stands on an artificial platform, towering above the river, appears to have been dedicated to the crocodile-headed god Savak by Ptolemy Physcon; but the sculptures rather require it to have been, as M. Champollion supposes, an edifice "typifying the birth-place of the young god of the local triad." The grand gateway at the eastern extremity, for it stood at right angles with the other temple, bears the name of Auletes, by whom it was completed. It is, however, now in so ruinous a state, that little can be traced of its original plan; but the pavement is seen in many places, laid upon stone substructions, which extend considerably below it; and some of the walls of the chambers, composing the interior of the naos, are partially preserved. From the fragments of columns, whose capitals resembled those of the portico of Dendera, we are also enabled to ascertain the site of a grand hall, that formed part of the building.

The sacred precincts of the temple were surrounded by a strong crude brick enclosure, much of which still remains; but from its crumbling materials and the quantity of sand that has accumulated within it, the buildings now appear to stand in a hollow: though, on examination, the level of the area is found not to extend below the base of the wall.

On the eastern face of this enclosure is a stone gateway, dedicated to Savak, the Lord of Ombos, which bears the name of the third Thothmes, and of Amunneitgori, who erected the great obelisks of Karnak. This satisfactorily proves that though the ruins only date after the accession of the Ptolemies, or from about the year B. C. 173 to 60, there had previously existed a temple at Ombos, of the early epoch of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty.

The mounds of the town and remains of houses extend considerably to the east of this enclosure; and, to judge from their appearance, Ombos must have suffered by fire, like many other cities of Upper Egypt.

I observed several rounded stones of porphyry, and other primitive substances scattered in different directions amidst these ruins, which must have been brought from the interior of the eastern desert; but for what purpose it is difficult to decide. They are the same species of stone that lie in great abundance on the *hager*, or sandy plain, to the west of the mounds of Dendera, already mentioned.

At Deröw and at Redesééh, nearly opposite Edfoo, are the two principal abodes of the Ababdeh Arabs, where they may be engaged for excursions to Berenice, the emerald mines, and other places in the desert.

Soon after passing Edfoo, the valley of the Nile is confined within very narrow limits, and though slightly enlarged in the vicinity of Ombos, the mountains again approach the Nile a little farther to the south. The general features of the country begin to resemble Nubia, and this singularity of character is increased by the appearance of the water-wheels that occur at short intervals, instead of the pole and bucket; and being generally protected from the sun by mats, they remind the traveller that he has already reached a warmer climate. On several of the heights are small towers, particularly on the east bank; and here and there are quarries of sandstone once worked by the ancient Egyptians.

About a quarter of the way from Ombos to Asouan, some maps mark Roman ruins on the east bank.

The junction of the sandstone and granites is observed about two-thirds of the way from Ombos to Asouan, in the vicinity of El Khattára; from which point the former continues at intervals to present itself over the syenite, and other primitive beds, as at Asouan and in Nubia.

Three miles south of this village, and on the west bank, is an isolated hill, in which are a few quarries; and near the river are the remains of a staircase and vestiges of building.

Asouan or Esooan*, the ancient Syene, in Coptic Souan, Coⲩⲁⲛ, which signifies "the opening†," lies in latitude 24° 5′ 30″. It presents few ruins of the ancient city, except some granite columns of a late date, and the sekos of a small temple, with the shattered remains of an outer chamber and of a portico in front. The only name now found in this building is of Nero (Nerros), but on a former visit I also observed that of Domitian. It was supposed by late travellers to have contained the well of Strabo, in which the rays of a vertical sun were reported to fall during the summer solstice; a circumstance (says the geographer) that proves this place "to lie under the tropic, the gnomon at mid-day casting no shadow."

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* Properly Aswan, Oswan, or Eswan. See above, p. 66., on the use of a vowel before *s* followed by a consonant.

† Related to the Arabic word souan, "an open space."

But though some excavations have been carried considerably below the pavement, which has been *torn up in search of* the tropical well it was thought to *cover*, no other results have been, or are likely to be, obtained, than that this sekos was a very improbable site for such an observatory, even if it ever existed; and that Strabo was strangely misinformed, since the Egyptians themselves could never, in his time, have imagined this city to lie under the tropic. For they were by no means ignorant of astronomy, and Syene was, even in the age of Hipparchus, very far north of that line.* The belief that Syene was in the tropic was very general in the time of the Romans; and is noticed by Seneca, Lucan, Pliny, and others. But a well would have been a bad kind of observatory, if the sun *had* been really vertical; and if Strabo saw the meridian sun in a well, he might have been sure he was not in the tropic.

Pococke supposes the aperture in the roof of this temple to have been for astronomical purposes, but windows are common of this form, and in this situation, in Egyptian buildings.

Unfortunately, the observations of ancient Greek writers on the obliquity of the ecliptic are not so satisfactory as might be wished; nor are we enabled, especially as La Grange's theory of the annual change of obliquity being variable is allowed to be correct, to ascertain the time when Asouan *might* have been within the tropic †; a calculation, or traditional fact, in which, perhaps, originated the erroneous assertion of Strabo.

The wall projecting into the river, opposite the south end of the modern town, is not, as has been supposed, of Roman, but of Arab construction, and has apparently formed part of a bath. It was thought by some to have been a bridge. Aurelius Victor indeed mentions bridges thrown over the

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* The obliquity of the ecliptic was then, B.C. 140, about 23° 51′ 20″.

† The secular variation, according to one calculation, gives 4400 years; according to another, 3800; or, if Hipparchus was correct, about 3150 years from the present time; but as the diminution has been always variable, all similar calculations must be uncertain. The Egyptians and Chaldeans, having observed this diminution of the obliquity, supposed the ecliptic had formerly been perpendicular to the equator; and it has been suggested that the great age assigned to the world by them was founded on this hypothesis.

Nile by Probus, but his authority is of little weight, though he flourished within seventy years after the death of that emperor. In one of the arches, on the north side, is a Greek inscription relating to the rise of the Nile, brought from some other building.

Syene was the place to which Juvenal was banished.

The Saracenic wall, whose foundation dates at the epoch of the Arab invasion by Amer, the lieutenant of the caliph Omer, still remains on the south side of the old town, beyond which are the numerous tombs, mostly cenotaphs, of the different shekhs and saints of Egypt. But this cemetery is of little interest to the traveller, except from the Cufic inscriptions on the tomb-stones that stand there, principally towards the southern extremity.

The epitaphs are of the earlier inhabitants of Asouan, and bear different dates, from about the commencement of the third to that of the fifteenth century of the Hégira. And I have here, as on many other occasions, had reason to observe, that in Cufic inscriptions, the oldest was the most simple style; that the letters were totally devoid of ornamental flourishes, and were even nearer in form to the Arabic of the present day, than those which came into use about the year 300 of the Hégira; and that they gradually assumed a more complicated character, particularly after the commencement of the succeeding century. They begin—"In the name of God, the clement and merciful," and mention the name and parentage of the deceased, who is said to have died in the true faith.* Some end with the date, but in others, particularly those of the earliest epochs, it occurs about the centre of the inscription.

This is supposed to be the place of Martyrs mentioned by Aboolfeda, and often confounded with that of Es'né.

The mosk of Amer here, as at Fostat (old Cairo), presents merely round arches, in imitation of the Greek or Roman style of building, in vogue at the period of the Arab invasion; but it is not altogether improbable, that an attentive examination of the ancient Saracenic remains around this cemetery might lead to the discovery of the earliest specimens now existing of the pointed arch; which was evidently employed in Egypt previous to the accession of the Fatemite dynasty, and consequently long before it was known in any part of Europe.*

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* The formula of the belief of the early Moslems ran in this manner:—"I bear witness that there is no deity but God alone; he has no partner; and that Mohammed is the servant and apostle of God."

This I have already had occasion to notice, in describing the mosks of Cairo.†

A short distance from the cemetery of Asouan is a small bank of that diluvial deposit so frequently seen on the road to Philæ, which is worthy of the notice of the geologist from its abounding in shells‡, and from its having several blocks of granite lying upon its upper surface.

The position of that cluster of rocks through which the road leads to Philæ, and in which the principal granite quarries are situated, bounded on the west by the cataracts, on the east by an open space separating them from the range of mountains on that side, on the south by the channel of Philæ, and on the north by the town of Asouan itself, no doubt gave rise to the following passage of Pliny, which at first sight appears so singular: "Syene, ita vocatur *peninsula;*" § since we find that ancient authors frequently used the terms peninsula and insula in the same sense as our word *isolated,* which may be justly applied to the rocks of Syene.

The most interesting objects in the neighbourhood of Asouan are the granite quarries; and in one, that lies towards the south-east of the Arab cemetery, is an obelisk, which, having been broken before it was entirely detached from the rock, was left in the quarry. An inclined road leads to the summit of the hill to the south-east, and descending on the other side you pass a fallen pillar ‖, bearing a Latin inscription, which states that "new quarries had been discovered in the vicinity of Philæ, and many large pilasters and columns taken from them, during the reigns of Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla), and his mother Julia Domna[*];" and that "this hill was under the tutelary protection of Jupiter-Hammon-Cenubis (or Kneph), and Juno" (or Saté), the deities of Elephantine.

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* The pointed arch dates in England about 1200 A.D.; that is, after the fall of the Fatemite and the accession of the Eyoobite dynasty of Egypt.

† See above, Vol. I. pp. 230, 231.

‡ I am not certain that the shells are not the same as those found in the Nile.

§ Lib. 5. c. 9. The rest of this passage relating to its extent is doubtful, and varies in different MSS.

‖ I hear that some traveller has taken it away.

IOVI HAMMONI CENUBIDI
IUNONI REGINAE QUOR(um) SUB
TUTELA HIC MONS EST QUOD
PRIMITER SUB IMPERIO P. R. (populi Romani)
FELICISSIMO SAECULO D. D. (Dominorum)
N. N. (nostrorum) INVICTOR(um) IMP. P. (Imperatorum)
SEVERI ET
ANTONINI PIISSIMORUM AUG. G. (Augustorum)
ET (Getæ felicissimi principis? et)
IULIAE DOMNAE AUG. M. K. (Augustæ, Matris Kastrorum)[†]
IUXTA PHILAS NOVAE
LAPICAEDINAE ADINVEN-
TAE TRACTAEQUE SUNT PARA-
STATICAE ET COLUMNAE
GRANDES ET MULTAE SUB
SUBATIANO AQUILAE PR(æfecto)
AEG(ypti) CURAM AGENTE OP(eris) DOMINIO
AUREI. HERACLIDAE. DEC. AL(?)MAUR.

Besides these, several of the rocks about Asouan bear the evident appearance of having been quarried; and the marks of wedges, and the numerous tablets about this town, Elephantine, Philæ, and Biggeh, announce the removal of the blocks, and the reign of the Pharaoh by whose orders they were hewn. Many of them are of a date previous to and after the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, while others bear the names of later monarchs of the twenty-sixth, immediately before the invasion of Cambyses; but some merely record the victories of those kings over the enemies of Egypt, or the exvotos of pious visitors.

It is curious to observe in these quarries the method adopted for cutting off the blocks. In some instances, they appear to have used wooden wedges, as in India, which being firmly driven into holes cut to receive them, along the whole line of the stone, and saturated with water, broke it off by their equal pressure. Indeed, a trench seems to have been cut for this purpose; and the wedge holes being frequently seen, where the stone is still unbroken, strongly confirm this conjecture.*

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[*] Geta's name has been erased.

[†] Mater Castrorum is a title frequently given to Julia Domna.

The nature of the rocks about Syene is not, as might be expected, exclusively syenite, but on the contrary consists mostly of granite, with some syenite and a little porphyry. The difference between the two former is this,—that syenite is composed of felspar, quartz, and hornblende, instead of mica, or solely of felspar and quartz; and granite of felspar, quartz, and mica. According to some, the ingredients of syenite are quartz, felspar, mica, and hornblende; and the syenite of antiquity, used for statues, was really granite. Indeed, many of the rocks of Syene contain all the four component parts; and, from their differing considerably in their proportions, afford a variety of specimens for the collection of a mineralogist. But the greatest number of granites, granitelli, porphyries, and other primitive rocks, are found in the mountains between the Nile and Red Sea, to thé north of the Kossayr road.

Many of the inhabitants of Asouan are descendants of the garrison left there by Sultan Selim, and have retained with the costume and arms the pride of their Turkish ancestors. Many of his soldiers were Bosnians, and I have known some persons there who retain the distinguishing name of Boshnák to this day.

The environs of the town are sandy and barren, producing little else but palms; grain, and almost every kind of provision, being brought, as in Aboolfeda's time, from other parts of the country. But the dates still retain the reputation they enjoyed in the days of Strabo; and the palm of Ibreem† is cultivated and thrives in the climate of the first cataract. Dates are among the principal exports of Asouan, and senna, charcoal, henneh‡, wicker baskets §, and a few slaves from the interior, from Abyssinia, and Upper Ethiopia, are sent from thence to different parts of Lower Egypt.

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* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 337.

† The best dates are the Ibreémee. All cultivated palms are reared from shoots; those produced from the stone, in spite of cultivation, bearing bad and wild fruit.

‡ The pounded leaves of the Lawsonia spinosa et inermis of Linnæus, which give a red dye, used by women for staining the nails and parts of the hands and feet, and even by men for dyeing their beards.

§ Another kind of basket is made at Cairo of the stalks of the henneh, which is much grown about Belbays. It is then not suffered to rise to a tree, or to blossom, but is cut down twice a year.

Opposite Asouan is the island of Elephantine, now called Gezeeret Asouan, and in Nubian Sooan-ártiga, or "the island of Asouan."

It is evident that Asouan is taken from the Coptic or Egyptian name Souan*; but, as I have before observed, the Arabs always prefix a vowel to words beginning with S followed by a consonant, as in Osioot, Esńé, Oshmoonayn, and others; in which the original Egyptian name may be easily traced,—Siôout, Snê, and Shmoun B̄.

One of the most conspicuous ruins in Elephantine is a granite gateway of the time of Alexander, the entrance to some edifice now entirely demolished. Near it, to the northward, was the small but interesting temple of Kneph or Chnubis, who presided over the inundation, and was particularly adored in the vicinity of the cataracts. It was erected by Amunoph III., the eighth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, about the year 1430 B.C., who was represented in the interior with his queen, making offerings to the sacred ark of Kneph. In the upper part of the picture the monarch was received by the deity and the goddess Sáté.† It consisted of a single chamber, surrounded by an exterior peristyle of square pillars, raised on a solid platform, with round columns at either front; on one of which was the name of Remeses IV., sculptured at a later period.‡

Near it I observed a mutilated statue of red granite, and an altar dedicated to Ammon, whom the Romans confounded with the ram-headed deity Kneph.

A Christian ruin stood a little distance to the north, and a short walk to the westward, was a portion of another interesting temple: but the whole of these were destroyed in 1822 by Mohammed Bey, the Pasha's kehia, to build a pitiful palace at Asouan. The upper chambers of the Nilometer suffered the same fate; but I was in time to observe, and copy from the hieroglyphics on their walls, the name of the island, which was represented by an elephant.* The royal ovals were of a Cæsar. Fortunately the lower part, which contains the staircase that served for the Nilometer, is still preserved. It is evidently the one seen by Strabo †, as it contains inscriptions recording several of the inundations, from the reign of Augustus to that of L. Septimius Severus.‡

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* See above, pp. 66. and 285, note.

† Copies of this, and of other subjects from Elephantine and Nubia, are given in the hieroglyphics of the Royal Society of Literature.

‡ Repairs, or additions, made by Osirei, were recorded in a line of hieroglyphics on the west side of the temple.

At the ancient landing-place, which had a flight of steps between two walls, near the sycamore tree to the north of the Nilometer, are two river gods of Roman workmanship, but now nearly buried by the alluvial deposit of the Nile, and much defaced.

Elephantine had a garrison § in the time of the Romans, as well as in the earlier times of the Persians ‖ and Pharaonic monarchs; and it was from this island that the Ionians and Carians, who had accompanied Psamaticus ¶, were sent forward into Ethiopia, to endeavour to bring back the Egyptian troops who had deserted.**

The south part of the island is covered with the ruins of old houses, and fragments of pottery, on many of which are Greek inscriptions in the running hand; and the peasants, who live there, frequently find small bronzes of rams, coins, and other objects of antiquity, in removing the nitre of the mounds which they use for agricultural purposes.††

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* I found it again in an inscription on the Kossayr road; followed by the expression "Foreign land."

† The expression of Strabo, "monolithos," presents no difficulty, being applied by the same author to the reservoir of Abydus and the labyrinth. Pliny gives the name "well" to this building, but he never visited it. See my copy of it, and the inscriptions, in Royal Society of Literature's volume of Plates.

‡ I regret that, being obliged through indisposition to return from Upper Egypt, I was unable to continue my researches there on the rise of the Nile and the present increased elevation of the bed of the river, as well as on the Ethiopian monuments between Nubia and Meroë; both which I recommend to Egyptian antiquaries.

§ "The garrison of three cohorts, which were stationed at Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ." Strabo, lib. 17.

‖ See Herodot. 2. c. 30.

¶ See the inscription at Aboo-simbel.

** The country of these Automoles was, according to Herodotus and Strabo, beyond Meroe. The latter calls them Sembritæ, or strangers, in which we may perhaps trace the Egyptian words shemmo, "a stranger," and beri, "new." See below, on Aboo-simbel.

†† See Plin. lib. 19. c. 5.

Elephantine is now inhabited by Nubians. But I do not suppose it was peopled at a very early period by natives of Ethiopia; nor does the account given by Herodotus of Cambyses sending the Ichthyophagi of Elephantine to accompany his spies, imply that they were actually of that country, as he merely states that they were *acquainted with* the Ethiopian language.[*] Indeed, in another place[†] he expressly states that the country inhabited by the Ethiopians commenced beyond Elephantine to the south. It is, however, not impossible that the modern inhabitants may be partly descended from the Nobatæ[‡], who, according to Procopius, were prevailed upon by Diocletian to settle in Elephantine; that city and the territory on either bank being granted them, on condition of their protecting the frontier from the incursions of the Blemmyes.

Pliny and Procopius agree in giving the name of Philæ to this, as well as the sacred island above the cataract; and the former mentions four of that name[§], probably Philæ, Biggeh, Sehayl, and Elephantine. But the hieroglyphics do not support him in this statement, Philæ alone having the name of Pailak or Ailak.[‖]

Besides its temples, the city of Elephantine was adorned with quays, and other public edifices on the same grand scale as the sacred island of Philæ; and this assertion of Strabo[¶] is fully confirmed by the extent and style of the buildings, which border the river to the south of the Nilometer. The quay is of Ptolemaïc or Roman date, and contains many blocks taken from more ancient monuments.

Seháyl is an island, at the northern extremity of the rapids of the first cataract. It is interesting from the number of hieroglyphic tablets sculptured on the rocks, many of which are of a very early period, before and after the accession of the eighteenth dynasty. It had also a small temple of Ptolemaïc date, now entirely destroyed, except the substructions; and it was here that M. Rüppell discovered a very interesting Greek inscription. The island was under the special protection of Saté (Juno), Kneph, and Anoúké, or Vesta.

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[*] Lib. 3. s. 19.

[†] Lib. 2. s. 29.

[‡] Procop. 1. c. 19. We find from an inscription at Kalábshee (Talmis), that Silco, king of the Nobatæ, assumed the title of "monarch of all the Ethiopians." See below, on Kalábshee.

[§] Plin. lib. 4. c. 9. "in adverso insulæ iiij Philæ, ccccccm. pass. à Nili fissurâ."

[‖] The p, or ph, being the Egyptian article. This proves that Phil, or Feel, "the elephant," cannot be the origin of the name of Philæ.

[¶] Taking his terms as convertible. The expression "of equal size" cannot apply to the dimensions of the two islands, but to the grandeur of the buildings that adorned them.

The traveller, whose intention is merely to visit Philæ, without passing the cataract, will save himself some time and much trouble by going as far as this island in his boat, by which the ride to Philæ is considerably shortened; nor will he be prevented from seeing all that the excursion from Asouan presents worthy of notice,—which is confined to traces of the old road, the crude brick wall that skirted and protected it, and the singular forms of the granite rocks, which have struck every traveller since and previous to the time of Strabo. He relates that he made the journey in a plaustrum, and that he crossed to Philæ in a small raft, similar perhaps to some of those still used in the vicinity of the cataract. This, which is called by the natives E'Shellál, is merely a rapid, whose falls do not exceed five or six feet *, and is passable at all times of the year. The boats are towed up by ropes, and supported by the same means on their descent; but it is prudent to remove and carry by land whatever is either heavy or liable to be damaged by water, both on ascending and on returning to Asouan.

Strange notions were entertained by some of the ancients about these falls. Cicero † asserts that "the river throws itself headlong from the loftiest mountains, so that those who live near it are deprived of the sense of hearing, from the greatness of the noise;" and Seneca says, "when some people were stationed there by the Persians, their ears were so stunned with the constant roar, that it was found necessary to remove them to a more quiet place.‡ Lucan § is, as usual, very enthusiastic. He apostrophises the river. It is indignant at

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* This, as might be expected, is in the *Somnium* Scipionis.

† Seneca, Nat. Quæst. 4. 2. p. 885. ‡ Pharsal. i. x. 315.

§ The fall of the Nile through Egypt, below the cataracts, has been averaged by Mr. Wallace at five inches in a mile, which would give about three hundred feet from Asouan to Rosetta.

the opposition of senseless rocks to its smooth flowing stream, and its foam reaches the stars.

Strabo and Seneca both mention the skill of the natives in passing the cataracts in their small boats, which was a sight to strangers going there; but the geographer is not guilty of any exaggeration in his description of the falls.

Philæ, Pilak or Ailak[*], known in Arabic by the name of Anas el Wogoód[†], stands a short distance above the cataract, and is no less interesting from the subjects contained in its sacred buildings than for the general effect of the ruins; which, with the scenery of the adjoining island, and the wild rocks on the opposite shore, have deservedly obtained the name of *beautilfu.*[‡] The principal building is the temple of Isis, commenced by Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoë, and completed by succeeding monarchs; among whom are Euergetes I., Philometor, his brother Euergetes II., with the two Cleopatras, and Ptolemy the elder son of Auletes, whose name is found in the area and on the towers of the propylon. Many of the sculptures on the exterior are of the later epoch of the Roman emperors, among whom I observed Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Domitian, Nerva and Trajan.

The eastern tower of the second or inner propylon stands on a granite rock, before which has been erected a small chapel; and its face, cut into the form of a tablet, bears a long inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Euergetes II.

A monolithic shrine in the adytum has the ovals of Euergetes and Berenice; but the only place where his name occurs on the walls of the temple, is at the back wall of the portico. Many parts of this building, particularly the portico, though not possessing the chaste and simple style of Pharaonic monuments, are remarkable for lightness and elegance: and from the state of their preservation, they convey a good idea of the effect of colour, combined* with the details of architecture. Nor are the sculptures devoid of interest; and those of the chamber nearly over the western adytum, containing the apotheosis of Osiris, as well as of the peripteral temple on the left, entering the area †, relating to the birth of Horus, throw great light on the study of Egyptian mythology. This youthful deity, with his parents, Isis and Osiris, constituted the triad worshipped at Philæ.

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[*] It was also called Ma-n'-lak, "the place of the frontier."

[†] Or Anas el Wodjoud, translated by Burckhardt, "the social pleasures of Wodjoud." The Arabs believe him to have been king of the island.

[‡] In the inscriptions there. The inhabitants had a bad character, and Seneca calls the "Philistæ, latrones et prædones." In his description of the island he says, "Philæ insula aspera et undique prærupta; duobus in unum coituris amnibus cingitur, qui Nilo mutantur, et ejus nomen ferunt. Urbem totam complectitur .... Primum incrementum Nili circa insulam, Philas noscitur." 4. 2.

Among other peculiarities in the distribution of the many parts of the great temple, I ought not to omit the small dark rooms in the wall of the eastern adytum, to which a staircase leads from near the front of that chamber. They have the appearance of being intended either for concealing the sacred treasures of the temple, or for some artifice connected with superstition, and perhaps with the punishment of those who offended the majesty of the priesthood.

It would be an endless task to enter into a detailed account of all that Philæ offers to the curious traveller, or to the Egyptian antiquary; I shall therefore briefly notice the principal objects. The small chapel of Esculapius, near the commencement of the eastern corridor, in front of the great temple, satisfactorily decides by its Greek dedication the name of Ptolemy Epiphanes; and that of Athor, which stands on the east side, nearly in a line with the front propylon, acquaints us with the fact, that this small building was consecrated to the Egyptian Aphrodite, by Physcon, or the second Euergetes. Though the hieroglyphic name is the same as that of Philometor, it is evident that Physcon has here, as in many other instances, adopted the prenomen of his brother; and since we find him with the two Cleopatras, his queens, it is plainly proved not to be of Philometor.

Physcon seems to have been a great benefactor of Philæ; and, as is often the case with a vicious despot, he ingratiated himself with the priesthood as a cloak to his real character. It is to him too, that the petition of the priests is addressed in the Greek inscription on the pedestal of the obelisk, brought to England by Mr. Bankes. The object of this curious document was to prevent so many persons of rank, and public functionaries, visiting the island of Philæ, and living at the expense of the priests. It is as follows:—

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* The Greek temples were also coloured. See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 298.

† In the side door of the propylon before this building, is a figure of the god Nilus bringing an elephant with other offerings.

"To King Ptolemy, and Queen Cleopatra his sister, and Queen Cleopatra his wife, gods Euergetes, welfare. We the priests of Isis, the very great goddess [worshipped] in Abaton and Philæ; seeing that those who visit Philæ, generals, chiefs, governors of districts in the Thebaïd, royal scribes, chiefs of police, and all other functionaries, as well as their soldiers and other attendants, oblige us to provide for them during their stay; the consequence of which is, that the temple is impoverished, and we run the risk of not having enough for the customary sacrifices and libations offered for you and your children; do therefore pray you, O great gods, if it seem right to you, to order Numenius, your cousin and secretary, to write to Lochus, your cousin, and governor of the Thebaïd, not to disturb us in this manner, and not to allow any other person to do so, and to give us authority to this effect; that we may put up a *stela*, with an inscription commemorating your beneficence towards us on this occasion, so that your gracious favour may be recorded for ever; which being done, we, and the temple of Isis, shall be indebted to you for this, among other favours. Hail."

Above, on the same pedestal, was painted (probably in gilt letters), the answer to the petition, followed by a copy of the order from the king to Lochus. Little more than half of them remains; but restored by the ingenuity and learning of M. Letronne, they read as follows:—

"To the priests of Isis in Abaton and Philæ, Numenius, cousin and secretary, and priest of the god Alexander, and of the gods Soters, of the gods Adelphi, of the gods Euergetes, of the gods Philopatores, of the gods Epiphanes, of the god Eupator, of the god Philometor, and of the gods Euergetes, greeting. Of the letter written to Lochus, the cousin and general, we place the copy here below; and we give you the permission you ask, of erecting a *stela*. Fare ye well. In the year . . . of Panemus, . . . of Pachon 26."

Answer of the king—"King Ptolemy, and Queen Cleopatra the sister, and Queen Cleopatra the wife, to Lochus our brother, greeting of the petition addressed to us by the priests of Isis in Abaton and Philæ, we place a copy below; and you will do well to order that on no account they be molested in those matters which they have detailed to us. Hail." *

At the southern extremity of the corridor is another small chapel, dedicated to Athor, by Nectanebo of the thirtieth dynasty, who ruled Egypt after the first Persian invasion, and previous to its final reduction by Ochus. And from the principal pylon of the great temple bearing the name of this Pharaoh, it is evident that an ancient edifice formerly stood on the site of the present one, which having been destroyed by the Persians at the time of the invasion of Ochus, was rebuilt after the accession of the Ptolemies.

The hypæthral building, on the east of the island, is of the time of the Ptolemies and Cæsars; and from the elongated style of its proportions, it appears that the architect had intended to add to its effect when seen from the river. Below it is a quay, which extended nearly round the island, whose principal landing-place was at the staircase leading to the arched gate on the east bank. A short distance behind the gate stands a ruined wall, ornamented with triglyphs and the usual mouldings of the Doric order, evidently of Roman construction.

Other detached ruins and traces of buildings are met with amidst the mounds that encumber them; and on the west side of the temple is a chapel, in which are some interesting sculptures relating to the Nile, and other subjects; with a series of ovals in the cornice, containing the name of Lucius, Verus, Antoninus, Sebastus, Autocrator, Cæsar. There are also some Greek, and unknown inscriptions, probably Ethiopian.

Numerous *ex votos* are inscribed on the walls of the propylon and other parts of the great temple, mostly of the time of the Cæsars †, with a few of a Ptolemaïc epoch, from one of which last we learn that Auletes, or Neus Dionysus, was called god Philopator and Philadelphus, titles that usually follow his name in hieroglyphics.

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* For the parts supplied by M. Letronne, see his first volume, p. 355.

† The Greek inscriptions at Philæ and in Nubia are too numerous to give in the present work; I therefore refer for them to M. Letronne's valuable collection of Egyptian inscriptions, where the most diligent research and profound erudition have united to render them interesting and useful.

In the island of Biggeh is a small temple, dedicated to Athor, apparently commenced by Euergetes I. and completed by Ptolemy the elder, son of Auletes, by Augustus, and other of the Cæsars; but from the presence of a red granite statue behind it, there is reason to believe that an older edifice had previously existed here, of the time of a Pharaoh, either Thothmes III. or Amunoph II. Among the mounds is a stela of red granite, bearing the name of Amasis, surnamed Neitsi, "the son of *Neit*," or *Minerva.*

The arch, inserted at a late period in the centre of the building, is of Christian date; and it is evident that the early Christians occupied both of these islands, whose temples they converted into churches, concealing with a coat of clay or mortar the objects of worship of their pagan predecessors.

I will not pretend to say that Philæ had not the name of Abaton; but from an inscription at Biggeh, mentioning "the gods in Abaton *and* in Philæ," there is room to believe it belonged to that island; though it has, at least in one sense, been applied to Philæ by Plutarch, who says "that island is *inaccessible* and unapproachable ..... except when the priests go to crown the tomb of Osiris.* The same name, Abaton, occurs with that of Philæ in the Greek inscription of the obelisk of Mr. Bankes, already mentioned; and Seneca speaks of it as a neighbouring island.† It must, however, be confessed that his words, "a very little way from the island of Philæ is a rock, which the Greeks call *Abaton*, on which none but the priests are allowed to set foot," seems to imply that it was a mere rock, a term by no means applicable to the island of Biggeh; and this would require us to look for Abaton among the rocks at the south end of Philæ. But it is more probable that Seneca was misinformed about the size, and that Biggeh was really the Abaton he so imperfectly describes.

The name of Biggeh in the hieroglyphics is Senmaut or Snem, over which Athor is said to preside; but we some-

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* De Isid. et Osir. s. 21.

† Seneca, Nat. Quæst. 4. 2.

ASHMOLEAN OXFORD

times find the name followed by the sign of "foreign country*," instead of the circle signifying "land."

On the rocks here, as on the road from Asouan to Philæ, are numerous inscriptions, of the early times of the Pharaohs of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth dynasties: several of which† mention the holy object of their writers, who came to adore the gods of this district, while others merely present the names of the monarchs themselves. Some relate to the granite blocks cut and removed in their reigns, and others to the victories gained by them over the Ethiopians, the people of Cush. Similar tablets are of great use in the study of the chronology of that period; nor are those of the later Pharaohs, of the twenty-sixth and twenty-eighth dynasties, without their share of interest.

On the eastern shore, opposite Philæ‡, are some mounds, and the remains of a stela and monolith of granite; the former bearing the name of the first Psamaticus, and consecrated to Kneph and Saté.

There is also a rock opposite the north end of Philæ, remarkable for its elevated appearance and general form; but there is no reason to suppose that any religious idea was attached to it, as some have imagined, and much less that it was Abaton.

Such are the principal objects in the vicinity of the cataracts, affording an endless study to the Egyptian chronologer and antiquary, and calculated to claim for it a prominent place amongst the most interesting sites in Egypt.

Here commences the territory of the Nubians, or Lower Ethiopia; which, conquered by the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, and afterwards abandoned, was again partly retained within the frontier of the Egyptian territory, after the accession of the Ptolemies. Lord Prudhoe and Colonel Felix, who collected much valuable information concerning the ancient state of Ethiopia, observed that Thothmes I. extended his arms as far as the Island of Argo, where he left a monument, now known by the name of Hagar e' dáhab, "the golden stone." Thothmes II. penetrated to the capital of Lower Ethiopia, Napata, now El Berkel; and the third of that name appears to have extended his dominion still farther. The invasion of the Cæsars, who extended their conquests under Petronius, præfect of Egypt in the time of Augustus, as far as Napata, was owing to an incursion of the Ethiopians, who had penetrated to Syene, and overwhelmed the garrison stationed there to protect the Egyptian frontier.*

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* No doubt from being considered *in* Ethiopia, though *belonging to* Egypt. The same was applied to Elephantine. Strabo says Philæ belonged in common to the Egyptians and Ethiopians. Sometimes the name Snem is followed by both these signs.

† To notice their details could be of little interest to the reader, and without copies of them, of very little use to the student in hieroglyphics.

‡ I am at a loss to discover why some write Philæ, Philoë; as there is no authority for it, the Greek name being Φιλαι, and the Egyptian Pilak.

Napata, the capital of queen Candace†, was, according to Pliny, 870 Roman miles above the cataracts, and is supposed to be El Berkel of the present day, where pyramids and extensive ruins denote the former existence of a large city. The Ethiopians, says Strabo, above Syene, consisted of the Troglodytæ, Blemmyes, Nubæ, and Megabari. The Megabari and Blemmyes inhabited the eastern desert, north of Meroë to the frontiers of Egypt, and were under the dominion of the Ethiopians. The Ichthyophagi lived on the shore of the Red Sea; the Troglodytæ from Berenice southwards, between it and the Nile; and the Nubæ, a Libyan nation, were on the left bank, and independent of Ethiopia.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the grottoes at Thebes and other places in Egypt were not, as some have imagined, the caves of the Troglodytæ. They were a tribe of Ethiopians, the predecessors of the modern Bisharéëh.

Pliny says the only cities of Ethiopia found and taken by Petronius, on his march to Napata, were Pselcis, Primis, Aboccis, Phthuris, Cambusis, Attena, and Stadisis, remarkable for its cataract‡, which, the naturalist says, "deprived the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of their hearing." He then mentions the distances from Syene to Meroë, which some computed at 625 M. P., others at 600, or, according to the observations of Nero's spies, 862, with the following intermediate measurements:—

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* Strabo, lib. 17. p. 564.

† The name of Candace so often occurs as a queen of Ethiopia that we might almost suppose it a title, like Pharaoh, which seems to be the opinion of Pliny, 6. 29. The frequent mention of *queens* of Ethiopia is also singular. Comp. Acts, viii. 27. "The Candace, queen of the Ethiopians," mentioned there, was perhaps the same as, or the immediate successor of, the Candace who was defeated by Petronius.

‡ Plin. 6. 29.

		M. P.
From Syene to	Hierasycaminon	54
……………	Tama	75
……………	the Ethiopian district of Euonymiton	120
……………	Acina	54
……………	Pitara	25
……………	Tergedum, (between which two is the island of Gagaudes)	106
	(Parrots, the *Sphingian* animal, and Cynocephali first seen hereabouts)	
……………	Napata, a small city	80
……………	thence to the island of Meroë	360
	Making, instead of 862, a total of	874

Or about 800 English miles.

The statement of Herodotus, that Sesostris was the only Egyptian monarch who ruled in Ethiopia, is utterly devoid of foundation; as several other Pharaohs not only extended their conquests, but erected temples and other buildings in that country, both before and after the time of that conqueror, the remains of which still exist, and that too in Upper Ethiopia.

The names of the monarchs found* above the second cataract are Osirtasen III.† and Thothmes II. at Samneh; Thothmes I. at Tombos; Thothmes III. at Samneh, Dosha, Sai, and opposite Meroë; Thothmes IV. at El Bérkel; Amunoph III. at Sedinga‡, Soleb, Berkel, Tombos, and Samneh; Osirei I. at Dosha; and Remeses II. or Sesostris, at El Berkel. Diodorus, Pliny, and Strabo extend the conquests of Sesostris as far as the vicinity of the modern Berbera, beyond the straits of Bab-el-mandeb.

It does not appear that the monarchs, after the eighteenth dynasty, continued to extend, or even to maintain their conquests in this country; and few of them appear to have included Lower Ethiopia, between the first and second cataracts, within the limits of their Egyptian territory. And this circumstance no doubt led to the remark that Ethiopia was little known before the accession of the Ptolemies [*], who in fact only re-extended the frontier a short distance into what is now called Nubia.

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* I am indebted for these to Colonel Felix.

† But the temple was built by Thothmes, who makes offerings to his ancestor.

‡ Throughout Ethiopia, as well as Egypt, the nomen of Amunoph III. has been composed of the same hieroglyphics as his prenomen, and afterwards changed to Amunoph, which I have already noticed.

Elephantine was the frontier in the time of Psamaticus.[†] In Strabo's time, Syene was again the frontier, the Romans having, as he observes, "confined the province of Egypt within his former limits." Philæ then belonged in "common to the Egyptians and Ethiopians." This did not, however, prevent the Cæsars from considering Lower Ethiopia as belonging to them, or from adding to the temples already erected there.

NUBIA.

Philæ and the cataracts are, as of old, the boundary of Egypt and Nubia. Here commences the country of the Barábra, which extends thence to the second cataract at Wádee Halfeh, and is divided into two districts; that to the north inhabited by the Kenóos or Kensee tribe, the southern portion by the Nooba Barabras. They have each their own language; but it is a singular fact that the Kensee, which ceases to be spoken about Dayr and throughout the whole of the Nooba district, is found again above the second cataract; a strong argument to show that the Nooba tribe were intruders who settled in that portion of the country, which originally belonged to the Kenóos. This settlement may perhaps be connected with, or similar to, that of the Nobatæ mentioned by Procopius; from whom the Barábra of the Nooba district may be descended. It is now customary for us to call them all Nubians, as the Arabs comprehend them under the general name of Barábra, and as the Greeks denominated the whole country Ethiopia. In former times, under the Romans, the northern part of Nubia was called Dodeca Schœnus, which comprehended the space lying between the first cataract, or Philæ, to Hierasycaminon; and received from its length the name of "twelve schœnes."

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[*] Diod. 1. 3.

[†] Herodot. 2. 30.

The character of the country above Philæ differs very much from Egypt, particularly from that part below Esńé. The hills are mostly sandstone and granite, and from their coming very near the river, frequently leave only a narrow strip of soil at the immediate bank, on which the people depend for the scanty supply of corn or other produce grown in the country. It is not therefore surprising that the Nubians are poor; though from their limited wants, and thrifty habits, they do not suffer from the miseries of poverty. The palm tree, which there produces dates of very superior quality, is to them a great resource, both in the plentiful supply it affords for their own use, and in the profitable exportation of its fruit to Egypt, where it is highly prized, especially that of the Ibréemee kind. The fruit of this is much larger and of better flavour than of other palms, and the tree differs in the appearance of its leaves, which are of a finer and softer texture. The Sont, or Mimosa Nilotica, also furnishes articles for export, of great importance to the Nubian, in its gum and charcoal; and senna, baskets, mats, and a few other things produced or made in Nubia, return a good profit in sending them to Egypt.

When the Nile is low, the land is irrigated by water-wheels, which are the pride of the Nubian peasant. Even the endless and melancholy creaking of these clumsy machines is a delight to him, which no grease is permitted to diminish, all that he can get being devoted to the shaggy hair of his unturbaned head. For the Nubians, in general, allow the hair of the head to grow long; and seldom shave, or wear a cap, except in the Nooba district, as at Derr, and a few other places; and though less attentive to his toilette than the long-haired Ababdeh, a well-greased Nubian does not fail to rejoice in his shining shoulders.

A certain portion of land is irrigated by each water-wheel, and the wealth of an individual is estimated by the number of these machines, as in other countries by farms or acres of land; and, as is reasonable to suppose, in a hot climate like Nubia, they prefer the employment of oxen for the arduous duty of raising water, to drawing it, like the Egyptian *felláh*, by the pole and bucket of the *shadóof.* The consequence of this is, that the tax on water-wheels falls very heavily on the Nubian, who also feels that on date trees much more than the Egyptian peasant. Hence arises the increased migration of Barabras to Cairo, whither, in spite of a government prohibition, they fly from the severely taxed labour of tilling the ground, to the more profitable occupation of servants, particularly in the Frank quarter, where higher wages are paid, and where the Nubian is preferred to the Egyptian for his greater honesty.

About twenty years ago, and even before that time, the Nubians were very generally employed in places of trust, about the houses of the rich, like the *Gallegos* in Lisbon; they were always engaged as porters, and the name of "Berberee" was tantamount to "Le Suisse" in a Parisian mansion. But of late they have greatly increased in numbers, and are taken as house servants, and even as grooms, an office to which the Egyptian *seïs* of old would have thought it impossible for a Bérberee to aspire. That they are more honest than the Egyptians is certain; that they speak the truth more frequently is equally so; but they are less clean (which is saying a great deal) and less acute; though their mental slowness does not seem to interfere with their physical quickness, and their power of running is not surpassed by the most active *felláh.* Devotedly attached to their country and their countrymen, like the Swiss and other inhabitants of poor districts who seek their fortunes abroad, they always herd together in foreign towns; and one Nubian servant never fails to bring a daily levee of Ethiopians to a Cairene house, pouring forth an unceasing stream of unintelligible words, in a jargon which has obtained for them the name of *Berberee,* applied by the Arabs much in the same sense as the *Barbaros* of the Greeks. Brave and independent in character, they differ also in these respects from the Egyptians; and in some parts of Nubia, particularly in the *Kensee* or *Kenoos* district, their constant feuds keep up a warlike spirit, in which their habit of going about armed enables them frequently to indulge. Those who know how to read and write are in a far greater proportion than in Egypt among the same class; for with the exception of their chiefs, they have no wealthy or upper orders. But their studies do not seem to induce sobriety, and, like the blacks, they are fond of intoxicating liquors. They extract a brandy and a sort of wine from the date fruit, as well as *soóbieh*, and *boóza*, a fermented drink made from barley, bread, and many other things, which are found to furnish this imperfect kind of beer; and rum or brandy are a very acceptable present to the Nubian, even more so than the three they so often ask for — soap, oil, and gunpowder.

I now proceed briefly to notice the position and date of the principal monuments of Nubia.

The first is the temple at Dabôd, or Debôde, supposed to be the Parembolé of Antoninus, which is about ten miles from Asouan. The Itinerary makes it sixteen Roman miles; and the distances given to Hierasycaminon, now Maharraka, compared with those of modern observations, are as follow: —

Itinerary of Antoninus.

		M.P.
Contra Syene to	Parembole -	16
....	Tzitzi - -	2
....	Taphis - -	14
....	Talmis - -	8
....	Tutzis - -	20
....	Pselcis - -	12
....	Corte - -	4
....	Hierasycaminon	4
		80

Or about 72¾ miles English.

By the Map.

Asouan to	Dabôd - -	10
....	Tafa - -	19¾
....	Kalabshee (Talmis) - -	4½
....	Gerf Hossayn (Tutzis) -	20½
....	Dakkeh (Pselcis)	10
....	Koortee - -	4
....	Maharraka -	3
	English miles -	71¾

On the opposite side of the river, the Itinerary gives from

		M.P.
Hierasycaminon to	Contra Pselcis - -	11
....	Contra Talmis - -	24
....	Contra Taphis - -	10
....	Philæ - - - -	24
....	Syene - - - -	3
		72

being a difference of eight Roman miles; and Pliny only allows 54 M.P. for the same distance from Syene to Hierasycaminon.*

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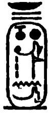
* "A' Syene Hierasycaminon 54 M.P." lib. vi. 29.

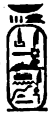
The places he mentions between Syene and Meroë have been already noticed.*

Ptolemy omits the names of towns between Syene and Pselcis, and merely notices the district itself of Dodecaschœnus ("on the east of which live the Arabs called Adæi"), Philæ, and Hierasycaminon. Opposite Pselcis he places Metacompso; and then "after Pselcis and the Great Cataract" (of Wadee Halfeh) he mentions Tasitia, Boüm, Autoba, Phthuri, Pistrê, Ptemythis, Abuncis, Cambysis Ærarium†, Erchoas, Satachtha, Mori, Nacis, and Tathis, on the west bank; and on the opposite side Pnups, Berêthis, Gerbô, Patæta, Ponteris, Premis Parva, Arabis, Napata, Sacolê, Sandacê, Orbadari, and Premis Magna; and then the island forming the district of Meroë, lying between the Nile, which flows on the west of it, and the Astaboras, which is on the east."‡

The ruins at Dabôd consist of a temple, founded apparently by Ashar-Amun, or Atar-Amun, a monarch of Ethiopia, who was probably the immediate successor of Ergamun, the contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

1


Over the central pylon, in front of it, are the remains of a Greek inscription, bearing the name of Ptolemy Philometor, with that of his queen Cleopatra. When Mr. Hamilton visited it, much more remained of the inscription than when I saw it, in 1822: and restored it reads as follows:—

2


Υπερ βασιλεως Πτολεμ[αιου και βασι]λισσης Κλεοπατρας [της αδελφης] και γυναικος θεων Φιλο[μητο]ρων Ισιδι και συ[νναοις θεοις . . . . . .§

"For the welfare of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra [the sister] and wife, gods Philometores, to Isis and the contemplar gods . . . . ."

The temple was dedicated to Isis, who, as well as Osiris and her son Horus, were principally worshipped here; Amun being one of the chief contemplar deities. Augustus‖ and

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* See above, p. 473.

† Or Aboccis, and Cambusis.

‡ Ptolem. Geogr. 4. 5, 7, and 8.

§ I venture to differ from Mr. Hamilton and M. Letronne, who read του βασιλεως αδελφης in the first line.

‖ In one instance his name is followed by the expression, god Philometor, though in the other oval is "beloved of Pthah and Isis."

Tiberius added most of the sculptures, but they were left unfinished, as was usually the case in the temples of Nubia. The main building commences with a portico or area, having four columns in front, connected by intercolumnar screens; a central and two lateral chambers, with a staircase leading to the upper rooms; to which succeed another. central apartment immediately before the adytum, and two side chambers. On one side of the portico a wing has been added at a later period. The three pylons before the temple follow each other in succession, but not at equal distances; and the whole is enclosed by a wall of circuit, of which the front pylon forms the entrance.

The adytum is unsculptured, but two monoliths within it bear the name of Physcon and Cleopatra; and in the front chamber of the naos is that of the Ethiopian king "Ashar (Atar)-Amun*, the everliving," who in some of his nomens is called "the beloved of Isis." Among the few subjects sculptured in the portico, are Thoth and Hor-Hat engaged in pouring alternate emblems of life and power over Tiberius; alluding, I believe, to the ceremony of anointing him king. Some distance before the temple is a stone quay, which had a staircase leading from the river.

About two miles below Dabôd is Shaym-t el Wah, "the eddy of the Wah," believed by the natives to communicate under ground with the Great Oasis. Two days west of Dabôd, and about the same distance from Asouan and from Kalabshee, is a small uninhabited Oasis, called Wah Koorkoo. It abounds in dates, and has some wells, but no ruins.

Between Dabôd and Gertassee† the only remains are a wall projecting into the river, marking perhaps the site of Tzitzi; a single column; and on the opposite bank, at Gamille, the ruined wall of a temple.‡ On the island Morgóse are some crude brick ruins. At Gertassee is an hypæthral court, formed by six columns, connected by screens, four having a species of Egyptian composite capital, common to temples of a Ptolemaïc and Roman era, and the two others surmounted by the heads of Isis, with a shrine containing an asp. It has no sculpture, except a few figures rudely drawn on one of the columns on the west side: but that it belonged to a larger edifice is highly probable, as some substructions may be traced a little distance to the south. A short walk from this is a sandstone quarry, in which are one enchorial, and upwards of fifty Greek exvotos.* They are mostly of the time of Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Severus, in honour of Isis, to whom the neighbouring temple was probably dedicated. Some refer to the works in the quarry, and one of them mentions the number of stones cut by the writer for the great temple of the same goddess at Philæ. In the centre is a square niche, which may once have contained a statue of the goddess; and on either side are busts in high relief, placed within recesses, and evidently, from their style, of Roman workmanship. The road by which the stones were taken from the quarry is still discernible.

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* See List of Ptolemies.

† Or Gertássy.

‡ The two last I did not visit.

At the village are the remains of a large enclosure of stone, on whose north side is a pylon, having a few hieroglyphics, and the figure of a goddess, probably Isis, with a head-dress surmounted by the horns and globe.

At Wadee Tafa (Taphis) are about fifteen more of these stone enclosures, but on a smaller scale than that of Gertassee, being about twenty-two paces by eighteen. The position of the stones is singular, each row presenting a crescent, or concave surface, to the one above it, the stones at the centre being lower than at the angles. In one I observed several rooms communicating with each other by doorways; but the enclosures themselves are quite unconnected, and some at a considerable distance from the rest. They are probably of Roman date, but it is difficult to ascertain the use for which they were intended. There are also the remains of two temples at Taphis, the southernmost of which has been converted into a church by the early Christians.

Christianity was the religion of Ethiopia till a late period, and began probably to decline after the invasion of Sultan Selim, A.D. 1517. In Wansleb's time, 1673, the churches were still entire, though closed for want of pastors. Two of the columns of the portico at Taphis are still standing, and on the adjoining wall are some Greek inscriptions and the figures of saints.

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* It is a common practice in exvotos to include the wife, children, and friends of the writer, in his good wishes.

Behind the portico is a chamber, which may have been the adytum. The other is an isolated building, consisting of one chamber, with a niche in the back wall. The principal entrance was between the two columns on the south side; it had also two other doors, one on the south, and the other on the east face. In front of the temple, I understand that Mr. Hay discovered a sort of quay, with a flight of steps leading down to the river, between two side walls, about the centre of it.

The plain of Taphis is strewed with the fragments of cornices and mouldings, mostly of a late epoch; nor do we meet with any traces of building that can boast a greater antiquity than the time of the Cæsars, and much of that which exists is no doubt posterior to the age of Pliny.

The scenery here reminds us of the vicinity of Philæ; the rocks mostly granite, with some sandstone.

Many of the inhabitants of Tafa employ their time in chasing the gazelle, and lead a life which tends but little to their civilisation; and whether from a spirit of independence, or from a propensity common to savages, they are constantly engaged in disputes that seldom terminate without bloodshed.

Kalábshee, Talmis, presents the ruins of the largest temple in Nubia. It appears to have been built in the reign of Augustus; and though other Cæsars, particularly Caligula, Trajan, and Severus, made considerable additions to the sculptures, it was left unfinished. The stones employed in its construction had belonged to an older edifice, to which it succeeded; and it is highly probable that the original temple was of the early epoch of the third Thothmes; whose name is still traced on a granite statue lying near the quay before the entrance.

This extensive building consists of a naos, portico, and area. The naos is divided into three successive chambers,— the adytum, a hall supported by two columns, and a third room opening on the portico, which has twelve columns, three in depth and four in breadth, the front row united by screens on either side of the entrance. The area has five columns in depth, and six in breadth, at the lower end only, and is terminated by the pyramidal towers* of the propylon, beyond which is a pavement, and a staircase* leading to the platform of the quay that sustains the bank of the river. The temple is surrounded by two walls of circuit, both of which are joined to the propylon. The space between them is occupied by several chambers, and at the upper extremity is a small building with columns, forming the area to a *sacellum* hewn in the rock. At the north-east corner is a small chapel, which belonged to the original temple, and is anterior to the buildings about it; and to the north is another enclosure of considerable extent, connected with the outer wall, and two detached doorways. The sculptures of the temple are of very inferior style; nor could the richness of gilding, that once covered those at the entrances of the first chambers of the naos, have compensated for the deficiency of their execution; but its extent claims for it a conspicuous place among the largest monuments dedicated to the deities of Egypt.

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* The Nubians and modern Egyptians have frequently imitated in their rude houses the sloping face common in these ancient buildings.

Mandouli†, or, according to the ancient Egyptians, Malouli, was the deity of Talmis, and it is in his honour that the greater part of the numerous exvotos‡ in the area are inscribed by their pious writers. But the most interesting of these inscriptions is that of "Silco, king of the Nubadæ, and of all the Ethiopians," which records his several defeats of the Blemmyes; and to judge from his own account, he neither spared the vanquished, nor was scrupulous in celebrating his exploits. He was, no doubt, one of those kings of the Nubatæ, who, conformably with the treaty originally made between them and Diocletian, continued to protect the frontier from the incursions of the Blemmyes.

Though the introduction of the numerous inscriptions at Kalabshee and other places in Nubia, would afford little interest to the general reader, and would perhaps be out of place in a work like the present, I think the flourish of King Silco too curious to be omitted. I shall also give a specimen of versification by a Roman visiter in the time of Hadrian, who in an acrostic has informed us of his name, Julius Faustinus.

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* This follows the direction of the original temple.

† See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 35.

‡ Mostly of military men quartered there.

The Greek of King Silco is not very pure, nor very intelligible, and some words are used which can only be translated by conjecture; I therefore leave the learned reader to adopt the construction I have given them, or to substitute any other he may prefer.

1. Εγω Σιλκω βασιλισκος Νουϐαδων και ολων των
2. Αιθιοπων ηλθον εις Ταλμιν και Ταφιν απαξ δυο επο-
3. λεμησα μετα των Βλεμυων και ο ϑεος εδωκεν μοι το
4. νικημα μετα των τριων απαξ ενικησα παλιν και εκρα-
5. τησα τας πολεις αυτων εκαθεσθην μετα των
6. οχλων μου το μεν πρωτον απαξ ενικησα αυτων
7. και αυτοι ηξιωσαν με εποιησα ειρηνην μετα αυτων
8. και ωμοσαν μοι τα ειδωλα αυτων και επιστευσα τον
9. ορκον αυτων ως καλοι εισιν ανθρωποι αναχωρηθην
10. εις τα ανω μερη μου οτε εγεγονεμην βασιλισκω
11. ουκ απηλθον ολως οπισω των αλλων βασιλεων
12. αλλα ακμην εμπροσθεν αυτων
13. οι γαρ φιλονικουσιν μετε μου ουκ αφω αυτους καθεζομε-
14. νοι εις χωραν αυτων ειμη κατηξιωσαν με και παρακαλουσιν
15. εγω γαρ εις κατω μερη λεων ειμι και εις ανω μερη αρξ̄ ειμι
16. επολεμησα μετα των Βλεμυων απο Πριμεως τε Ληλεως
17. εναπαξ και οι αλλοι Νουϐαδων ανωτερων επορθησα τας
18. χωρας αυτων επειδη εφιλονικησουσιν μετε μου
19. οῑ δεσποτ̄των αλλων εθνων ο̄ι φιλονεικουσιν μετε̄ μου
20. ουκ αφω αυτους καθεσθην η εις την σκιαν ει μη υπο Η̄λιου
21. ἐγω και ουκ επωκαν νηρον εσω εις την οικιαν αυτων οι γαρ
22. αποικοι μου αρπαζω των γυναικων και τα παιδια αυτων

"I Silco, king of the Nubadæ and all the Ethiopians, have come to Talmis and Taphis; once! two (twice ?) I fought with the Blemyes, and the deity gave me the victory with the three*; once I conquered again and took their cities; I sat down (reposed) with my people at first; once I conquered them and they did me honour, and I made peace with them, and they swore to me by their idols, and I believed their oath that they were good men: I went away to my upper regions where I became ruler: I was not at all behind the other kings, but even before them: for as to those who contend with me, I do not cease to sit down in (occupy) their country until they have honoured me and besought me, for I am a lion to the lower districts, and to the upper a citadel.† I fought with the Blemyes from Primis and Lêlis (?) once, and the other of the Upper Nubadæ ‡; I laid waste their country since they will contend with me: the lords of the other nations who contend with me I do not suffer them to sit down in the shade, and only in the sun, and I have not allowed water (to be taken) into their houses, for my servants§ carry off their women and children."||

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* The three were perhaps the other Nubadæ, Ethiopians, and Blemyes.

† The word *αρξ* appears to be the Latin word *arx* put into Greek letters.

‡ Nubadæ, Noubadæ, Nubatæ, or Nobatæ.

§ Αποικος is probably used in the sense of οικετης.

|| I am much indebted to Colonel Leake's valuable assistance in the above translation.

The Latin inscription, cut upon a stone lying amidst the ruins in the area, is not more remarkable for its poetical beauties than the preceding for its Greek; and, notwithstanding the mention of Apollo, Minerva, and the Muses, was evidently written in defiance of "gods and columns."

INVICTI VENERANDA DUCIS PER SÆCULA VELLENT
VICTRICES MUSÆ, PALLAS, CRINITUS APOLLO
LÆTA SERENITICO[*] DEFUNDERE CARMINA CALLO (cœlo?)
INTEMERATA MALAS HOMINUM SET (sed?) NUMINA ERDI (fraudes ?)
JURGIA QUE ARCANIS ET PERFIDA PECTORA CURIS
FUGERE HADRIANI TAMEN AD PIA SÆCULA VERTI
AUSA PER OCCULTAS REMENTRIMATA[†] LATEBRAS
VI (ut) SPIRENT CAUTES AC TEMPORA PRISCA SALUTEM
(ent ?)
SACRA MAMERTINOS SONUERUNT PRÆSIDE SIC...(signa?)
TUM SUPERUM MANIFESTA FIDES STETIT IN CIVI(tate)
INACHIAS SOSPES DITI PEDE PRESSIT HARENA(s)
NAMQUE IN PERCELSI DENSATA SEDILIA TEM(pli)
INCOLA QUO PLEBES TECTIS EFFUNDITUR AT...(atque?)
(altis?)
MUNERA CŒLI(colum?) ....
....

A short distance from the temple, towards the north-west, are the sandstone quarries, from which the stone used in building its walls was taken; and on the hill behind it are found the scattered bones of mummies. In the village are the remains of walls, and among some fragments there I observed a Doric frieze, with ox's heads in the metopes, and a cornice of Roman date.

The ancient town stood on the north and south of the temple, and extended along the hill towards the Bayt el Wellee, which is strewed with bricks and broken pottery.

It is not without considerable satisfaction that the Egyptian antiquary turns from the barbarous sculptures of the Roman era to the chaste and elegant designs of a Pharaonic age, which are met with in the sculptures of Remeses II. at the Bayt el Wellee[‡], a small but interesting temple excavated in the rock, and dedicated to Amunre, with Kneph, and Anóuké. It consists of a small inner chamber or adytum: a hall supported by two polygonal columns of very ancient style, which call to mind the simplicity of the Greek Doric; and an area in front. At the upper end of the hall are two niches, each containing three sitting figures in high relief, and on the walls of the area, outside the hall, are sculptured the victories of Remeses.

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[*] Serenifico?

[†] Remeant rimata?

[‡] "The house of the saint," having been the abode of some Moslem *hermit.*

M. Champollion supposes him to be the father of Sesostris or Remeses the Great; but as I have already had occasion to notice the two names which have led to this conjecture, I shall only here observe, that if the one marked *i*, 1.* in my list of Pharaohs, be really of a different king from *i*, 2., *they can only be brothers*†, as the latter is constantly found over the "*son* of Osirei." And as it is a point of some importance, I may add, that the sons of Remeses (who has here the former prenomen) are the same as of *i*, 2. at the Memnonium: for instance, the fourth son, Shamakeme, is here introduced in his chariot, accompanying this monarch in the field, who is also styled his *father*; and the other son, who is the elder of the two, has a name very similar to the first of those in the Memnonium. But there is certainly no Remeses among those at Bayt el Wellee, which would be required if the monarch had been accompanied by his son Remeses Miamun, as M. Champollion supposes.‡

The sculptures relate to the wars of this Pharaoh against the Cush or Ethiopians, and the Shorii, an *Eastern* nation, apparently of Arabia Petræa §; who having been previously reduced by the Egyptian monarchs, and made tributary to them, rebelled about this period, and were reconquered by Osirei and the second Remeses. On the right-hand wall the monarch, seated on a throne under a canopy or shrine, receives the offerings brought by the conquered Ethiopians, preceded by the Prince of Cush, Amunmatapé *, who is attended by his two children, and is introduced by the eldest son of the conqueror. Rings and bags of gold, leopard-skins, rich thrones, flabella, elephants'-teeth, ostrich-eggs, and other objects, are among the presents placed before him; and a deputation of Ethiopians † advances, bringing a lion, oryx, oxen, and gazelles. The lower line commences with some Egyptian chiefs, who are followed by the prince of Cush and other Ethiopians, bringing plants of their country, skins, apes, a cameleopard, and other animals. Beyond this is represented the battle and defeat of the enemy. Remeses, mounted in his car, is attended by his two sons, also in chariots, each with his charioteer, who urges the horses to their full speed. The king discharges his arrows on the disorderly troops ‡ of the enemy, who betake themselves to the woods. At the upper end of the picture a wounded chief is taken home by his companions. One of his children throws dust on its head in token of sorrow, and another runs to announce the sad news to its mother, who is employed in cooking at a fire lighted on the ground.§

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* See the plate of the succession of the Pharaohs, eighteenth dynasty. This king, with the prenomen *i*, 1., is found at Karnak, offering to "his *father* Osirei."

† I must not omit the mention of a fact which goes far to prove the identity of these two names: that when the French took down the obelisk of Luksor, the name *i*, 2. was found at the bottom of it. This obelisk presents both names in the hieroglyphics, which were sculptured after its erection, that at the bottom, of course, *before* it was put up: *i*, 2. could not then be *after* *i*, 1., and we know he did not reign *before* him; they must then be the same. Again, both these occur in the same tomb, in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes.

‡ At Silsilis, Nofri-ari is *also* represented as the wife of the king, *i*, 1.; and she is well known as the queen of Remeses the Great. The side-doors at Bayt el Wellee might have been cut through the sculptures, as well in the same as in another reign. Not a singular instance. Both names occur there on the abacus of the columns. But as there still remains a doubt on the subject, let us hope it may some day be set at rest in a satisfactory manner. At all events these names are either of the same king or of two brothers. See my Hieroglyphical Extracts, p. 13.

§ M. Champollion supposes them the Bisharieen, perhaps from the similarity of name; but they cannot be from the south, as may be seen at Karnak.

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* Or Amun-em-tapé, or Amun-m'-apé, *i. e.* "Amun of Thebes." M. Champollion reads Amenemoph.

† This picture to the end only relates to the Ethiopians; the expression "captive Bishari," applied to them by M. Champollion, is no doubt an oversight. May not the name of the modern Bisharee be derived from Pi-Sares, "the south?" the P, in Coptic, being pronounced B. Biga or Bija is the name by which the modern Bisharieen call their language, if not themselves; and is the same as used by Edrisi, in speaking of that desert; being written in Arabic Bga or Bigá.

‡ The encouragement of agriculture necessarily ameliorated the condition of the early Egyptians, and enabled them to spare a great portion of their population for the improvement of manufactures and arts of every kind. Hence, no doubt, their superiority over neighbouring nations, their riches, the advancement of their military tactics, and their power. Neither a nation of huntsmen nor of shepherds (for which last they entertained the greatest contempt) have the same advantages as an agricultural people; and it is pretty evident, in the early history of man, that those who possessed and tilled a fertile country were the first to make a progress in the arts of civilisation.

§ Casts of both these battle scenes are in the British Museum, and have been coloured to imitate the originals.

On the opposite wall is the war against the Shorii. At the upper end, which is in reality the termination of the picture, Remeses is seated on a throne, at whose base is crouched a lion, his companion in battle. His eldest son brings into his presence a group of prisoners of that nation; and in the lower compartment is a deputation of Egyptian chiefs. Beyond this, the conqueror engages in single combat with one of the enemy's generals, and slays him with his sword, in the presence of his son and other Egyptian officers; and the next compartment represents him in his car, in the heat of the action, overtaking the leader of the hostile army, whom he also despatches with his sword. The enemy then fly in all directions to their fortified town, which the king advances to besiege. Some sue for peace; while his son, forcing the gates, strikes terror into the few who resist. Then trampling on the prostrate foe, Remeses seizes and slays their chiefs; and several others are brought in fetters before him by his son.

Such are the principal subjects in the area of this temple, which, next to Aboo-Simbel, is the most interesting monument in Nubia.

The temple of Dendoór stands just within the tropic. It consists of a portico with two columns in front, two inner chambers, and the adytum; at the end of which is a tablet, with the figure of a goddess, apparently Isis. In front of the portico is a pylon, opening on an area enclosed by a low wall, and facing towards the river; and behind the temple is a small grotto excavated in the sandstone rock. It has the Egyptian cornice over the door, and before it is an entrance-passage built of stone.

The sculptures of Dendoór are of the time of Augustus, by whom it appears to have been founded. The chief deities were Osiris, Isis, and Horus, and the ancient town seems to have had the same name as Philæ, "the sacred abode," "the place of the *frontier*," where the same triad was adored.

Between El Meréëh and Gerf Hossayn is a sandstone pier, but I know of no ruins of a town in the neighbourhood.

The ruined town of Sabagóora, nearly opposite Gerf Hossayn, occupies the summit and slope of a hill, near the river, and is famous for the resistance made there by a desperate Nubian chief against the troops of Ibrahim Pasha.

Gerf (or Jerf) Hossayn is the ancient Tutzis, in Coptic Thosh[*]; but from being under the special protection of Pthah, the deity of the place, it was called by the Egyptians Pthah-ei, or "the abode of Pthah." The resemblance of the Coptic name Thosh with Ethaush, signifying, in the same dialect, Ethiopia, is rendered peculiarly striking, from the word Kush (Cush), in the old Egyptian language "Ethiopia[†]," being retained in the modern name of this place, which in Nubian is called Kish.

The temple is of the time of Remeses the Great, entirely excavated in the rock, except the portico or area in front. The inner part consists of a large hall, with a double row of Osiride pillars, succeeded by a transverse corridor, (supported by two pillars, with a small chamber at each side,) and the adytum, at whose upper end are several sitting figures in high relief. Other similar statues occur in the eight niches of the great hall, and in the two others within the area. This area had a row of four Osiride figures on either side, and four columns in front, but little now remains of the wall that enclosed it; and the total depth of the excavated part does not exceed 130 feet. The Osiride figures in the hall are very badly executed, ill according with the sculpture of the second Remeses; nor are the statues of the sanctuary of a style worthy of that era. The deity of the town was Pthah, the creator and "Lord of *Truth;*" to whom the dedications of the temple are inscribed; and Athor, Leontocephale (the companion and "beloved of Pthah"), and Anouke, each hold a conspicuous place among the contemplar deities.

At Kostamneh is a doorway, with the agathodæmon over it; and the remains of masonry near the bank. Here the Nile is fordable in May.

Dakkeh is the Pselcis of the Itinerary, of Pliny, and of Ptolemy. Strabo[‡], who calls it Pselchê, says it was an Ethiopian city in his time; the Romans having given up all the places south of Philæ and the Cataracts, the natural frontier of Egypt. It was here that Petronius defeated the generals of Candace, and then, having taken the city, advanced to Primis (Prêmnis) and to Napata, the capital of the

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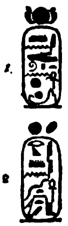
[*] From a Coptic papyrus, found there by Mr. Legh, in 1813.

[†] Is not Ethiopia taken from Ethaush? [‡] Strabo, 17. p. 564.

Ethiopian queen. Strabo mentions an island at this spot, in which many of the routed enemy, swimming across the river, took refuge, until they were made prisoners by the Romans, who crossed over in boats and rafts.[*]

Dakkeh has a temple of the time of Ergamun[†], an Ethiopian king, and of the Ptolemies and Cæsars; but apparently built, as well as sculptured, during different reigns. The oldest part is the central chamber (with the doorway in front of it), which bears the name of the Ethiopian monarch, and was the original adytum.



This Ergamun or Ergamenes, according to Diodorus[‡], was a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was remarkable for having been the first Ethiopian prince, who broke through the rules imposed upon his countrymen by the artifices of the priesthood. After speaking of the blind obedience paid by the Ethiopians to their laws, the historian says, “ the most extraordinary thing is what relates to the death of their kings. The priests who superintend the worship of the gods, and the ceremonies of religion in Meroë, enjoy such unlimited power that, whenever they choose, they send a message to the king, ordering him to die, for that the gods had given this command, and no mortal could oppose their will without being guilty of a crime. They also add other reasons, which would influence a man of weak mind, accustomed to give way to old custom and prejudice, and without sufficient sense to oppose such unreasonable commands. In former times the kings had obeyed the priests, not by compulsion but out of mere superstition, until Ergamenes, who ascended the throne of Ethiopia in the time of the second Ptolemy, a man instructed in the sciences and philosophy of Greece, was bold enough to defy their orders. And having made a resolution worthy of a prince, he repaired with his troops to a fortress or high place (*αβατον*), where a golden temple of the Ethiopians stood, and there having slain all the priests, he abolished the ancient custom, and substituted other institutions according to his own will.”

Ergamenes was not a man who mistook the priests for religion, or supposed that belief in the priests signified belief in the gods, whom he failed not to honour with due respect. He is seen at Dakkeh presenting offerings to the different deities of the temple: and over one of the side doors he is styled "son of Neph, born of Sátè, nursed by Anoúkè;" and on the other side, "son of Osiris, born of Isis, nursed by Nephthys." His royal title and ovals read "king of men [(1) the hand of Amun, the living, chosen of (?) Re], son of the sun [(2) Ergamun, ever-living, the beloved of Isis]."* That any kings should blindly submit to the will of the priesthood, to such an extent as to give up their life at their bidding, may appear to us no less extraordinary than to the historian who relates it; but it is worthy of remark, that a very similar custom still continues in Ethiopia; and the expedition sent by Mohammed Ali, to trace the course and discover the sources of the White Nile, found a tribe of Ethiopians on its banks, whose kings, when they feel the approach of death, give notice to their ministers, and are strangled to prevent their dying in the ordinary vulgar way of nature, like the meanest of their subjects. The same expedition also found a corps of Amazons, who formed the body-guard of the king, none but women being allowed to protect the precincts of the palace.

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[*] See below, on Ibreem. [†] Or Erkamun. [‡] Diodor. 3. 6.

Ptolemy Philopator added to the sculptures; and his oval occurs with that of his wife and sister Arsinoë—his father, Ptolemy Euergetes—and his mother, Berenice Euergetes; and on the corresponding side are those of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoë Philadelphe. Physcon or Euergetes II. afterwards built the portico, as we learn from a mutilated Greek inscription on the architrave, accompanied by the hieroglyphic name of that monarch; and by him the present adytum was perhaps also added. The oval of Augustus likewise occurs in the portico, but a great part of this building was left unfinished, as is generally found to be the case with the Roman and Ptolemaïc monuments in Nubia.

A large plan of this temple has been given by M. Gau, in which an endless succession of chambers is laid down around the principal building. But without wishing to detract from the honours paid by the Egyptians to Hermes Trismegistus, or from the merits of the valuable work of M. Gau, it may be doubted whether any authority exists for such complicated details, and the magnified size of the original building.

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* See List of Kings, with the Ptolemies, and preceding page.

In the temple of Dakkeh is one of the many instances of an Egyptian portico, *in antis*, which was a mode of building frequently used in Greece, as well as Egypt.

The deity of Pselcis was Hermes Trismegistus*, to whom a considerable number of Greek exvotos have been inscribed, on the propylon and other parts of the temple, by officers stationed about Elephantine and Philæ, and others who visited Pselcis, principally in the time of the Cæsars. He is styled the very great Hermes Pautnouphis. But the name was probably Taut-nouphis, which may be traced in the hieroglyphics over this deity, Taut-‘n-pnubs, or Taut-‘n-pnubsbo, the "Thoth of Pnubs†" or "Pnubsho," the Egyptian name of Pselcis.

Opposite Dakkeh, on the east bank, are large crude brick remains, apparently of a fortress; and close to it, to the south, the ruins of a small temple having the names of Remeses VII. and VIII. A short distance beyond this, near the village, are some columns and substructions, with a lion-headed statue bearing the name of King Horus of the eighteenth dynasty.‡ These doubtless mark the site of Metacompso, which, if Ptolemy is correct in placing it opposite Pselcis, must be the same as Contra-Pselcis.§

At Koortee, or Korti, the ancient Corte, and at Maharraka‖ the remains are very trifling. At the former is a ruin of Roman time, built of blocks taken from older monuments. The latter is the *Hierasycaminon* of ancient writers¶; and on a wall there, is a rude representation of Isis seated under the

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* The Arab historians, following some Greek tradition, call him Hormos el *Moselles*, derived from his *triple* office of king, prophet, and physician.

† This cannot be the Pnups of Ptolemy, which he places half a degree above the second cataract on the east bank. (Lib. 4. c. 7.)

‡ This is on the authority of M. Prisse.

§ Ptol. lib. iv. c. 5. Metacompso is, no doubt, related to the Tacompso of Herodotus (2. 29.). The last part of the word may signify Chemi, or Egypt. This town appears to have been at one time considered the confine of Egypt and Ethiopia. Can the name Metachompso (Met-Chemkah) refer to this?

‖ Called also Oofidécna.

¶ But not of Ptolemy.

sacred fig-tree, and some other figures of a Roman epoch. Near it is an hypæthral building, apparently of the time of the Cæsars, unfinished as usual; and, as we learn from a Greek exvoto* on one of the columns, dedicated to Isis and Sarapis. Like most of the edifices in Nubia, it has been used as a place of worship by the early Christians, and is the last that we find of the time of the Ptolemies or Cæsars, with the exception of Ibreem or Primis.

Sabóoa, so called from "the lions" (androsphinxes) of the dromos, is of the early epoch of Remeses the Great. It is all built of sandstone, with the exception of the adytum, which is excavated in the rock. The dromos was adorned with eight sphinxes on either side, and terminated by two statues with sculptured stelæ at their back; to this succeeded the two pyramidal towers of the propylon: the area, with eight Osiride figures attached to the pillars, supporting the architraves and roofs of the lateral corridors; and the interior chambers, which are now closed by the drifted sand. Amunre and Re were the chief deities, and from the worship of the god of Thebes the town bore the same name as that city — Amunei, or "the abode of Amun."

The natives of the modern village, and of the district around it, are of Bedouin extraction, and speak Arabic.† After this the Nooba language begins, and continues to be used as far as Wadee Halfeh.

The river at Malkeh takes a considerable bend; and from Korosko‡ to Derr§ the direction is about N. N. W., which often detains boats for a considerable time. On the same bank, at a place called El Kharab, between these two towns, are said to be some ruins, but I have not visited them.

At Hassáia is a small temple called A'mada, which already existed in the age of the third Thothmes. The names of his son Amunoph II., and his grandson Thothmes IV., also occur there; and Mr. Harris and M. Prisse found that of Osirtasen III., by whom it appears to have been founded. The sculptures are remarkable for the preservation of their colours, for which they were indebted to the unintentional aid of the early Christians. Here, as in many other places, they covered them with mortar to conceal them from their sight, and thus the very means used to deface protected them from the ravages of time. Re was the deity of the sanctuary, but Amunre holds a conspicuous place among the contemplar gods. A portico, a transverse corridor, and three inner chambers, the central one of which is the adytum, constitute the whole of this small but elegant temple.

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* In reading this it is curious to find oneself (the reader) included in the prayer of the *προσκυνημα*.

† See below on the Arabs of Mount Sinai.

‡ From near this the road to Aboo Hammed and Sennar turns off through the desert.

§ Corrupted from E'Dayr, "the convent."

The district about Derr, on the east bank, abounds in date trees; and between that town and Korosko they reckon 20,000 that are taxed.

Derr, or Dayr, the capital of Nubia, is a short distance to the south of Hassáia, on the opposite bank. It is worthy of remark that all the temples between the two cataracts, except Derr, Ibreem, and Feráyg, are situated on the west side of the Nile; and, instead of lying on the arable land, are all built on the sandy plain, or hewn in the rock. This was, doubtless, owing to their keeping the small portion of land they possessed for cultivation, while the towns and temples occupied what could be of no utility to the inhabitants.

The temple of Derr is of the time of Remeses the Great, and presents some of the spirited sculptures of that epoch, though in a very mutilated state. In the area was a battle scene; but little now remains, except the imperfect traces of chariots and horses, and some confused figures. On the wall of the temple the king is represented, in the presence of Amunre, slaying the prisoners he has taken, and accompanied by a lion. This calls to mind the account given by Diodorus, of Osymandyas being followed to war by that animal*; and on the opposite side, the lion seizes one of the falling captives, as he is held by the victorious monarch.

Re was the chief deity of the sanctuary, and from him the ancient town received the name of Ei-Re, "the abode of the sun;" and we find that this "temple of Remeses" was also considered under the special protection of Amunre and of Thoth. Pthah likewise held a distinguished place among the contemplar gods; and this custom of introducing the divinities of the neighbouring towns was common both in Egypt and Nubia.

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* Remeses II. and III., and other Egyptian monarchs, were represented in the same manner. At Bayt el Wellee, Remeses is accompanied by a favourite dog.

The temple is cut in the rock; but is of no great size; the total depth being only about 110 feet. Nor are the sculptures of the interior worthy of the era of the Great Remeses,—a remark which equally applies to those of Sabóoa and Gerf Hossayn. It consists of an area of eight square pillars; to which succeeds a transverse corridor faced with four Osiride pillars; a hall, supported by six square pillars, in two rows; a small sanctuary; and two side chambers. At the upper end of the sanctuary is a niche containing four sitting figures.

On the road from Derr to Ibreem, inland, is a grotto cut in the rock, called el Dooknesra, opposite Gattey, with sculptures of old time: and on the west bank, at a spot indicated in Mr. Scoles's map, above Gezeeret Gattey, is a small tomb, inland in the desert, cut in a rock of pyramidal form, which bears the name of Remeses V. and his queen Nofre-t-aret. The person of the tomb was one "Poëri, a royal son of Cush" (Ethiopia), who is represented doing homage to the Egyptian Pharaoh.

Ibreem is situated on a lofty cliff, commanding the river, as well as the road by land, and is the supposed site of Primis Parva.* It contains no remains of antiquity, except part of the ancient wall on the south side, and a building, apparently also of Roman date, in the interior, towards the north side. The latter is built of stone, the lower part of large, the upper of small blocks. Over the door is the Egyptian cornice, and a projecting slab intended for the globe and asps; and in the face of the front wall is a perpendicular recess, similar to those in Egyptian temples for fixing the flag-staffs, on festivals. Just in front of this is a square pit, and at its mouth lies the capital of a Corinthian column of Roman time. The blocks used in building the outer wall were taken from more ancient monuments. Some of them bear the name of Tirhaka, the Ethiopian king, who ruled Egypt as well as his own country, and whose Ethiopian capital was Napata, now El Berkel.

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* Premnis of Strabo, Primmis or Rhemnia of Pliny; the *p* being perhaps the Egyptian article.

It is probable that the Romans, finding the position of Ibreem so well adapted for the defence of their territories, stationed a garrison there as an advanced post, and that the wall is a part of their fortified works. It was in later times fixed upon by Sultan Selim, as one of the places[*] peculiarly adapted for a permanent station of the troops left by him to keep the Nubians in check; whose descendants were expelled from it by the Memlooks or Ghooz[†], on their way to Shendy, in 1811.

Strabo, in speaking of the march of Petronius into Ethiopia, mentions a place called Primis, or, as he writes it, Prêmnis, fortified by nature; where, on his return, he left a garrison of 400 men, with provisions for two years, to check the incursions of the Ethiopians. But this may apply to Primis Magna, which was farther to the south (some suppose at Dongola[‡]), and not to Primis Parva or Ibreem; as Petronius is not said to have crossed the river *after* the taking of Pselcis, but to have continued his march across the sandy desert, evidently on the same side of the Nile. And this desert, as he says, was part of the same African plain where Cambyses's army was lost, though not, as he would lead us to infer, the very "sands, *in* which the Persians were overwhelmed."

He may, however, have mistaken the two; and his subsequent statement, of Petronius anticipating the march of Candace against Primis, argues in favour of the claims of Ibreem; which derives additional interest from such historical associations. The whole passage is curious, as it relates not merely to the country of Candace, but also to the northern part of Ethiopia, and explains the necessity of those precautions adopted in after-times by Diocletian, to check the inroads of the Blemmyes and other southern Ethiopians, by making military settlements of Nobatæ on the frontier of Egypt. "The Ethiopians," says Strabo, "taking advantage of the moment when part of the troops under Ælius Gallus had been withdrawn from Egypt, to prosecute the war in Arabia, suddenly attacked the Thebaïd, and the garrisons of three cohorts posted at Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ, made the inhabitants prisoners, and overthrew the statues of Cæsar; but Petronius, who had not quite 10,000 foot and 800 horse, to oppose their army of 30,000, forced them to fly for shelter to Pselcis (now Dakkeh) an Ethiopian city.

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[*] The inhabitants of Derr and Asouan are also descendants of his Turkish troops.

[†] Ghooz or Ghwooz, "warriors," was chosen by the late Memlooks as a distinctive appellation.

[‡] Ptolemy places Primis Parva above the second cataract, and Primis Magna above Napata and close to Meroë (4. 7.). Both are improbable. For the position of Meroë see Ptol. 4. 8.

"He then sent a herald to demand restitution of all they had taken, and the reasons of their hostile attack. They replied that it was in consequence of the vexations of the governors; but Petronius, having told them that the country was not ruled by them but by Cæsar, and finding, on the expiration of the three days they had asked for deliberation, that he could not obtain satisfaction, advanced towards them and forced them to give battle. They were speedily routed, being ill disciplined and badly armed, having only large shields covered with raw bull's hides, and axes, javelins, or swords for their offensive weapons. Some fled to the town, some to the desert, while others swam over to a neighbouring island, there being very few crocodiles in this part, owing to the force of the current. Among them were the generals of Queen Candace, who continued to reign over Ethiopia even in my time. She was a woman of masculine courage, and had lost one eye.

"Petronius, passing his troops over the river on rafts and boats, took them all prisoners and sent them immediately to Alexandria: he then advanced upon Pselcis (Pselchê), and took it, few of the enemy escaping with their lives. From Pselcis, crossing the desert in which the army of Cambyses was overwhelmed in the sands drifted by the wind, he came to Prêmnis (Primis), a place fortified by nature; and having carried it by assault, he advanced to Napata, the capital of Candace, where her son was then living. She herself was in a neighbouring place; whence she sent messengers to propose peace, and the restoration of the statues and prisoners taken from Syene. But Petronius, regardless of her offers, took Napata, which the prince had abandoned, and razed it to the ground. Thinking that the country beyond would present great difficulties, he returned with his booty; and having fortified Primis with stronger works, he left a garrison there of 400 men, with provisions for two years, and then returned to Alexandria. Of the captives he brought back, a thousand were sent to Cæsar (Augustus), who had lately returned from the Cantabrian war, many of whom died of illness.

"Candace in the mean time advanced to attack the garrison of Primis, at the head of many thousand men; but Petronius having marched to its relief, threw troops into the place before she could invest it, and strengthened all the defences. Candace upon this sent messengers to Petronius, who ordered them to go to Cæsar; and on their saying they knew not who Cæsar was, or where he was to be found, he gave them an escort. On arriving at Samos, they found Cæsar preparing to go into Syria, and Tiberius ordered to march into Armenia; and having obtained from him all they wanted, the tribute was even remitted which had been imposed upon them."*

Pliny also mentions this march of Petronius to Napata, the farthest point he reached being 870 M. P. from Syene. "The only towns he found on the way were Pselcis, Primis, Aboccis, Phthuris, Cambusis, Attena, and Stadisis," which stood near a very large cataract.

The name of Primis may possibly be connected with Papremis, the Egyptian Mars. He was also called Honurius or Onuris, and was particularly worshipped at another town, called Papremis in the Delta, where the hippopotamus was particularly sacred to him. Primis was also called Rhemnia, Primmis or Premnis; and to distinguish it from another town of the same name, it was known as "Primis Parva."

In the rock below Ibreem are some small painted grottoes, bearing the names of Thothmes I. and III., of Amunoph II., and of Remeses II., of the eighteenth dynasty, with statues in high relief at their upper end.

About half way from Ibreem to Bostán, are a mound and a stela, about six feet high, with hieroglyphics. This spot I believe to be now called Shóbuk. Bostán is the Turkish name for "garden," and was probably given it by the soldiers of Sultan Selim.

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* Strabo, 17. p. 564.

A short way beyond it, at Tosk, Tushka, or Tosko (the Nubian word signifying "three"), are two reefs of rocks, stretching across the Nile, and nearly closing the passage in the month of May, when the river is low. They form a complete weir, and would be very dangerous to a boat coming down the stream without a pilot. In Nubia it is always customary to engage a pilot, on account of these and other dangerous rocks, which occur in different places, and which are rarely met with in any part of the Nile north of Asouan, except near How and Shekh Umbárak. The distance from Maharrakah (Hierasycaminon) to Shóbuk very nearly agrees with that given by Pliny from Hierasycaminon to Tama, 75 M. P. or about 68 miles English. Near Fakkarit are remains of a Christian church, and a chapel on the opposite bank.

At Aboo-Simbel* are the most interesting remains met with in Nubia, and, excepting Thebes, during the whole valley of the Nile. It has two temples, both of the time of Remeses the Great; which, independent of their grandeur and architectural beauties, contain highly finished sculptures, and throw great light on the history of that conqueror.

The small temple was dedicated to Athor, who is represented in the adytum under the form of the sacred cow, her emblem, which also occurs in the pictures on the walls. Her title here is "Lady of Aboshek" (Aboccis), the ancient name of Aboo-Simbel; which, being in the country of the Ethiopians, is followed in the hieroglyphics by the sign signifying "foreign land." The façade is adorned with several statues in prominent relief of the king and the deities, and the interior is divided into a hall of six square pillars, bearing the head of Athor, a transverse corridor, with a small chamber at each extremity, and an adytum.

Among the contemplar deities are Re, Amunre, Isis, and Pthah; and Kneph, Sáté, and Anóuké, the triad of the cataracts. The monarch is frequently accompanied by his queen Nofri-ari. The total depth of this excavation is about ninety feet from the door.

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* The Arabic word Simbel signifies "an ear of corn;" but this is evidently a corruption of the original Egyptian name. The name Ibsambul is an error, into which even the learned Burckhardt has fallen; I cannot therefore but compliment Captains Irby and Mangles on their precision in writing it Abousambel, in preference to received opinion.

The great temple is remarkable for the most beautiful colossi found in any of the Egyptian ruins, representing Remeses II. They are seated on thrones, attached to the rock, and the faces of some of them, which are fortunately well preserved, evince a beauty of expression, the more striking, as it is unlooked for, in statues of such dimensions. I had not an opportunity of ascertaining their total height, but from the length of the arm I calculate it to be about sixty feet, requiring a pedestal of at least seven more.* The total height of the façade of the temple may be between 90 and 100 feet. It was not till long after my visit to Nubia, that Mr. Hay cleared to the base of the two colossi on the south side of the door. By this arduous undertaking, he succeeded in laying open to view the whole of their height, and restoring to them their original effect. He also exposed to view the curious Greek inscription of the Ionian and Carian soldiers of Psamaticus, first discovered by Mr. Bankes and Mr. Salt, as well as some interesting hieroglyphic tablets.

The above-mentioned inscription is of very great interest, upon several accounts. It appears to have been written by the troops sent by the Egyptian king after the deserters, who are said by Herodotus † to have left the service of Psamaticus in the following manner: —

"In the reign of Psammitichus these troops had been stationed at Elephantine, to protect the country from the Ethiopians; . . . and, having been kept three whole years in garrison, without being relieved, they resolved with one accord to desert the king, and go over to the Ethiopians. As soon as this news reached Psammitichus, he pursued them, and having overtaken them, he in vain endeavoured by entreaties and every argument to prevail on them not to abandon their country, gods, their children, and their wives. . . . But, deaf to his arguments, they continued their route, and on arriving in

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* Some of the dimensions of these colossi are as follow: the ear 3 feet 5 in.; forefinger (*i. e.* to the fork of middle finger) 3 feet; from inner side of elbow joint to end of middle finger, 15 feet, &c.

† Herodot. 2. 30.

Ethiopia, they gave themselves up to the king of the country, who rewarded them with the possession of lands belonging to certain refractory Ethiopians, whom they were ordered to expel. They therefore settled there; and the Ethiopians became more civilised by adopting the customs of these Egyptians." The position of their settlement he places above Meroë, after which city he says, "you arrive at the country of the Automoles (deserters) in as many days as it took you to go from Elephantine to the capital of the Ethiopians. These Automoles are called Asmach*; which word translated signifies 'those who stand on the left hand of the king,' and their numbers when they deserted were 240,000."

The inscription is in a curious style of Greek, with a rude indication of the long vowels. It is not quite intelligible; but by the valuable assistance of Colonel Leake, the following version and translation may be made out:—

Βασιλεως ελθοντος ες Ελεφαντιναν Ψαματιχο (for ου)
ταυτα εγραψαν τοι συν Ψαμματιχῳ τῳ Θεοκλ[ους]
επλεον ηλθον δε Κερκιος κατυπερθεν ις ο (for εις ο) ποταμος
ανιη αλογλοσος ο ηχεποτασιμτο Αιγυπτιος δε Αμασις
εγραφε Δαμεαρχον Αμοιϐιχο[υ] και Πελεφος Ουδαμο[υ]

"King Psamatichus having come to Elephantine, those who were with Psamatichus, the son of Theocles, wrote this. They sailed, and came to above Kerkis, to where the river rises . . . . . . the Egyptian Amasis. The writer was Damearchon, the son of Amœbichus, and Pelephus, the son of Udamus."

From this it appears that the "king Psamatichus†" only went as far as Elephantine, and sent his troops after the deserters by the river‡ into Upper Ethiopia; the writer of the first part, who had the same name, being doubtless a Greek.

Besides this inscription are some others, written by Greeks who probably visited the place at a later time, as "Theopompus, the son of Plato," "Ptolemy, the son of Timostratus," and others.

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* Ασμαχ.

† Properly Psamaticus, or Psamatik.

‡ Stephanus, the ethnicograph, says, "Syene is a city of Egypt and Ethiopia, on the Nile, above which the river is called Siris." This calls to mind the Sihor of Scripture; and may perhaps be derived from Sares, the south.

The grand hall is supported by eight Osiride pillars*, and to it succeed a second hall of four square pillars, a corridor, and the adytum, with two side chambers. Eight other rooms open on the grand hall, but they are very irregularly excavated †; and some of them have lofty benches projecting from the walls. In the centre of the adytum is an altar, and at the upper end are four statues in relief. The dimensions of the colossi attached to the pillars in the great hall are,—from the shoulder to the elbow, 4 feet 6 inches; from the elbow to the wrist 4 feet 3 inches; from the nose to the chin, 8 inches; the ear, 13¾ inches; the nose, about 10 inches; the face, nearly 2 feet; and the total height, without the cap and pedestal, 17 feet 8 inches.

The principal objects of the interior are the historical subjects, relating to the conquests of Remeses II., represented in the great hall. A large tablet, containing the date of his first year, extends over great part of the north wall; and another between the two last pillars on the opposite side of this hall, of his thirty-fifth year, has been added long after the temple was completed. The battle scenes on the south wall are particularly spirited; and it will not be without benefit to those who still adhere to the notion that the Egyptians were black, to observe the distinction maintained in the colour of the faces of the Negro, Ethiopian, and eastern captives, represented at Aboo-Simbel, and to compare them with that of the Egyptians; who are here, as on every other monument, of a red complexion, not even approaching the copper hue of the Ethiopians.

Re was the god of the temple and the protector of the place. In a niche over the entrance is a statue of this deity ‡ in relief, to whom the king is offering a figure of Truth; and he is one of the four at the end of the adytum. The Theban triad also holds a conspicuous place here; as well as Kneph, Khem, Osiris, and Isis. The total depth of this excavation, from the door, is about 200 feet, without the colossi and slope of the façade; and a short distance to the south are some hieroglyphic tablets on the rock, bearing the date of the thirty-eighth year of the same Remeses.

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* The dedication on the architrave over these colossi has been cut over other hieroglyphics, but I could not discover if they were of an older king; I think not.

† Perhaps added at a later period.

‡ This figure, the staff, and the goddess of Truth, at the sides of the niche, refer also to the name of Remeses.

The great temple of Aboo-Simbel was formerly quite closed by the sand that pours down from the hills above. The first person who observed these two interesting monuments was Burckhardt; and in 1817, Belzoni, Captains Irby and Mangles, and Mr. Beechey, visited them, and resolved on clearing the entrance of the larger temple from the sand. After working eight hours a day for a whole fortnight, with the average heat of the thermometer from 112° to 116° Fahr. in the shade, they succeeded in gaining admittance; and though the sand closed it again, their labours enabled others to penetrate into it with little delay, and nine or ten Nubians always removed the sand in a few hours. But it remained for Mr. Hay to clear the doorway down to the base; and it is to his exertions that travellers are still enabled to go into the great temple without impediment, and without having to encounter the same degree of stifling heat, that formerly made a long stay inside so inconvenient and oppressive.

Nearly opposite Aboo-Simbel is Feráyg, a small excavated temple, consisting of a hall, supported by four columns, two side chambers or wings, and an adytum. It has the name and sculptures of the successor of Amunoph III., and was dedicated to Amunre and Kneph.

Faras, or Farras, on the west bank, is supposed to be the Phthuris of Pliny; and from the many sculptured blocks and columns there, it is evident that some ancient town existed on that spot; though, judging from the style, they appear to belong to a Roman, rather than an Egyptian, epoch.

A little to the south is a small grotto with hieroglyphics of the time of Remeses II.; and in the hills to the westward are some chambers, hewn in the rock, with several Coptic inscriptions; from one of which, bearing the name of Diocletian, it seems that they served as places of refuge, during some of the early persecutions of the Christians. To the south-west are ruins of baked brick, with stone columns, of the low ages.

At Serra are the remains of what was once perhaps a quay; but there are no ruins of any ancient town in the vicinity, though it also lays claim to the site of Phthuris.

Opposite Wadee Halfeh are the vestiges of three buildings. One is a simple square of stone, without sculpture; another has several stone pillars, the walls being of brick; but the third has been ornamented with a number of columns, parts of which still remain. Sufficient, however, still exists to tell us that it was an ancient Egyptian building; and that it was, at least originally, commenced by the third and fourth Thothmes, of the eighteenth dynasty, and apparently dedicated to Kneph.

The second cataract is less interesting than that of Asouán, but more extensive, being a succession of rapids, which occupy a space of several miles, called Batn el Haggar, "the belly of stone." On the west bank, just below this rocky bed, is a high cliff, from which there is a fine and commanding view of the falls; and this is the ultima Thule of Egyptian travellers.

The distance from the Mediterranean Sea to the second cataract is from 920 to 950 miles, allowing as follows, by the river: —

	Miles.
From Wadee Halfeh to Asouan (by the river)	232
Asouan to Silsilis	40
.... Edfoo	22
.... Esné	30
.... Thebes	32
.... Keneh	38
.... How	29
.... Girgeh (Geergeh)	35
.... Ekhmím	22
.... Osioot	66
.... Manfaloot (winding very much)	25
.... Mellawee	32
.... Minieh	31
.... Benisooef	71
.... Cairo	72
... Wadee Halfeh to Cairo, total	777
... Cairo to Rosetta	145½
... Wadee Halfeh to Rosetta	922½
From Cairo to the mouth of the Mahmoodéëh canal	123
and thence to Alexandria	52
From Cairo to Alexandria, total	175
... Wadee Halfeh to Cairo	777
.. Wadee Halfeh to Alexandria, total	952

Herodotus* reckons from the sea to Thebes 6120 stadia, or 707 miles English; and from Thebes to Elephantine 1800 stadia or nearly 208 miles; but from the above, it will be seen (all the sinuosities of the river being taken into account) that from Asouan or Elephantine to Thebes is 124 miles, and from Thebes to the sea, 566½; so that Herodotus has either allowed too much, or the stadium used by him cannot be of 610 feet English, which I have given it in this calculation. Pliny† reckons 600 Roman miles from Philæ to the beginning of the Delta, which is nearer the truth, the real distance being about 552 English miles.

About one day and a half beyond Wadee Halfeh is the village and cataract of Samneh; where on either bank is a small but interesting temple of the third Thothmes.

That on the eastern side consists of a portico: a hall parallel to it, extending across the whole breadth of the naos, and one large and three small chambers in the back part. It stands in an extensive court or enclosure surrounded by a strong crude brick wall, commanding the river, which runs below it to the westward. In the portico is a tablet, bearing the name of Amunoph III.; but on the front of the naos, to which are two entrances, Thothmes III. is making offerings to Totouôn‡, the God of Samneh, and to Kneph, one of the contemplar deities. The name of Thothmes II. also occurs in the hieroglyphics; and those of Amunoph II. and of the third Osirtasen§, a monarch of the seventeenth dynasty, and the ancestor of Thothmes, are introduced in another part of the temple.

That on the western bank, though small, is of a more elegant plan, and has a peristyle, or corridor, supported by pillars on two of its sides; but to cross the river it is necessary to put up with a ruder raft than the *pacton*, by which Strabo was carried over to Philæ, as it is merely formed of logs of the *dom*‖, lashed together, and pushed forward by men who swim behind it.

This building only consists of one chamber, about thirty feet by eleven, with an entrance in front, and another on the west side, opposite whose northern jamb, instead of a square pillar, is a polygonal column, with a line of hieroglyphics, as usual, down its central face. On the pillars king Thothmes III. is represented in company with Totouôn, and other deities of the temple; and what is very remarkable, his ancestor Osirtasen III. is here treated as a god, and is seen presenting the king with the emblem of life. On the front wall is a tablet in relief, with the name of Ames, the first, and of Thothmes II., the fourth, Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty; and mention is made of the city of Thebes. But this tablet has been defaced by the hieroglyphics of another cut in intaglio over it, apparently by a Remeses.

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* Lib. 2. s. 9.

† Lib. 5. c. 9.

‡ Apparently derived from Tot, "the hand," and ouôn, "to open."

§ And treated as a deified person.

‖ Cucifera Thebaica.

At the upper end of the naos is a sitting statue of gritstone, with the emblems of Osiris, intended perhaps to represent the king Osirtasen.*

A brick wall enclosed and protected the temple, and the traces of a stone causeway show that a road led to the summit of the hill, on which it stands.

Below, on the east side, falls the Nile, through a narrow passage between the rocks that impede its course; and I have been informed that near this spot are some Greek inscriptions.

The ruins of Samneh are supposed to mark the site of Tasitia, or of Acina; and we may perhaps trace in the hieroglyphics the name of the ancient town, called in Egyptian Totosha; unless this be a general appellation of the country, including Samneh, Aboo-Simbel, and their vicinity, and related to the Coptic name Ethaush or Ethiopia. If Ptolemy is to be trusted, Tasitia was on the west side of the river, and Pnoups opposite it on the east, as he places both in latitude 22°; so that Samneh may include the sites of both those ancient villages.

To those who enquire whether they need pass beyond Philæ, I answer that Nubia is well worthy of a visit, if only to witness the unparalleled effect of the exterior of Aboo-Simbel. Beyond this there is nothing but the view of the Second Cataract, which it is as well to see if the time can be easily spared. At all events, Aboo-Simbel will amply repay the traveller, whose object is to take a rapid glance of Egyptian architecture; while the antiquary cannot fail to be pleased with the examination of the historical pictures in the sculptures of the interior, which he will find great satisfaction in comparing with similar subjects at Thebes.

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* After death every Egyptian, male and female, was represented under the form of Osiris; and therefore deified in a certain sense. The return to the Unity.

For the ruins above Samneh* I refer the reader to Mr. Hoskins's "Ethiopia," and to M. Caillaud's "Journey to Meroë and its Vicinity."

I have now mentioned, in as brief a manner as possible, the principal objects in Nubia; and would willingly have introduced the Greek inscriptions, and the plans of the temples and tombs there, as well as in Egypt; but I have already extended this work beyond its intended limits, and they are perhaps more suited to a work on archæology than a guide-book for the traveller.

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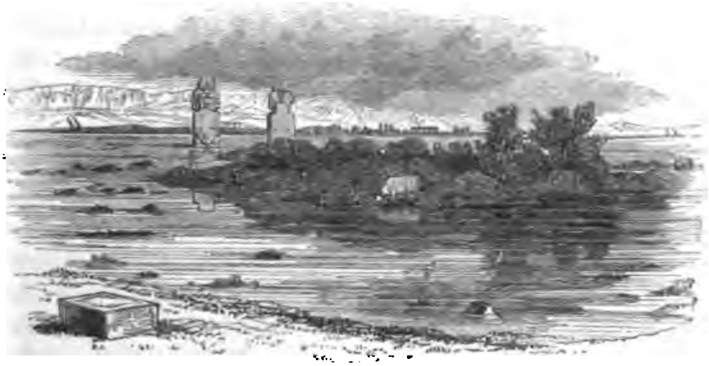
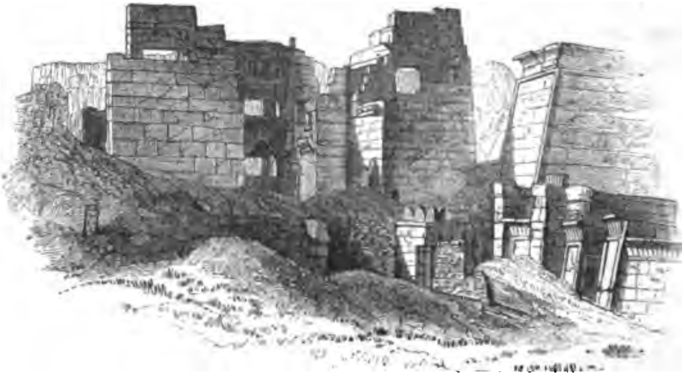
* Some of the hieroglyphics copied by me at Samneh may be found in the plates published by the Royal Society of Literature, pl. 91 to 95.



The two Colossi of Thebes before the temple built by Amunoph III., with the ruins of Luxor in the distance, during the inundation.



Pavilion of Remeses III. at Medeenet Haboo, Thebes.

SECTION VI.

THE FÝOÓM. — OASES. — DESERTS EAST OF THE NILE. — MOUNT SINAI. OBSERVATIONS TO BE MADE BY TRAVELLERS.

THE FÝOÓM.*

The Pyramids of Illahoón and Howára. — Labyrinth. — Canals. — Medéeneh. — Obelisk at Biggig. — Ruins at Biáhmoo. — Birket el K̲orn. — Lake Mœris. — Ruins at Kôm-Weseem ; Dimáy ; and K̲asr el Kharoon. — Old towns. — El Ghérek̲. — Arab tribes. — Senhoor and other villages.

Many roads lead from the valley of the Nile into the Fýoóm, which are only separated by a range of low hills and plains of desert. The most frequented are those to Toméëh from El Kafr, near Dashoor, or from Kafr el Iyát (Aiát); and to Howára and Medeeneh from Benisooef. There are others from the neighbourhood of the pyramids; from near the False Pyramid; from Ogaýt, on the south from Behnesa; and indeed from almost all the intervening places between Kerdassy and the last-mentioned town.

The opening between the hills, by which the Bahr Yoosef runs into the Fýoóm, lies about twelve miles north-west from Benisooef. In taking this road you cross the main stream of the Bahr Yoosef, and then following the branch that takes the water into that province, you come to the bridge of

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* Feioom, Fiyoom, Faioom, or Faiyoom, فيوم or El Fýoóm, الفيوم

Illahoón; where there is the stone barrier mentioned by Aboolfeda, and sluices regulating the quantity of water admitted to the lower level beyond them. Some remains of older bridges and dykes swept away by various irruptions of the Nile are seen there, and to the west is a dyke, and a communication with the high land at the edge of the desert during the inundation. About two miles to the south-west of the bridge of Illahoón are the mounds of an ancient town, called Tóma, which, from its name and position, probably marks the site of Ptolemaïs, the port of Arsinoë. A similar dyke extends from the village of Illahoón to the desert on the north, towards the ruined pyramid. This, which is known as the pyramid of Illahoón, is of crude brick, like that of Howara, six miles further to the north-west.

But the pyramid of Howara is far more interesting, from its marking the site of one of the most celebrated monuments of ancient Egypt, the Labyrinth, at whose northern extremity it stands. The remains of that famous building are now in a very dilapidated state, and it is with difficulty that the extent can be traced, much less its plan; though by proper excavation this might possibly be made out. The part now seen is doubtless the upper story, visited by Herodotus; which may be considered the labyrinth itself, the lower underground chambers being set apart "for the sepulchres of the sacred crocodiles and of the kings who founded the monument."* The total length of the area it occupied measures 580 feet, and its breadth 271; both taken within the mounds that are now raised around it, and that separate it from the pyramid; which is distant about 80 feet, giving a total in length of 660 feet. The pyramid itself, when entire, was about 348 feet square; but it is much ruined, owing to the removal of many of the bricks for houses and government buildings at Medeeneh. It seems to have been built in degrees, or with perpendicular walls, to which the sloping sides have afterwards been added. The bricks are of great size, and appear to be of very great age. Strabo gives 4 plethra (or 400 feet) for the length of each face, and the same for the height, which last Herodotus calculates at 50 orgyies

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* Herodot. 2. 148.

(or 300 feet). From the observations made by Mr. Perring, and published by Colonel Howard Vyse, it appears to cover a rock, which rises to the height of about 40 feet within it. Several stone walls, intersecting it in regular lines, act as binders to the intermediate mass of brickwork, built in between them; and the outside was coated with a stone casing.

Close to the west side runs a small modern canal to irrigate the lands to the northward, and on the opposite bank, as well as on the east side of the ruins, are the fallen walls of crude brick houses. They are mostly of late time, but the latter may possibly be on the site of the village mentioned by Strabo.

The remains of the labyrinth, now above ground, consist of several broken columns of fine red granite, in the old Egyptian style, with lotus-bud capitals, 4 ft. 7 in. and 3 ft. 5 in. in diameter, and fragments of grès; which, like the stone of the vocal statue at Thebes, and the red mountain near Cairo, abounds with coloured agates; and some blocks of hard white limestone. The whole area is strewed with pieces of limestone, evidently broken on purpose, and probably at an early period, before the Arab invasion of Egypt. On one granite block I observed the oval of a king's name, but the characters were entirely effaced; and on another was the common termination "for ever." The hieroglyphics were painted green, as on many monuments at Thebes, and apparently of early time. Pliny * mentions porphyry columns in the labyrinth, but it is not improbable that the dark red granite found here was mistaken for that stone; and the hard white polished limestone agrees perfectly with the "white stone" of the corridors mentioned by Herodotus.

Much discussion and doubt has been raised respecting the site of the Labyrinth; which I shall not stop to examine in the present work. Suffice it to say, that after a careful investigation of all that has been said by Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pliny, there is little doubt of its having been in this spot, and the idea of two distinct labyrinths is now totally abandoned. I may, however, observe that the situation of the pyramid at the end of the labyrinth is confirmed by Strabo †: the length he gives it, of more "than a sta-

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* Plin. 36. 13.

† Strabo, 17. p. 558.

dium," agrees well with these ruins; and the elevated table plain, on which he says it stood, suits their position. Pliny's placing it in the Heracleopolite nome, shows it was near the eastern frontier of the Fyoom; and its vicinity to the Lake Mœris would be fully confirmed, if the discovery of M. Linant should prove to be correct, fixing the site of that artificial reservoir towards the eastern side of the Arsinoïte nome.

With regard to the crocodile being sacred in this province, I may repeat the judicious remark made by De Pauw *, which I have had occasion to mention.†

"On examining the topography of Egypt, he observed Coptos, Arsinoë," and Crocodilopolis (Athribis), the towns most remarkable for the adoration of crocodiles, to be all situated on canals at some distance from the Nile. Thus, by the least negligence, in allowing the ditches to be filled up, these animals, from being incapable of going far on dry land, could never have arrived at the very places where they were considered as the symbols of pure water. For, as we learn from Ælian, and more particularly from a passage in Eusebius ‡, the crocodile signified water fit for drinking, and for irrigating the land. As long as their worship was regarded, the government felt assured that the superstitious would not neglect to repair the canals with the greatest exactness;" and thus the object was gained by this religious artifice.

It was on a block of granite, near the western angle of the pyramid of Howára, that M. L'Hôte found the fragment of a Greek inscription given by M. Letronne §, which he has thus restored: "For the Queen Cleopatra, goddess Philometor, sister and wife of the King." It probably belonged to the Labyrinth. This is a spot where excavation is particularly wanted; and its site has not the disadvantage of being interfered with by the encroachments of water, like Saïs and some other places.||

After following the canal from the site of the Labyrinth,

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* Pauw, Recherches Philos. vol. ii. part iii. sect. 7. p. 122.

† Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 233.

‡ Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. 3. 11. "Crocodilum (significare) aquam potui aptam."

§ Letronne, Inscriptions, vol. i. p. 381.

|| Since writing the above, the Labyrinth has been excavated by the Prussian commission, sent by that government under the direction of Dr. Lepsius, and the plan is said to be perfectly traceable.

by the town of Howára*, or, to use the words of Strabo, "sailing by this spot, at the distance of 100 stadia, you come to the city of Arsinoë†," now succeeded by the modern Medeéneh, the "capital" of the Fyoóm, situated on the southern extremity of the mounds of the old town. The distance given by the geographer agrees exactly with that measured from the ruins to the centre of the mounds, which is 11½ miles English, reckoning the stadium at 610 feet; and nothing can confirm the position I have given it more satisfactorily, than the fact, that the same words apply to the sites of the two places to the present day.

From the branch of the Bahr Yoosef, which runs from the bridge of Illahoon to Medeéneh, numerous canals conduct the water to various parts of the province, the quantity being regulated by sluices, according to the wants of each. One goes from the bridge of Illahoon along the edge of the southern hills to el Gherek̲ and Nezleh; another by the Labyrinth towards Toméëh; ten others between Howára and Medeéneh; and the same number from the west side of the town to the central villages of the Fyoóm. As of old, they still offer a more interesting specimen of irrigation than any other part of Egypt; and were it properly managed, there is little doubt that this province would enjoy its former reputation for fertility, notwithstanding the injury done to many parts by the abundance of nitre in the soil. For though its merits have been greatly exaggerated, it is still superior to other parts of Egypt from the state of its gardens, and the variety of its productions; since, in addition to corn, cotton, and the usual cultivated plants, it abounds in roses, apricots, figs, grapes, olives, and several other fruits, which grow there in greater perfection and abundance than in the valley of the Nile; and all the rose-water used in Cairo comes from the neighbourhood of Medeéneh.

The whole extent of the cultivable part of the Fyoóm measures about 23 miles north and south, and 28 east and west, which last was in former times extended to upwards of 40, in that part (from Kasr Kharoón to Toméëh) where it has the greatest breadth; and its length north and south, if measured to the other side of the lake, is increased to 32 miles. The Fyoóm is governed by a káshef, or názer, within the jurisdiction of the bey or modeer of Benisooef, who, like all the other beys or provincial chiefs, is under the governor of Upper Egypt, residing at Osioot.

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* There is also a small village of this name at the bridge of Illahóon. The town of Howára is distinguished by the addition of el Kassob.

† Παραπλευσαντι δε ταυτα εφ' εκατον σταδιους, πολις εστιν Αρσινοη" Strabo, 17. p. 558.

Strabo says the Arsinoïte nome excelled all others in appearance, in goodness, and in condition. It was the only place where the olive-trees arrived at any size, or bore good fruit, except the gardens of Alexandria. That nome, too, produced a great quantity of wine, as well as corn, vegetables, and plants of all kinds.[*] In Coptic it is called Piom[†], which was probably derived from Piomi, "the cultivated land;" but the word Phiom, "the ocean," can bear no relation to the name of this province.

The objects of antiquity are few. At Medeéneh, called also Medeenet el Fyoom, or Medeenet el Fáres[‡], are the mounds of Arsinoë, formerly Crocodilopolis[§], but no remains of buildings; and the only variety to the desolate heaps of rubbish are a gunpowder manufactory, a gibbet, and some Arab tombs, all strangely connected with death, on a desolate spot once the site of a populous city. I looked in vain in some of the mosks at Medeéneh for remains of sculpture or inscriptions; a few columns of Roman time were all they contained; but in one of the streets I saw a block with rich Arabesque scrolls, once belonging to some Roman monument, and over it the acanthus leaves of Corinthian pilasters. On a red granite column, now the threshold of a door, were two lines of hieroglyphics, containing the name of a town, and part of an inscription that probably extended around the shaft.

Medeéneh is a town of some importance, and the residence of a káshef or názer. It has the usual bazaars of Egyptian provincial towns, caravanserais, and baths, with a market-day every Sunday. Leo Africanus says "the ancient city was built by one of the Pharaohs, on an elevated spot near a small canal from the Nile, at the time of the Exodus of the Jews, after he had afflicted them with the drudgery of hewing stones and other laborious employments. Here, too, they say the body of Joseph, the son of Israel, was buried, which was afterwards removed by the Jews at their departure; and the surrounding country is famed for the abundance of its fruit and olives, though these last are only fit for eating, and useless for their oil."[*] Wansleb says the Copts still call the city Arsinoë, in their books, or, as Champollion states, Arsenôe[†]; and the former relates a strange tradition of its having been burnt by a besieging enemy, who tied torches to the tails of cats, and drove them into the town. This is evidently an Arab tale, taken from Samson's foxes.

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[*] Strabo, 17. p. 556. See above, p. 16.

[†] In the Memphitic dialect Phiom. This is the same sound and form as the word signifying "ocean."

[‡] El Medeéneh "the city" or "capital," el Fares "of the knight."

[§] *Αρσινοη, κροκοδειλων δε πολις εκαλειτο προτερον.*" Strabo, 17. p. 558.

Near Biggig[‡], about two miles to the S. S. W. of Medeéneh, is an obelisk of the time of Osirtasen, first erected, like that of Heliopolis, about the time of Joseph's arrival in Egypt. It has been thrown down, and broken into two parts; one about 26½ feet, the other 16 feet 3 inches long; which are absurdly designated by the people as Dthukker and Netáī, "male and female." The former name is given to the lower, the latter to the upper half. One face and two sides are only visible; and few hieroglyphics remain on the lower part. The mean breadth of the face is 5 feet 2 inches, or 6 feet 9½ inches at the lower end; and the sides are about 4 feet in width.[§] At the upper part of the face are five compartments, one over the other; in each of which are two figures of king Osirtasen offering to two deities. In the first, at the top, are Mandoo, Amun (?), Pthah, and Re; in the second, they are all effaced; in the third, are Hor-Hat, and a goddess, Thoth, and another goddess; in the fourth, a goddess, and Kneph, Ao (?), and Athor; and in the fifth, Khem, and Tamun (?), Re (?), and Sofh. Below are columns of hieroglyphics, many of which are quite illegible. The other face is under the ground. On each of the two sides is a single column of hieroglyphics, containing the name of the king, who on one is said to be beloved by Pthah, on the other by Mandoo; evidently the two principal deities of the place. On the summit of the obelisk a groove has been cut, doubtless to hold some ornament, as that of Heliopolis; though this of Biggig differs from it, and from other obelisks, in its apex being round, and not pointed. The people of the country look upon these fragments with the same superstitious feeling as the stones of the temple at Panopolis, and some other places; and the women recite the Fátha* over them in the hopes of a numerous offspring.

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[*] Leo. Afric. 8.

[†] Egypte sous les Pharaons, vol. i. p. 326.

[‡] Bijjij or Bidjíj.

[§] Pococke gives the total height 43 feet, breadth on the N. (and S.) ace 4 ft. 2 in., and on the E. (and W.) 6 ft. 6 in.

About five miles to the N. N. E. of Medeéneh is Biáhmoo; and a little beyond it are some curious stone ruins. They consist of two buildings, distant from each other 81 paces, measuring 45 in breadth, and about 60 in length; the southern end of both being destroyed. They stand nearly due N. and S., and at the centre of the E. and W. face is a doorway. In the middle of each is an irregular mass of masonry, about 10 paces square, and about 20 feet high, having ten tiers of stone remaining in the highest part; and at the north-east corner of the eastern building the outer wall is entire, and presents a sloping pyramidal face, having an angle of 67°. Some have supposed them to be pyramids†, and have seen in them the two mentioned by Herodotus, in the middle of the Lake Mœris. M. Linant, indeed, thinks that he has discovered the site of an artificial reservoir, or lake, in this part of the Fyoóm, which would seem to confirm the opinion of their being pyramids; as the bursting of its banks might account for the deep ravines seen between it and the Birket el K̲orn. Of this, however, I do not think myself authorised to say more; the right of description, as of discovery, belonging solely to M. Linant. Some doubt may be raised respecting their being pyramids, as they are not square, and appear not to have been solid. I thought, too, that I could trace more than one doorway, yet, the stones are too irregularly placed in the centre for any but a solid building; and Pococke thinks they were made to rest on the outer walls and the masses in the centre, in order to save materials. He also supposes them to have been pyramids; and, indeed, the slope of the side is too great for any other building. Some of the blocks are 11 feet long, and nearly 3 feet thick, fastened together with cramps; and on some I observed quarry marks, but no traces of hieroglyphics. The people call these buildings "Sunnum el Yahóod," "the Jews' synagogue," a name frequently given to ancient ruins; or, according to Pococke, Háram-Biahmoo, "the pyramids of Biahmoo," which is an additional argument in favour of the above-mentioned opinion. "And if," as I have already stated, "the pyramid of Howára be the tomb of Ismandes*, which stood at the end of the Labyrinth, the remains of Biahmoo may be of the pyramids mentioned by Herodotus."†

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* The first or opening chapter of the Koran.

† See Pococke, i. c. 7. Savary, i. Letter 27.

Wansleb saw the body of a granite colossus on a pedestal behind the village, in the middle of the road, called of Pharaoh, and five other pedestals, which I could not find; but in the western ruin are three stones built in the form of a seat, with a hollow back, the use of which it is not easy to determine. It was probably only part of the building.

Much of the large Cyperus dives, called by the people K̲ush (Gush) or Dees, is grown about Biahmoo, as in many other parts of the Fyoóm, for making coarse mats and baskets. I believe it is the largest species known in Egypt, growing to the height of 5 or 6 feet, and has sometimes been mistaken for the papyrus.

The environs of the lake, or Birket el K̲orn, present the most extensive remains of antiquity; particularly at Kom Weseém to the eastward, at Dimaý or Nerba to the north, and at the Kasr el Kharoon‡ to the south-west. There are also a few remains on the shore itself, particularly at two places called el Hammam, or "the Baths."

The lake is about 35 miles long, and a little more than 7 broad in the widest part, and has received its name Birket el K̲orn, "the lake of the horn," from its form, which is broad at the eastern end, and curves to a point at its opposite extremity. Towards the middle is an island, called Gezeeret el K̲orn; in which report has incorrectly spoken of ruins. For though, from its numerous fissures, the rocky table hill that rises in the centre has the appearance of a building at a distance, this is disproved by closer examination, and I found nothing there but a few bricks. What appeared most unaccountable in this island was the existence of horned snakes; one of which I killed near the shore.

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* Ismandes, or Osymandyas, Strabo, 17. p. 558.

† Egypt and Thebes, p. 354. I had supposed the island on which they stood to have been formed by the two branches of the canal. Future discoveries may perhaps decide the question.

‡ Or K̲asr Kharoón. I find some pronounce it K̲aroón.

The lake is of little depth, and though I sounded in several places I found what is considered the deepest part to be only 28½ feet. If the reservoir discovered by M. Linant be the artificial lake mentioned by Herodotus, Pliny, and Strabo, the Birket el Ḵorn still possesses a claim to the name of Lake Mœris, as is shown by Herodotus saying that it "makes a bend to the westward, and runs inland along the mountains above Memphis, emptying itself, according to the statement of the natives, into the Syrtis of Libya by an underground channel."* I was of opinion that the historian had confounded the lake with the canal; but if M. Linant's discovery be true, I shall be disposed to think that in his description of it he united the canal, and the natural, as well as the artificial lake. Pliny too in one place calls the lake Mœris a large canal†, and, in another, speaks of it as "having been‡ between the Arsinoïte and Memphite nomes, 250 Roman miles in circumference, or, according to Mutianus, 450, and 50 paces deep, made by order of king Mœris, distant 70 miles from Memphis."§ His expression "*fuit*," seems to imply that it no longer existed in his time; and if so, he must have had in view a different lake from the modern Birket el Ḵorn. The same remark applies to Strabo, who places the lake much more to the south-east; and from his mention of two mouths of the canal that communicated with the lake, *one of which*‖ was used during the low Nile, for letting off the water wanted for irrigation, it is evident he could not have had in view the present Birket el Ḵorn. Strabo's account of two mouths of the canal, which ran by the Heracleopolite nome on the right, towards Libya (i. e. on the western side of it), to the Arsinoïte, so that the canal had a double mouth, and enclosed between its two channels a portion of the island, in which the Heracleopolite nome stood, evidently alludes to two channels or canals from the Nile, that took the water into the Arsinoïte nome to feed the lake. One of them, I imagine, left the Nile some distance to the south, and ran diagonally along the Libyan hills, where the Bahr Yoosef still flows; and the other left it much lower down to the eastward of the Fyoóm,—as an auxiliary canal still does, in the neighbourhood of Benisooef. It was probably at the union of these two branches that the sluices for irrigating the Arsinoïte nome were fixed; and the northern was the only one opened during the low Nile.

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* Herodot. 2. 150.

† Plin. 36. 12. "Mœridis lacus, hoc est, fossa grandis."

‡ Plin. 5. 9. "lacus *fuit*."

§ This is about double the distance from the Birket el Ḵorn to Memphis.

‖ *Κατα ϑατερον των στοματων*. Strabo, 17. p. 557.

At all events, the account of the water returning from the lake to the Nile, on the retiring of the inundation, is totally inapplicable to the Birket el K̲orn, the level of its surface being about 125 feet lower than the bank of the river at Benisooef; which, making every allowance for the rise of the bed of the Nile, and the proportionate elevation of its banks, could never have been on a level, even in Herodotus's time, with that lake; and consequently no return of the water could have taken place from it to the Nile. And that the surface of the lake is about the same now as formerly is evident, from our finding ruins on its shores at the water's edge; and its accidental and temporary rise, which happened some years ago, was merely owing to the bursting of the great dyke at Toméëh.

The Bathen of D'Anville is purely imaginary.

The ruins of Kom Weseém, or Kom Wesheém-el-Haggar, are little more than five miles from the eastern end of the lake, and four from Toméëh, close to the road leading to the pyramids. They consist of extensive mounds, and below them are remains of crude brick houses on stone substructions, amidst which may be traced the direction of the streets of a town. On the mounds the remains seem to be chiefly, if not entirely, of tombs, in some of which animals were buried. I observed a few granite blocks, and others of a compact shell limestone. Some of the former had been cut into mill-stones. I also found fragments of glass, and Roman and Ptolemaïc coins badly preserved, which, together with an arched room, prove these ruins to be of late time. Beyond the town to the north-east are numerous large round blocks of stone, extending to a great distance along the plain, which has given the epithet *el Haggar* to the place; but they are not artificial, and have not belonged to any monument.

At El Hammam, by the water's edge, at this end of the lake, are the remains of "*baths*" and a few other ruins of no great interest, broken amphoræ, glass, and other fragments. A little above was the town to which they belonged.

There is another place called "the baths," with still fewer remains of burnt brick, on the south side of the lake; and to the east of this, at the projecting headland below Shekh Abd el K̲adee, are a few more vestiges of brickwork. The tomb of the Shekh also stands on the site of an old town.

Nearly opposite these southern "baths" are the ruins of Dimáy or Nerba, a large town distant about two miles from the lake.

On the way from the usual place of landing, below Dimáy, you pass several large blocks resembling broken columns, but which are natural, as at Kom Weseém.

A raised paved *dromos* leading direct through its centre, to an elevated platform and sacred enclosure, forms the main street, about 1290 feet in length, once ornamented at the upper end with the figures of *lions*, from which the place has received the name of Dimay (or Dimeh) *e' Saba*. This remarkable street, which recalls the paved approach to the temple of Bubastis[*], the lions, and the remains of stone buildings, prove the town to have been of far greater consequence than Kom Weseém. The principal edifice, which is partly of stone, stands at the upper end of the dromos, and has the appearance of a temple: it is about 109 feet by 67, and is divided into several apartments, the whole surrounded by an extensive circuit of crude brick, 370 feet by 270. An avenue of lions was before the entrance of this sacred enclosure, or *temenos*, 87 feet in length, connecting it with one of those square open platforms, ornamented with columns, so often found before the temples of the Thebaïd[†]; and this formed a continuation of the main street. The total dimensions of the area occupied by the town was about 1730 feet by 1000, but the extent of the walls (if any) are not easily traced, amidst the heaps of sand that have accumulated over it, and the whole is in a very dilapidated state.

Though the relative latitudes of Bacchis and Dionysias, given by Ptolemy, do not allow the former to have been at Dimay, it is not improbable that it stood there; and it is evident that the position he assigns to Dionysias, 29° 0′, cannot suit any place in the Arsinoïte nome. Notwithstanding the latitude he gives it, and its reputed longitude due south of Bacchis, Dionysias seems to have stood at the K̲asr El Kharoón, near the south-west corner of the lake, if he is correct in placing those towns "near the Lake Mœris." Were it not for this expression, we might suppose Dionysias to have been one of the ruined towns near El Ghérek̲; and Haráb-t e' Nishán would suit Ptolemy's longitude in reference to Bacchis or Dimay. At all events, the ruins at K̲asr El Kharoón are the most important, as well as the best preserved, of any in the Fyoóm; a place of so much consequence could not have been omitted; and the authority of D'Anville supports its claim to the site of Dionysias. He places Bacchis or Banchis near the east end of the lake at Kom Weseém.

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[*] Herodot. 2. 138. *Κατα μεν δη την εισοδον, εστρωμενη εστι οδος λιθον επι σταδιους τρεις μαλιστα κη, δια της αγορης φερουσα.*

[†] As at Karnak, Medeénet Háboo, Medamôt, and other places.

The principal building to which the name K̲asr El Kharoón properly belongs, is an Egyptian temple, measuring 94 feet by 63, and 46* in height, preceded by a court about 35 feet in depth. It contains fourteen chambers and two staircases on the ground-floor, besides a long passage on either side of the adytum, whose end wall is divided into three narrow cells. The whole is of hewn stone, and a very good style of masonry. It appears to be of Roman date; and in the upper story is a vaulted staircase. Pococke has erroneously supposed this to be the Labyrinth, with which it agrees neither in dimensions, distribution, nor position.

Three hundred and eighty paces (996 feet) in front of the temple is a square stone ruin, that probably formed the entrance of its *dromos;* and near it is another small building of similar materials. One hundred and thirty paces to the south-east is a Roman temple of brick, stuccoed, about 18 feet square, on a stone platform, the outer face of its walls ornamented with pilasters and half-columns. In form, size, and appearance, it resembles two buildings near Rome, one called the temple of Rediculus, and the other a supposed tomb, outside the Porta Pia. The roof is arched, and the door in front opens upon a small area, part of the platform upon which it stands; and the principal difference between this and the above-mentioned buildings is, that here half-columns are substituted at the side walls for pilasters, and it has a side door. Other vestiges of ruins are scattered over an extent of about 900 by 400 paces, or about 2334 by 1050 feet; and at the western extremity of this space, 350 paces behind the temple, are the remains of an arch, partly of stone, and partly of crude brick, whose northern face looks towards the lake, and the other towards a small crude brick ruin.* Near the arch is a stone resembling a stool, or an altar, also of Roman time.

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* Pococke gives 32 feet. I measured 39 ft. 9 in. above the rubbish accumulated at the base.

It is not alone by the situation of this town that the former extent of the cultivated land of the Arsinoïte nome is attested, but by the traces of gardens and vineyards which are met with on all sides of the K̠asr El Kharoón, whose roots now supply the Arabs with fuel when passing the night there.

To the north-east, on the shore of Birket el K̠orn, are vestiges of masonry, perhaps of the port (if it deserves the name) of this town; and at the extreme point of the lake is a mound, or small hill, upon which I found an engraved cornelian seal, and some other relics of Roman time. The subject on the seal was a curious conceit—a lion and a cock† fighting, whilst a rat ran away with the bone. The water of the lake is brackish, and even salt, particularly in summer, before the inundation has poured into it a supply of fresh water. It is partly fed by this, and partly by some springs, which are probably derived from filtrations from the Nile over a bed of clay. The shores are barren, and at the north-west corner the hills approach to within the distance of a mile. In the sandy plain to the north-west of Dimay, between that place and the first range of hills, Mr. Burton found some petrified reeds, standing upright in the sand, as if petrified in that position; and below that ruined town are some very large impressions of Ammonites. Beyond this, to the north, about twelve miles from the lake, is a lofty range of limestone mountains, and behind them is the ravine that joins, and forms part of, the Bahr el Fargh, to the west of the Natron Lakes.

A little to the south of the road from K̠asr el Kharoón to

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* Pococke has given a detailed account of these ruins.

† See Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. p. 215.

Kasr el Benát, you pass a stone wall, the traces of vineyards, and the channels of old canals, and a little farther (on the direct road to Nézleh), much pottery, and some tombs. Kasr el Benát, "the palace of the girls," is a small crude brick ruin, of which the plans of three rooms only can be traced; the whole measuring 30 paces by 10. Near it is the site of an old town, with much broken pottery, bricks, and other fragments. One mile and a half to the south are the mounds of Hereét, presenting the remains of brickwork, but no ruins; and at the same distance beyond them is a stone wall, near the large ravine or canal called el Wádee ("the valley"). About 1½ mile below Nézleh are other mounds, called Watféëh, and the tomb of Shekh Abd el Bári. In the ravine itself are the remains of a wall, partly brick, partly stone, which is said to have been once used to keep up the water, like that of Toméëh; where there is a similar deep broad channel, and where a large reservoir of water, probably in imitation of the old artificial lake Mœris, is maintained by a strong dyke, thrown across it. At Nézleh the ravine, from bank to bank, measures 673 feet, and 100 deep, from the top to the level of the water in the channel at the centre, which is 120 feet broad.

To the west of Nézleh are the sites of two ancient towns, called Haráb-t el Yahood *, "the ruins of the Jews," and El Hammam, "the baths." Neither of them present any but crude brick remains, and the former was evidently inhabited till within a few years by Moslems, whose mud houses still remain. Medeenet Hati, Medeenet Madi, and Haráb-t e' Nishán have extensive mounds of ancient towns, amidst which are found fragments of limestone columns, bricks, pottery, glass, and a few Roman coins. At El Ghérek, is a town about 700 paces long, by 500 broad, protected against the Arabs by a wall, furnished with loopholes and projecting towers. Over the gateway is some old sculpture, and parts of small columns and pilasters; and I observed other sculpture of similar style in the wall of a house, evidently taken from a Roman building. It has no ruins, and the mound near it, called Senooris, seems only to

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* Or Harab-t el Kaffara, "ruins of the infidels." Those two names are given to the southern part, the northern being called Haráb-t el Hamoóli, from a Shekh's tomb there.

mark the site of an older Arab village. And though the stones on the west side, from which the village has received the pompous name of Medeenet el Haggar "the city of the stone," once belonged to ancient ruins, there is no vestige of building that has any claim to antiquity. The town stands at the edge of an isolated spot of arable land, surrounded by the desert, and watered by a branch of the canal that supplies the lands about Nézleh and the western extremity of the Fyoóm. It is the land that has given the name Gherek, "*submerged,*" to the village; doubtless from its having been exposed to floods, by the lowness of its level, when accidents have occurred to the dykes. It has been erroneously called a lake.

The inhabitants are principally of the Howaynát, or Owaynat tribe, once Arabs, and now *Fellahin.* They have possessed the land for the last 70 years, and are now aided in tilling it by another tribe, the Samaloós, about thirty of whom reside in the town, and the rest in tents in the neighbourhood.

It is always the study of the Turkish government to induce the Arabs to become tillers of land, and reside in towns; and this hope makes it more indulgent in permitting their residence on the edge of the cultivated lands, though they often commit great depredations on the fields of the defenceless peasant. The tribes of the Moghrebins, or Western Arabs, are numerous, and have been found useful in supplying a body of irregular cavalry, for the wars of Mohammed Ali, in Arabia, the Soodán, and Syria. The names of those who live in and on the confines of Egypt, are: —

		Men.
1.	The Jumáïd, to the W. of Alexandria, about	400
2.	Welad Ali, in the same direction, upwards of	2000
3.	Joabées, near Teráneh and the Natron Lakes, about	400
4.	Hanádee; having been driven by the Weled Ali from the Baháyreh, the Pasha has made them settle on the E. of the Delta near K̲oraýn	700
5.	Ingémi, above Kerdassy and the Pyramids, about	100
6.	Welad Soolayman, near Geezeh, 500 horsemen, the rest not numbered	
7.	Hazále, near Rigga	70
8.	Dtháfa, near Gomon el Aróos, below Boosh	500
9.	Harábee — wandering tribes, generally living near Benisooef and the Fyoóm, each	1300
10.	Foáid, or Fooaïd	
11.	Howátta, near Rótha in the Fyoóm	80
12.	Ferján near Senooris	220
13.	Samaloós, near Gambashee and El Ghereh (the Howaynát, now *fellahin*)	674
14.	Khooáylid, near Isment	300

	Men.
15. Joázee or Jowázee, near Behnesa	1800
16. Mehayreb, in the same part of the country, only 800 numbered	
17. Terhoóna, near Sow and Gashloót	300
18. Jáma, near Tetaléëh	400?
19. Amáim, or Améim, live near Beni Adee and the Great Oasis	600?
20. Sáadna,	90?
21. Roobéi,	80?

The Arabs distinguish each other by the marks on their camels. Some are known by a slight difference in their mode of speaking, as the Welad Ali, and Harábee, the Jáma and the Amáim. Some even, of the same tribe, differ in their accent, as the Foáid. The Harábee, Welad Ali, Foáid, and Jowázee are called Sáadee, and come from about Derna and Bengházee; and the Jama, Amáim, Sáadna, Roobéi, and Terhoóna, from about Tripoli (Tráblus).

At el Benián, "the buildings," to the N. E. of el Ghérek, are an old doorway, broken shafts, and capitals of Corinthian columns of Roman time, built into a Shekh's tomb; and at Taleét and Shekh Aboo-Hamed, to the eastward, are the mounds of two other towns. These indeed occur in many parts of the Fyoóm; and though we cannot credit the tradition of the people that it formerly contained 366* towns and villages, it is evident that it was a populous *nome* of ancient Egypt; and that many once existed both in the centre and on the now barren skirts of the Fyoóm. Indeed the cultivated land extended formerly far beyond its present limits: a great portion of the desert plain was then taken into cultivation; and I have seen several places where canals and the traces of cultivated fields are still discernible, to a considerable distance E. and W. of the modern irrigated lands.

Senhoor, Senooris, and Fedemín, occupy the sites of ancient towns; and the name of Senhoor, and the extent of its mounds, prove the antiquity and the size of its predecessor. But I could not discover in any part of its mounds the remains of a temple, said to have been seen there. The vicinity of Fedemín is pretty. At Kasr Makfoót on the road from Senóoris to Toméëh, are some fragments of granite columns, cut into mortars and millstones by the Arabs, amidst whose deserted huts they lie. Four miles further is Tòméëh. On the east side of the town is a ravine, similar to that of Nézleh, called el Botts, 314 feet broad, dyked across by a strong wall, which retains a large body of water above it to the south, for the purposes of irrigation. Many previous dykes have existed there, all successively broken down by the weight of the water, the ruins of which are seen in the ravine below. Some are apparently of Roman time.

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* They say "formerly 366, now 66." Both are incorrect, and there are to this day more than the latter number.

At Kôm e' Toob, "the mound of brick," is the site of an ancient village, on the bank of the reservoir, about three quarters of a mile to the south of Toméëh; but with no ruins except crude brick walls.

Many other mounds and sites of old towns are met with in the Fýoóm, for which I refer to my map; and I shall only mention one more ruin, which is on the high ridge of hills between this province and the Nile, due west of the Háram el Kedáb. It is of stone, and appears to have been a small pyramid.

To visit the lake, a boat may be hired by applying to the Shekh of Senhoor, or of Abookshay; and for a journey to the K̲asr El Kharóon, Nézleh is the most convenient place to start from. The ruins at Biahmoo, and the obelisk of Biggig, may be seen by making excursions from Medeéneh.

THE OASES.

Routes to the Little Oasis.—Preparations for the Journey.—Road from the Fyoóm.—Old Convent in Wadee Moileh.—Wadee Ryán.—Little Oasis, or Oasis Parva.—Ruins at El K̲asr.—Levels of the Oases.—Wah el Hayz.—Faráfreh.—Oases of the Blacks.—Wah E' Dakhleh.—Temple near El K̲asr.—Other Ruins.—Villages and Population of this Oasis.—Great Oasis of El Khargeh.—Ruins and Great Temple.—Its old name, Ibis or Hebi.—Temples of K̲asr el Goáyta, K̲asr e' Zayán, and Doosh.—Distances.—Population.—Oasis of Siwah.—Fountain of the Sun.—Temple of Ammon, and other ruins.—Dates.—Customs and language.

THE most frequented roads from the Nile to the Little Oasis are from Behnesa and through the Fýoóm. The average distance from either is about three days' journey; and the monotony of the road, over a high desert plain, scarcely diversified by occasional barren vallies, has led to the mistaken impression of the charm of those "blessed islands." Some have supposed them to be cultivated spots in the midst of a desert of sand, rich fields kept in a state of perpetual verdure by the streams that run through them, and affording the same contrast to the extensive barren plain around them as islands to the level expanse of the ocean. These highly-wrought pictures soon vanish on arriving at the Oases. The surrounding tract, over which the roads lead to them, consists of a lofty table land, intersected here and there by small shallow vallies, or ravines, worn by the water of rain that occasionally falls there; and the Oases lie in certain depressions in this mountain plain, surrounded by cliffs, more or less precipitous, and very like those to the E. and W. of the valley of the Nile. In the centre, or in some part of this depressed plain, is the Oasis itself,—a patch of fertile soil, composed of sand and clay, which owes its origin to the springs that rise here and there to fertilise it. Here are gardens, palm groves, fields, and villages, not unlike a portion of the valley of the Nile, with a sandy plain beyond, in which stunted tamarisks, coarse grasses, and other desert plants, struggle to keep their heads above the drifted sand that collects around them. The distant hills, or the abrupt faces of the high mountain plain surrounding the whole, complete the scene; and if you ascend a minaret, or any point higher than the rest, you may add to these general features some stagnant lakes, whose feverish exhalations cause and account for the yellow complexion of the inhabitants.

The limits of this work will not allow me to enter into a detailed description of the Oases: I shall therefore confine myself to the principal objects there; and as this is the first time I have had occasion to mention a tour in the desert, it will be as well to give a few hints respecting the necessary preparations. For others I refer to the journey to Mount Sinai.

The principal things required are good water skins, their number depending on the number of persons. They should not be new, as they then give a disagreeable flavour to the water. Some may be bought of the water-carriers in Cairo, which without being old have been used long enough to get rid of the taste of the *godrán*. If not to be found, the new skins should be frequently filled and emptied before starting. An extra set may be taken for fear of accidents; and two or four spare skins will do for a small party. One of the servants should know how to sew on a patch, which is soon learnt; and a piece of leather, some string, and an awl, are required for mending the skins. Never put the skins on the ground on a journey, unless a mat or something be first laid down, to prevent the salt tainting the water. The Arabs will provide their own water skins. Take a *zemzemeeh* for each person. Have a set of rope nets, called *Shébekeh,* for each camel-load, to hold boxes and other things, by which means they are secure, and quickly put on the camels. For dromedary saddles have large saddle bags, and a rope to tie over them, to keep them from swinging to and fro.

There is no difficulty in obtaining camels for the journey, which should be engaged in the presence and with the assistance of the Turkish authorities. It may be as well to mention that in this, as in other deserts, the traveller has nothing to do with providing food for the Arabs or their camels; and any willingness on his part to accede to a proposition of the kind will only subject him to other impositions. In short, nothing should be given to any one in the East but what is "in the bond," until the end of the journey: good behaviour may then claim some reward; and I repeat here what I said respecting the boatmen of the Nile, no one can venture to be kind unless he has proved himself firm and able to command. Above all, he should never lose his temper, especially with the Arabs, and remember that however much the felláhs of Egypt are accustomed to the stick, no Arab would submit to a blow; and any one who can converse with the latter will find much to admire in the independent character of that wild people. But the western Arabs, or Moghrebins, are inferior in the qualities of the Beddowee*: they have all his craftiness and little of his hospitable and generous feelings; a rich Moghrebbee would regale a stranger with some cheese and milk, where a poor Arab of the eastern desert would kill a sheep to welcome him to his tent; and the laws of war, the rights of bread and salt, and the bonds of friendship, are far more sacred among the eastern than the western tribes.

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* Beddowee is the singular of Arab. "Bedouin Arabs" is therefore the same as Arab Arabs, and is misapplied.

On going from the Fýoóm to the Little Oasis, the first halt is at the valley called Wádee Raián or Rýán*, abounding with palm trees and water. It is not sweet, like that of the Nile, but is good for camels. The supply for the journey is therefore taken in at the western extremity of the lands of El Ghereḵ. It is always better to have too much than too little, and rather more than the Arabs say is necessary; as they try to load their camels as lightly as possible, and think little for the future. The Arabs should have their own supply, and be given to understand that they are not to use that of the traveller and his party, who would otherwise find it rapidly decrease; and if there is any fear of its not sufficing for the journey, every one should have his daily allowance, and one responsible person be deputed to take charge of it, and portion out the share of each. I repeat, too, what I said before, that the skins should never be placed on the ground without something below them, to prevent actual contact with the sand, which is generally impregnated with salt, and spoils the water. A mat, or the baggage rope-nets, will answer for this purpose.

About fifteen miles to the S. E. of Wádee Rýán is the valley of Moileh†, with a ruined convent or monastery, and a spring of salt water. It may be visited on the way to Wádee Rýán, by making a small *détour;* and is curious as a Christian ruin. It contains two churches, one of stone, the other of brick, and is surrounded by a strong wall, with a tower of defence on the north side. In the churches are several Coptic and some Arabic inscriptions, and figures of the apostles and saints; and the cornice that runs round a niche in the stone church is richly carved, though in bad taste. The total dimensions of the convent are 89 paces by 65. In the same valley are some curious specimens of the wild palm-tree, which afford a picturesque study to the artist, and are rarely met with.

The road to the Oasis, over the monotonous mountain plain, is very uninteresting; and one cluster of acacia-trees is a singular novelty. On descending into the low plain in which the Oasis, properly so called, stands, you perceive that the calcareous mountains repose on sandstone, with a substratum of clay, holding the water that rises from it in the form of springs. You pass numerous stunted tamarisk bushes, some palms and springs, then some stagnant lakes; and after breaking the salt crust of once flooded fields, that crackles under your feet, you reach the thick palm groves, gardens, and villages of the Wah. It is divided into two parts, separated by some isolated hills, over which the principal road passes from one to the other. Those hills are sandstone, and they present some curious geological features.

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* See above in Sect. V. p. 25. Ryan is the supposed name of the Pharaoh of Joseph's time, according to the Arabs.

† The name Moileh seems to indicate a spot with bad water.

The modern name of the Little Oasis, the Oasis Parva of the Romans, is Wah el Behnesa, — a translation of the old Coptic Ouahe Pemge.* The Arabs pretend that it was so called from having been once colonised from Behnesa, on the Bahr Yoosef; and it is to this that Aboolfeda alludes in speaking of "another Behnesa in the Wah." It is also known as the Wah el Mendéesheh, and the Wah el Ghárbee, though this last is properly its *western* division. The Arabic name *Wah* is the same as the ancient Egyptian Ouah, Aua, or Oa: which with the Greek termination formed Auasis, or Oasis, and is the Coptic Ouahe.

The only ancient stone remains are a small ruin near Zubbo, and a Roman building in the town of El K̲asr, which has thence derived its name, signifying "the palace." This was once a handsome edifice, well built, and ornamented with Doric mouldings; and its arch, with the niches at the side, has still a good effect. The K̲asr el Alám, about 1¼ mile to the west of El K̲asr, is an insignificant crude brick ruin: there is another about three quarters of a mile to the south-west of the same town, and to the east of Zubbo are some rude grottoes.

The Little Oasis has several springs of warm water, which, when left to cool in porous jars, is perfectly wholesome and palatable, though some say it disagrees with strangers in the summer. The most remarkable are at Bowitti and El Kasr, the former having a temperature of 27° Reaum.; the latter, whose stream is converted into a rude bath, of 27¼° Reaum., or about 93⅓° Fahr. With regard to the real and apparent warmth of the water of some of these springs, an idea may be given from a pond formed by them at Zubbo, whose water soon after sunrise (Feb. 3.), the exterior air being 8½° Reaum., was 18½°, and quite warm to the hand; at mid-day, the exterior air being 15°, it was 21°, and *cold* to the hand; and in the evening, at 9 P. M., the exterior air being 12½°, the water was 20¼°, and consequently warm to the hand; explaining the exaggerated phenomena of the fountain of the Sun, in the Oasis of Ammon.* But it is necessary to add, that the pond, which is about 30 feet wide, is not more than 5 or 6 feet in depth.

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* Pemge (Ⲡⲉⲙϫⲉ) is the Coptic name of Bahnasa, or Oxyrhinchus.

In this Wah are grown a variety of fruit trees, much liquorice, rice, barley, wheat, *doora*, clover, wild cotton (probably the remains of former plantations), and most of the usual productions of the Nile; but the principal source of wealth here, as in the other Oases, is the date tree, which yields a very superior quality of fruit.

The dates are of four kinds: the Soltánee, the Saïdee, which are the best, the Káka, and the Ertob (rottub); but those of the Siwah are even better. The proportion of fruit trees is also much greater than on the Nile.

A conserve of dates, called Ag'weh, is made by pounding them in a mass, and then mixing whole dates with it. The Saïdee are preferred for this purpose, and are preserved in earthen jars, and kept by the natives for their own use; but some, which they put into baskets, are sent to the Nile, where they are highly and justly esteemed. They are very sweet and rich, unlike any produced in Egypt, and are sold at five or six dollars the k̲antar.

They make no brandy from dates, but extract a palm wine, called Low'bgeh, from the heart of the tree,—an intoxicating beverage, of which they are very fond. It is thus made: in the summer, when the sap is up, they cut off all the *gerèets* (palm branches), except three or four in the middle; and then, having made incisions in every part of the heart, at the foot of those branches, they stretch a skin all round, to conduct the juice into a jar placed there to receive it. Some palms fill a jar in one night, holding about six pints. It is sweetened with honey, and drunk as soon as made; and its flavour and effect are very much like new wine, with the flavour of cyder.

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* "Sub lucis ortum tepida manat; media die.... frigida eadem fluit; inclinato in vesperam calescit; media nocte fervida *exæstuat*." Q. Curt. lib. 4. His *boiling* heat was lower than in these days.

The heart of the palm tree is also cut out and eaten. But this, like the process of making the wine, spoils the tree. The people of the Nile, therefore, never taste the former unless a tree falls, as they cannot afford to sacrifice what costs them an annual duty. The trees of the Oasis are taxed in mass, those of the Nile singly; and whether dead or living, have the *privilege* of paying a fixed tax.

They also make treacle from the dates; and they lay up dried pomegranates for the winter and spring.

The liquorice roots (*soos*) are sent to the Nile in baskets, sold at from three to six piastres a-piece, and are used for making a sort of *sherbet*.

The principal gardens are about el Kasr, where fruit trees are abundant, particularly apricots, pomegranates, Seville oranges (*naring* *), and vines: they have also the banana, the *Nebk* †, the *mokhayt* ‡, olive, peach, fig, pear, and some others, among which I was surprised to find one plum, and two or three apple trees. Olives are not abundant; and they are mostly brought from the Siwah and Farâfreh.

Though the inhabitants of the Oasis are a much less industrious and energetic race than the *felláhs* of Egypt, they pay considerable attention to the cultivation of their lands; but they have not to undergo the same toil in raising water as on the Nile, the streams that constantly flow from plentiful springs affording a convenient and never-failing supply for irrigation. But the stagnant lakes created by the surplus of water exhale a pernicious miasma, causing a dangerous remittent fever, which annually rages in the summer and autumn; and the Arabs of the desert consider it unsafe to visit these districts, at any other season than the winter.

Whatever theory may be proposed, or admitted, regarding the origin of the springs, I am persuaded that this

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* Whence the Spanish, *naranja*, and our "orange."

† Rhamnus Nabeca.

‡ Rhamnus Zizyphus.

Wah is about 200 feet higher than the Nile in the latitude of Benisooef; nor is the relative height of this and the other Oasis at all regular; Khargeh and Dakhleh, which are nearly on the same level as the valley of the Nile, being considerably lower than Faráfreh and the Little Oasis. But in all of them the water seems to rise from an argillaceous bed, which in the two former lies under limestone, and in the latter under sandstone strata. It may, however, be reasonably conjectured that the water comes originally from the Nile, whence, carried over the clay, it finds its way to the different Oases, as to the Natron valley; and its occasionally rising, in a level higher than the Nile in the same latitude, is explained by its having entered the conducting stratum at some more southerly, and consequently more elevated, part of the river's course.

The tax imposed on the Little Oasis is 20,000 réäls*, about 640*l.* sterling, which is annually paid to Hassan Bey Shamashírgee, to whom this and the Oasis of Ammon both belong: and the peace of the district is maintained by four or five hundred armed men, and, above all, by a fine of 200 dollars for every native killed in a dispute, or on any other account within its limits, and double that sum for the murder of a stranger. It is difficult to obtain any information respecting the population of the Oasis; but, from what I could learn, —

	Inhabitants.
Zubbo contains about - - -	300
Maréëh - - - - - -	400
El K̲asr (600 or 700 male inhabitants)	3500
Bowitti (about the same) - -	3000
Total about	7200

The distances in this Oasis are: —

	Miles.
From Zubbo and Mareeh (which are not half a mile apart) to the ruined village of Bayrees to the S.E. - - -	2
...... Zubbo to Bowitti in the western division of the Oasis, crossing the hill - - - - - - - -	4
...... Bowitti to El Kasr, less than - - - - - -	½
...... El Kasr to the western limit of the cultivated lands -	1¾

No general extent of this Oasis can be given, owing to its irregularity; and indeed in all of them the cultivable spots bear a very small proportion to the dimensions of the valley over which they are studded.

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* This was in 1825. The réäl is 90 paras.

The small Wah of El Hayz is a short day to the south of this Oasis, of which, indeed, it is a continuation. It has springs and cultivated land belonging to the people of El Kasr and Bowitti, who go there at certain seasons to till it, and collect the crops. But it has no village, and the only appearance of buildings is at El Errees, where a ruined church shows it was once the abode of Christian monks. It consists of a nave and aisles, with rooms on the upper story. Some of the arches have the horse-shoe form; and over a window I observed a Coptic inscription. About 600 paces to the south-west is another crude brick ruin, about 74 paces by 50, within the walls, which are about 30 feet high, and near this are much pottery and some *Nebk̲* trees, which indicate the previous existence of a garden, either belonging to a monastery or a town.

About three days from El Hayz is the Oasis, and village, of Faráfreh, containing about sixty or seventy male inhabitants. The *K̲assob,* "cane," mentioned by Ebn-el-Werdee, appears to be the *Dokhn** or millet, grown in this district; and it is remarkable that the name *K̲assob,* usually confined to sugar-cane, is here applied to millet. The productions of Faráfreh are very much the same as those of the other Oasis, but it excels them in the quality of its olives, which are exported to the Little Oasis. Faráfreh was formerly called Trinytheos Oasis, but it boasts no remains of antiquity. It has a castle or strong-hold that commands and protects the village in case of attack from the Arabs, or more dangerous enemies; and they relate a melancholy account of a sudden attack from some blacks of the interior, many years ago, who killed or carried off the greater part of the population.

Five or six days west of the road to Faráfreh is another Oasis, called Wadee Zerzóora, about the size of the Oasis Parva, abounding in palms, with springs, and some ruins of uncertain date. It was discovered about twenty years ago by an Arab, while in search of a stray camel (the usual reason assigned for all these real or fictitious voyages); and from seeing the footsteps of men and sheep, he supposed it to be inhabited. Gébabo, another Wah, lies six days beyond this to the west, and twelve days from Augila; and Tazerbo, which is still farther to the west, forms part of the same Oasis. The general belief is that Wadee Zerzóora also communicates with it. The inhabitants are blacks, and many of them have been carried off at different times by the Moghrebbins for slaves: though the "Valleys of the Blacks," a series of similar Oases, lie still farther to the west.

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* Holchus saccharatus, Linn.

According to another account, Zerzóora is only two or three days due W. from Dakhleh, beyond which is another *Wadee;* then a second abounding in cattle; then Gebábo and Tazerbo; and beyond these, Wadee Rebeeána. Gebábo is inhabited by two tribes of blacks, the Simertaýn and Ergezaýn. These are, perhaps, the continuation of palm-bearing spots mentioned by Edrisi, extending to Cuca and Cavar.

Four more days to the S. of Faráfreh, is the Wah el Gharbee, or Wah e' Dakhleh, "the Western, or Inner Oasis." The name of Dakhleh is put in opposition to Khargeh (which is given to the Great Oasis that lies E. of it),—the one meaning the "receding," the other the "projecting" Wah; Khargeh being called *projecting,* as being nearer to Egypt.

The road from Faráfreh passes for a great part between parallel ridges of drifted sand of considerable height, and is totally devoid of water after Ain e' Dthukker, the halting-place of the first day's march.

Though noticed by Arab writers, the position and even the existence of the Wah e' Dakhleh were unknown in modern times, until visited by Sir Archibald Edmondstone in 1819; and it is the more desirable that the merit of this discovery should be given to the proper person, as it has been claimed by M. Drovetti, formerly consul-general of the French in Egypt, though he met Sir Archibald *returning from,* as he himself was on his way *to,* that Oasis.

The crude brick remains of numerous towns and villages prove it to have been once a very populous district. A little more than five miles to the W. S. W. of the modern town of El Kasr, is a sandstone temple, called e' Dayr el Hagar, "the stone convent," the most interesting ruin in this Oasis. It has the names of Nero and Titus, and on the ceiling of the adytum is part of an astronomical subject. Amun, Maut, and Khonso, the Theban triad, were the principal deities: the ram-headed Neph also appears with Harpocrates and other gods; but the Theban Jupiter and Maut held the post of honour. The temple consists of a vestibule, with screens half way up the columns; a portico, or hall of assembly; a transept (if I may so call it) or prosekos; and the central and two side adyta. One hundred and twenty-one feet before the door of the vestibule is a stone gateway or pylônê*, the entrance to an area measuring 235 feet by 130, surrounded by a crude brick wall. At the upper or W. end of it are the remains of stuccoed rooms; and on the N. E. side are some columns, covered also with stucco, and coloured.

There are many crude brick remains in the neighbourhood; and about one mile and a half from El Kasr are the extensive mounds of an ancient town with a sandstone gateway. The fragments of stone which lie scattered about appear to indicate the site of a temple, now destroyed.

These mounds are about half a mile square, and below them to the E. is a spring called Ain el Keeád; whence they have received the name of Medeeneh Keeád. They are also known as Lémhada. The only ruins now remaining are of crude brick; and from the state of their vaulted rooms, they appear to have been of Roman time.

El Kasr and Kalamóon are the chief towns of the Wah e' Dakhleh. The shekhs of El Kasr call themselves of the tribe of Koráysh, and say that their ancestors, having migrated to this part of the country about 400 years ago, bought the springs and lands, which they have ever since possessed; and the Shórbagees of Kalamóon (which is distant eight miles to the S.), claim the honour of having governed the Oases from the time of Sultan Selim. This privilege, however, is now much curtailed; and the governor of Kalamóon, reduced to the rank of other shekhs, can only now be distinguished by his Turkish dress, his title of Effendee, and the more *distingué* deportment of an Osmanlee. When I visited this Oasis, Hagee Ismaïn was shekh of El K̲asr, and Ghuttas Effendee was governor of K̲alamóon; from both of whom I experienced the greatest kindness and hospitality.

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* I have already stated that these isolated gateways are called pylon or pylônê. See Vol. I. pp. 290. 293.

About nine miles and three quarters to the E. of Kalamóon is the village of Isment, where I observed the capital of a column with an Athor or Isis head, and near it some crude brick ruins, called, as usual, e' Dayr. About one mile and a half to the S. W. is Māsarah. Ballat is a little more than ten miles to the E. of Isment. On the road, and about two and a half miles from the latter village, are the ruins of a large town, called Isment el Kharáb, " the ruined Isment." The most remarkable remains are a sandstone building, measuring nineteen paces by nine, consisting of two chambers, in a very dilapidated state; and another near it, measuring five paces by five, with an addition before and behind of crude brick, stuccoed and painted in squares and flowers. Nineteen paces in front of it is a stone gateway, the entrance to the area in which it stood. There are also some large crude brick buildings ornamented with pilasters, apparently of Roman-Egyptian time; within which are vaulted chambers of sandstone. Many of the houses of the town remain, mostly vaulted and stuccoed; and the streets may easily be traced. A little more than one mile from this are other ruins, called El K̲asr el Aréeseh.

Near Ballat is a ruined town called Beshéndy. The houses were vaulted and stuccoed, and the principal building seems to have been a temple, of crude brick, with the Egyptian ovals and cornice. The doorway is arched, and it is evidently of Roman time. Teneéda is a ruined village of Arab time, which has long been deserted: but, as the land about it is very good, serious thoughts are entertained by the people of Ballat of colonising it, and rebuilding the houses.

Of the population of the Wah e' Dakhleh, I could learn nothing satisfactory; but, according to the doubtful accounts of the natives, —

	Male Inhabitants.
El K̲asr contains from	1200 to 1500
K̲alamóon	800 to 1000
Gedéedee	1000
Ballát	800
Moot	400
Măsarah	250
Ismcnt	250
Hindow	600
Bedcholo, or Aboodokhloo	400
Mooshéëh	500
Gharghoor	50
Total from	6250 to 6750.

The condition and population of this Oasis are very superior to those of the other two; and in spite of the authority of Yacutus*, who says, "The Wah which is opposite the Fýoóm, is better inhabited than the second," or Wah e' Dakhleh, it is evident that the latter was always more populous, and always contained a greater number of villages. Indeed in the Oasis Parva there are only four — Zubbo, and Mareeh, or Mendeesheh, El Kasr, and Bowitti; whereas Dakhleh contains eleven, and a population of more than 6000 male inhabitants. The remains, too, of ancient towns and villages far exceed any that the former can boast, and prove its superiority in this respect at all times.

Dakhleh abounds in fruits, particularly olives and apricots; but dates, as in all the Oases, bring the principal revenue to the district. At El K̲asr is a warm spring, whose copious stream supplies several baths attached to the mosk, for which its temperature of 102° Fah. is well adapted. The people are hospitable, and consequently differ from those of the Oasis Parva; nor are they so ignorant and bigoted as the latter, or as those of Farâfreh.

The general position of the Oasis of Dakhleh is N. and S. in the direction of a line passing through El Kasr to Kalamóon, and thence E. towards Ballat; its extent northwards measuring about fifteen miles, and E. and W. about twenty-eight. Much rice is grown in this, as in the other Oases, particularly about Moot and Măsarah: but it is very inferior to that of the Delta, the grain being small and hard.

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* Yak̲oot. I believe he lived under the last of the Caliphs of Bagdad.

THE GREAT OASIS.

Three days to the eastward of the Wah e' Dakhleh, is the Great Oasis, or Wah el Khárgeh. It has also the name of Menamoon, perhaps taken from Ma-n̄-amun, signifying "the abode of Amun." On the road is a small temple, and a well of water called Ain Amoór, surrounded by an enclosure of crude brick, intended to protect the temple, and secure access to the spring. Kneph, Amunre, and Maut are the principal deities. Though the name seems to be of a Cæsar, the temple has an appearance of greater antiquity than the generality of those in the Oases; but I could find no remains of a town; and it is possible that this temple was intended merely to add a sanctity to the site of the spring, and to ensure its protection.

The first object of interest, on entering the Oasis of El Khárgeh, is a *columbarium*, consisting of a large arched chamber, pierced with small cells for cinerary urns, capable of containing the condensed residue of numerous burnt bodies. It measures about 17 ft. by 8 ft., and about 20 ft. in height. Beyond it are other ruins and tombs; then another columbarium, and a tower about 40 ft. high, in which were once separate stories, the lower rooms arched, the upper ones having had roofs supported by rafters. The tower protected a well, and was probably an outpost for soldiers. About one-third of a mile to the north of this, and S.E. of the columbarium, are the remains of another tower and ruined walls; beyond which is another ruin of crude brick with an arched roof, and a door in the Egyptian style. Half a mile further are other crude brick ruins on the hills, and an old well about 50 ft. in diameter. About a mile beyond, to the south, is the Kasr Ain e' Sont, "the palace or castle of the Acacia fountain," so called from a neighbouring spring. It consists of about thirty rooms and passages, with staircases leading to the upper part, and the exterior is ornamented with the Egyptian cornice. It is of crude brick, and probably of Roman time; and in the wall facing the well a stone niche or doorway has been put up in the midst of the brickwork, for what purpose I could not discover, being some distance from the ground. In one of the rooms are some Coptic inscriptions. There are other ruins near this, all a little out of the direct road to the town of El Khárgeh; and beyond are some tombs, one of which is ornamented with pilasters, and a pediment over the entrance. From the fountain, or Ain e' Sont, to the great temple of El Khárgeh, is about one mile and a quarter, or to the town about three miles. On the way, and about half a mile to the left, you pass the Necropolis, which I shall mention presently.

The great temple of El Khárgeh is much larger than any in the Oases, and is an interesting monument. It was dedicated to Amun, or Amunre; and it is worthy of remark that the ram-headed god has here the same name as the long-feathered Amun of Thebes. In explanation of this I must observe, that we are not to look upon the ram-headed god as Amun, but to remember that it is Amun who has assumed the head of a ram, in the same way as he takes the form of Khem or any other god. The custom was common to other deities of the Egyptian Pantheon, who borrowed each other's attributes without scruple; and it was this his assumption of an attribute of Kneph, particularly in the Oasis, that led to the error of the Greeks and Romans, in representing Amun with the head of a ram, as a *general* form of that deity.

The sculptures of the temple are not of the spirited style of the early Pharaonic ages; though some are by no means bad, particularly on the transverse wall separating the front from the back part of the portico. In the adytum the figures are small, and the subjects very extraordinary, probably of Ptolemaïc or Roman time, when extravagant emblems took the place of the more simple forms of an earlier period.

The oldest name I met with was of Darius, which occurs in most parts of the building, and on a screen before it is that of Amyrtæus.* There are also several Greek inscriptions on the front gateway or *pylon*, one of which, bearing the date of the first year of the Emperor Galba, consists of 66 lines.†

The whole length of the temple measures about 142 feet by 63, and about 30 feet in height. Attached to the front of it is a screen, with a central and two side doorways; and in the dromos is a succession of pylons, one before the other, at intervals of 80, 70, and 50 feet. It is the outer one (which is furthest from the temple), that bears the inscriptions; and 50 feet before it is an hypæthral building on a raised platform, terminating the dromos, from which there is ascent to it by a flight of steps. These platforms are found in many ancient Egyptian temples*, and were evidently intended for some ceremony in which a procession went to them along the dromos from the temple. The temple was enclosed within a stone wall, abutting against the innermost pylon. This formed the *temenos*. Near the S. W. corner is another smaller hypæthral building, and some distance to the N. of the temple is a small stone gateway. On the summit of the second or middle pylon of the dromos, some brickwork has been raised in late times by the Arabs; forcibly recalling the additions made during the middle ages to many Roman buildings in Italy. The stone part itself is much higher than the other two gateways, being about 45 feet to the top of the cornice; while the other two, the first and innermost, are only respectively 15 ft. 7 in. and 20 ft. 3 in. The stones are well fitted, and have been fastened together with wooden dovetailed cramps.

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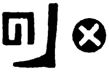
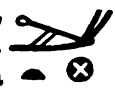
* Introduced after the time of Darius. See above, Vol. I. p. 136. note §.

† They are too long to give here; and copies of them will be found in M. Letronne's valuable work on the Greek inscriptions of Egypt.

In the vicinity of the temple stood the ancient town. It bore the name of Ibis, or in Egyptian *Hebi* †, "the plough," under which character it is frequently designated in the hieroglyphics with the sign of land, and it was the capital of the Great Oasis.





On a height, south-east from the temple, is a stone building called E' Nadára ‡, surrounded by a spacious crude brick enclosure, which bears the names of Adrian and Antoninus.

To the north is a remarkable Necropolis, consisting of about 150 crude brick tombs § ornamented with pilasters and niches, not in very pure style, but on the whole having a good effect. On the stucco within are represented various subjects, which, as well as the style of architecture and the presence of a church, decide that they are of a Christian epoch. The inscriptions on their walls are mostly Coptic and Arabic, and the sacred *tau*, ☥ the Egyptian symbol of life, adopted by these early Christians, frequently occurs here *instead* of the cross of their more orthodox successors.

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* See above, Vol. I. p. 292. Woodcut, fig. 6. a.

† The Copts write it Hîbé. Champollion thought this name signified "to be low."

‡ "The place of observation," a look-out.

§ See Mr. Hoskins's views of some of these tombs. Visit to the Great Oasis, plates 9, 10, 11, and 12.

There are many other ruins in the vicinity of El Khárgeh; and on the road to Bayrées, at the southern part of this Oasis, are the temples of Kasr el Goáyta and Kasr e' Zayán. The former has the names of Ptolemy Euergetes I., of Philopator, and of Lathyrus, and was dedicated to Amun, with Maut and Khonso, the great Theban triad; but the latter was restored in the third year of Antoninus Pius, and was dedicated to Amenébis, who appears to have been the same as the god Amun, and whose name was evidently a Greek form of Amun-Neph.* The following Greek dedicatory inscription over the door of the temple at Kasr e' Zayán contains this name and that of the town, which was called Tchônemyris: —

Αμενηϐι ϑεῳ μεγιστῳ, Τχωνεμυρεως, και
συνναοις ϑεοις υπερ της εις αιωνα διαμονης Αντωνεινου
Καισαρος, του κυριου, και συμπαντος αυτου οικου, ο σηκος του ιερου, και το προναον εκ καινης κατεσκευασθη επι Αουιδιου Ηλιοδωρου επαρχου Αιγυπτου,
Σεπτιμιου Μακρωνος επιστρατηγου, στρατηγουντος Παινιου Καιπιωνος, ετους τριτου Αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος Τιτου Αιλιου Αδριανου Αντωνεινου Σεϐαστου, Ευσεϐους, Μεσορῃ οκτωκαιδεκατῃ.

"To Amenébis, the most great God of Tchônemyris, and to the contemplar deities, for the eternal preservation of the Lord Antoninus Cæsar, and all his family, the adytum (sékos), and the portico (pronaos), have been built anew under Avidius Heliodorus, præfect of Egypt, Septimius Macron being commander-in-chief, and Pænius Cæpion commander of the forces, in the third year of the Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, the eighteenth of Mesoré."

Little more than two miles beyond the village of Belák is a tomb said to be of the famous Khâled ebn el Weléed†, which I have mentioned elsewhere.* Three hours beyond Bayrees is the temple of Doosh, which has the names of Domitian and Adrian, and was dedicated to Sarapis and Isis; but the Greek inscription on the pylon has the date of the nineteenth year of Trajan.

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* On the stela at Asouan the inscription to "Jovi Hammoni Cenubidi" was to the same deity.

† Or Eméer Khâled. The early Arabs attached to their names that of their father, like the Greeks, as Khaled, son of Weléed: at present they

The ancient name of the town was Cysis; and the inhabitants added this stone gateway for the good fortune of the emperor, and in token of their own piety; as we learn from the inscription on the lintel: —

Ηπερ της του κυριου αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος Νερουα
Τραιανου, Αριστου, Σεϐαστου, Γερμανικου, Δακικου, τυχης, επι Μαρκου
Ρουτιλιου Λουπου
Επαρχου Αιγυπτου, Σαραπιδι και Ισιδι, θεοις μεγιστοις, οι απο της
Κυσεως, οι γραψαν-
τες την οικοδομην του πυλωνος, ευσεϐειας χαριν, εποιησαν. L. Ι̅Θ̅ Αυ-
τοκρατορος Καισαρος
Νερουα Τραιανου, Αριστου, Σεϐαστου, Γερμανικου, Δακικου. Παχων Α̅.

"For the fortune of the Lord Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajanus, the best, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, under Marcus Rutilius Lupus, præfect of Egypt. To Sarapis and Isis, the most great gods, the inhabitants of Cysis, having decreed the building of the pylon, did it in token of their piety. In the year 19 of the Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajanus, the best, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, the first of Pachon." †

The length of the central plain of the Great Oasis north and south, is in a direct line about sixty-six miles, great part of which is desert, with cultivable spots here and there, which depend of course on the presence of springs.

		Miles.
The distances are from	El Khargeh to K̲asr el Goäýtah - -	9¼
....	Kasr el Goäýtah to Kasr Ain e' Zayán -	2
....	Kasr Ain e' Zayán to Belăk - - -	4
....	to the tomb of Emeer Khâled	2¼
....	to the low hills and springs of Dekakeen - - -	23¼
	(just beyond which is a ruined village to the right)	
	thence to Bayrees, about -	8
....	Bayrees to the temple of Doosh - -	8¼
	Total about	57¼

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affix that of their eldest son, as Ibrahim Aboo Mohammed, "father of Mohammed." If Daóod had no son he would be "Aboo Sulayman," because David's son had that name.

* See above, p. 29; and below, Section VII.

† M. Letronne reads Λ, the thirtieth of the month, and he omits *του κυριου* in the first line.

El Khargeh stands about thirteen miles from the hills that bound the Oasis to the east; over which the roads lead to the Nile. The principal and most frequented are those which go, from the northern extremity, to Osioot, Abydus, Farshoot, and Thebes, and from the southern part to Esné and Rezekát.

After six hours' march with camels in going from El Khargeh to Farshoot, or to Abydus, you come to a Roman fort of crude brick, about ninety paces square, with a doorway of burnt brick on one side. The walls are very thick, about 50 feet high, and defended by strong towers projecting at the corners and three of the faces; and, from its position, about 100 paces south of the spring, it is evident that it was intended for the protection of this, the only watering place, on the way to the Nile. It is called Dayr "the convent,' probably in consequence of its having been occupied at a subsequent period by the Christians, who have left another ruined building in the vicinity, with two vaulted chambers, in which are some Coptic and Arabic inscriptions. Seven minutes' walk to the north-west from the fort is another ruin, with vaulted chambers, but without any inscriptions.

The rest of the journey to the valley of the Nile at Abydus occupies nearly three days, or thirty-two hours' march. Nothing is met with on the way but remains of enclosures, made with rough stones at intervals and much broken pottery, during the second day's journey. The season for visiting the Oasis is the winter, a remittent fever being prevalent during the summer and autumn, particularly in the Little Oasis; but the only two worthy of a visit are those of El Khárgeh and E' Dakhleh.

The Oases are little noticed by ancient writers except as places of exile, which ill accords with the fanciful name they sometimes bore of "the islands of the blessed," *μακαρων νησοι*. This, indeed, is the name given them by Herodotus, who adds the still more extraordinary assertion, that the Great Oasis was inhabited by Samians of the Æschrionian tribe.* Through it the army of Cambyses is said to have passed, on its way to attack the Ammonians; and it was in the desert, about half way between this and the Siwah, that the Persians perished, without leaving a single man to tell the tale of their disastrous march.

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* Herodot. 3. 26.

One of the most remarkable persons banished* to the great Oasis was Nestorius. Condemned for his heretical doctrines by the council of Ephesus, the Byzantine pontiff had vacated his throne and had retired "to his old monastery of Antioch," whence, after a residence of four years, he was sent an exile to Petra, and at length to the Oasis (A. D. 435). The termination of his career is thus described by the historian of the "Decline and Fall:"—

"Secluded from the church and from the world, the exile was still pursued by the rage of bigotry and war. A wandering tribe of the Blemmyes or Nubians invaded his solitary prison: in their retreat they dismissed a crowd of useless captives; but no sooner had Nestorius reached the banks of the Nile, than he would gladly have escaped from a Roman and orthodox city to the milder servitude of the savages. His flight was punished as a new crime: the soul of the patriarch inspired the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Egypt; the magistrates, the soldiers, and the monks, devoutly tortured the enemy of Christ and St. Cyril; and as far as the confines of Ethiopia, the heretic was alternately dragged and recalled, till his aged body was broken by the hardships and accidents of these reiterated journeys. Yet his mind was still independent and erect: the president of Thebaïs was awed by his pastoral letters; he survived the Catholic tyrant of Alexandria, and, after sixteen years' banishment, the Synod of Chalcedon would perhaps have restored him to the honours, or at least to the communion, of the church. The death of Nestorius prevented his obedience to their welcome summons.... He was buried in a city of Upper Egypt, known by the names of Chemnis, or Panopolis, or Akmim; but the immortal malice of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to cast stones against his sepulchre."†

The caravans from Dar-Foor to Egypt pass through the Great Oasis on their way to Osioot. While I was at El

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* Some have supposed that Juvenal was banished to the Great Oasis.

† Gibbon, vol. viii. c. 47. p. 298.

Khárgeh, in January 1825, a party of Jelábs[*] arrived, and halted there. They brought with them about 600 slaves, and the same number of camels, which was considered a small number. They were Takróorees,—blacks from the interior of Africa, and Moslems; but looked upon as an inferior kind of merchant; the great and wealthy Jelábs being from Dar-Foor, who sometimes bring from 2000 to 4000 slaves. The rate of travelling by the slave caravans is very slow; they only go from sunrise to half past two or three P.M., or about eight hours' march; and the journey from Dar-Foor to Bayrees, at the south of the Oasis, occupies thirty-one days; — ten from Dar-Foor to the Natron plain called Zeghráwa, seven to Elegéëh, four to Seleémeh, five to Sheb[†], and five to Bayrees.

The population of this Oasis, according to the natives, is thus calculated:—

	Male inhabs.
At El Khárgeh	3000
Genáh	250
Belák	400
Bayrees	600
(Doosh, included in Bayrees,) Maks	40
	4290

and as this agrees very nearly with the account received by Mr. Hoskins from other persons, it is probably what they suppose to be the truth. And while on the subject of the Great Oasis, I must not omit to mention that traveller's delightful volume, which I recommend to every one who intends visiting, or is interested about, this part of the country. But the principal details respecting the Siwah are to be found in the works of Browne, Baron Minutoli, and M. Caillaud, the last of whom visited and described all the Oases.

The productions of the Wah El Khárgeh are very much the same as those of the Little Oasis; with the addition of the Theban palm, much wild senna, and a few other plants; but it is inferior in point of fertility. The number of fruit trees is also much less, nor can it boast of the same variety.

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[*] "Slave merchants," a name applied also to others who traffic in Africa by caravan. See above, p. 84.

[†] So called from the alum found there. An inferior kind is met with in the Great Oasis.

"OASIS OF AMMON," OR THE SIWAH.

The most usual routes to the "Oasis of Ammon" are from Alexandria, from the Fyoóm, passing by the Little Oasis, or from Teráneh by the Natron lakes. In going from Cairo the latter is the best route.

	Days.	
From Cairo to Teráneh on the Nile -	1½	
Teráneh to the Wadee Natroon -	1	good water.
to El Mághra, or Wadee e' Soomár	2½	brackish water.
to El Ebáh (or Libba)	1	salt water, taken to Alexandria and used as medicine.
to El Gara - -	3	good water.
to the town of Siwah -	2	good water.
Total	11	days from Cairo.

On the way from el Gara to Siwah are Mawe and Zaytoon, "the olives," where are some Roman ruins, and cultivated land.

Between two and three miles to the east of Siwah* is the temple of Amun, now called Om Baydah†; and near it is what is supposed to be the fountain of the sun, which measures about 80 feet by 55, formed by springs. The water appears to be warmer in the night than the day, and is twelve degrees heavier in its specific gravity than that of the Nile.

The first European traveller who visited it was Browne, in 1792. He went from Alexandria, and reached Siwah in fifteen days.

From the Little Oasis to Siwah they reckon seven days; but the average from the Nile to the latter may be reckoned at twelve days; and this is the distance computed from Memphis by Pliny. On going from El K̲asr, or from Bowitti in the Little Oasis, they reckon four days to Suttra, a small irrigated spot with salt water, but without any palms; then one day and a half to Ar′rag, where are palms and springs of good water; to the north of which, and separated from it by a hill, is Bahrayn, a valley with palms and water. This is out of the road. From Ar′rag to Mertesek is one day. It has a few palms, and water under the sand. Thence to Siwah is one day.

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* As I did not go to this Oasis, I am indebted for my description of it to information received from others who have visited it, and from some of the Seéwee people I met in the Little Oasis.

† i. e. "mother white."

The road from Alexandria lies by the coast as far as Baratoón, the ancient Parætonium, and then turns south to this Oasis. This was the route taken by Alexander.

Another road goes from Teráneh to Hammam, and thence by Baratoón to the Siwah; but this is a long road, and there is no good water except at Hammam. At Baratoón are some ruins of Parætonium, which Strabo describes as a city, with a large port, measuring nearly 40 stadia* across. By some it was called Ammonia.

The Arabic name of the "Oasis of Ammon," Siwah, or See-wah, is doubtless taken from the ancient Egyptian. It consists of two parts, the eastern and western district; the former the most fertile, and abounding in date trees. According to Browne, it is 6 miles in length, and from 4½ to 5 in breadth; but from the irregular form of all these valleys it is difficult to fix the exact size of any one of them; and this measurement of 6 miles can only include the eastern part about the town of Siwah.

The ruins at Om Baydah, supposed to be the celebrated temple of Amun, are not of very great extent, but sufficient remains to show the style of building; and many of the sculptures still remain.

Amun-Neph, or Amun, with the attributes of the ram-headed god, as might be expected, is the principal deity. The figures of other divinities are also preserved, and the many hieroglyphics that remain on the walls, and fallen stones, make us regret that these records of so remarkable a monument should not have been all copied. These remains, in a place possessing such historical associations as the "Oasis of Ammon," certainly offer as great an interest as any in Egypt; and, judging from the destruction of temples in other parts of the country, we can scarcely hope for the continued preservation of these ruins. Baron Minutoli has given many curious details and views of this temple, which has since been visited and described by Caillaud and other travellers; and we may hope that M. Linant will add still more to our information on the subject of this Oasis.

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* More than 4½ miles English. Strabo, 17. p. 549.

Near the temple is the supposed fountain of the Sun above-mentioned.

Little less than three-quarters of a mile from Om Baydah, and about two miles E. S. E. by E., from the town of Siwah, is a hill called Dar Aboo Bereék, in which are some ancient excavations, apparently tombs, and a little higher up the hill are some Greek inscriptions on the rock.

Kasr Gashast, or Gasham, to the east of Siwah, on the way to Zaytoon, is a ruined temple of Roman time; and at Zaytoon, which is about eight miles on the road from Siwah to Gara, are the remains of two temples, and other buildings of Roman-Egyptian date.

Between Zaytoon and Gara, at Mawe, is a Roman temple in a marsh, and at Gara are some tombs without inscriptions.

There are many other sepulchral excavations in the rock in the vicinity of Siwah; and Gebel el Môt, or "the hill of death," about three-quarters of a mile from that town, contains numerous tombs, one of which appears to be of an Egyptian age.

Kasr Room, "the Greek" or "Roman palace," is a small Doric temple of Roman time, once surrounded by a sacred enclosure. To the north are some tombs in the face of the hill, below which are the remains of brick arches; and near the village the vestiges of an ancient town. It is about five miles to the westward of Siwah, and a short distance to the northward of el Kamyseh; where there are other tombs, and the remains of a stone edifice. The ruins of Amoodayn, "the two columns," are a little more than half a mile to the south-west of el Kamýseh. They are of little importance and of late time. There are also some ruins at Gharb Amun, in the western district, on the way to the lake, called Birket Arashéëh. Though the lake has no ruins on its banks, it is remarkable for the reverence, or air of mystery, with which it is treated by the modern inhabitants of the Oasis. In it is an island, to which, till lately, access was strictly forbidden to all strangers; and the credulous tried to persuade others, as well as themselves, that the sword, crown, and seal of Solomon were preserved there as a charm for the protection of the Oasis. M. Linant assured me it contained nothing, which is confirmed by M. Drovetti, and others who have visited it.

The productions of the Siwah are very similar to those of the Little Oasis, but the dates are of very superior quality, and highly esteemed. They are of six kinds: 1. The Soltánee; 2. The Saïdee; 3. The Fráhee; 4. The Káibee; 5. The Ghazálee; 6. The Roghm Ghazálee. The Fráhee are the most esteemed. They are a small white date, when dry, and in 1824 they sold at from five to eight dollars a camel-load of 80 *sā* or *roob* *, in the Siwah, and in Alexandria at from fifteen to twenty.

The people of Siwah are hospitable, but suspicious, and savage in their habits and feelings. Strict in the outward forms of religion, even beyond those of the Little Oasis, they are intolerant and bigoted in the extreme; and like all people who make a great outward display of religion, are more particular about the observance of a mere form, or the exact hour of prayer, than the murder of a human being.

They have a form of government as well as a language peculiar to themselves, which is in the hands of several shekhs, some of whom hold the office for life, and others for ten years. They are called elders or senators, and are always consulted by the shekhs of the villages on all matters of importance. They dispense justice, and maintain order, in the province; and the armed population is bound to obey their commands for the defence of the town and villages, against the Arabs or other enemies.

The *Bayt-el-mal*, "house of property," is a depôt of all property of persons dying without heirs, of fines levied for various offences against the state, as not going to prayers at the stated times, and other crimes and misdemeanors. The sums thus collected are employed in charitable purposes, repairing mosks, entertaining strangers, or in whatever manner the Diwan may think proper.

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* Equal to 3¼ ardebs, or about 16½ bushels. This information I obtained from some of the people of Siwah, who live at the Little Oasis.

They have a curious custom in receiving strangers: as soon as any one arrives, the shekh el Khabbar, "shekh of the news," presents himself, and after the usual tokens of welcome, proceeds to question him respecting any sort of intelligence he may be able to give. As soon as it has been obtained from him, the shekh relates it all to the people; and so tenacious is he of his privilege, that even if they had all heard it at the time from the mouth of the stranger, they are obliged to listen to it again from this authorised reporter.

They understand Arabic; but have a peculiar language of their own, of which I only noted down the following words:—

Tegmirt,	a horse.	Ragáwen,	dates.
Dalghrúmt,	camel.	Esdín,	wheat.
Zeetan,	donkey.	Tineefáyn,	lentils.
Sháha,	goat.	Roos (Arabic),	rice.

Though the shekhs pretend to great authority over the people, they are unable to prevent numerous feuds and quarrels that take place between different villages, and even between two *gens* (families) in the same town. These generally lead to an appeal to arms, and fierce encounters ensue, often causing the death of many persons on both sides, until stopped by the interference of the fekkeés (priests). Each party then buries its dead, and open war is deferred till further notice.

The town of Siwah is divided into an upper and lower district. It is defended by a citadel, built on a rock, and surrounded by strong walls,—a perfect protection against the Arabs, and formidable even to better armed assailants. The streets are irregular and narrow, and, from the height of the houses, unusually dark; and some are covered with arches, over which part of the dwelling-rooms are built.

Married people alone are allowed to live in the upper town, and there no strangers are admitted. Nor is a native bachelor tolerated there: he is obliged to live in the lower town, and is thought unworthy to live in the same quarter as his married friends until he has taken a wife.

He then returns to the family house, and builds a suite of rooms above his father's; over his again the second married son establishes himself, and the stories increase in proportion to the size of the family.* This suffices to account for the height of many of the houses at Siwah. A similar regulation seems to have been observed in ancient times, and Q. Curtius says the first circuit contains the old palace of the kings (shekhs), in the next are their wives and children, as well as the oracle of the god; and the last is the abode of the guards and soldiery.

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* Probably in small families; and children are not numerous there.

The Siwah was first brought under the rule of Mohammed Ali, and attached to Egypt in 1820. It was then invaded and taken by Hassan Bey Shamashirgee, who has ever since received the revenues, as well as those of the Little Oasis and Faráfreh, which he also annexed to Egypt. E' Dakhleh belongs to Ibrahim Pasha, and the Great Oasis pays its taxes to the government treasury.

Restless and dissatisfied with the loss of their independence, the people of Siwah have since that time more than once rejected the authority of the Turks, and declared open rebellion. But their attempts to recover their freedom in 1829 and 1835 were soon frustrated by the presence of Hassan Bey with some Turkish troops, a body of Arabs, and a few guns; and a later rebellion has proved their inability to rescue their lands from the grasp of Egypt.

The principal commerce and source of revenue, as already stated, is derived from dates. The people have few manufactures beyond those things required for their own use; but their skill in making wicker baskets ought not to pass unnoticed, in which they far excel the people of the other Oases.

I might add much more to the foregoing account of the Oases; but I have endeavoured to make it as short as possible, feeling that the measurement of ruins, the copies of the numerous inscriptions found there, and other details, are unnecessary in a work of this kind, and that those things alone are required which may be useful to the traveller.

THE DESERTS EAST OF THE NILE.

Arab Tribes — Monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul. — Oriental Alabaster. — Rocks. — Porphyry Quarries and Ruins. — Myos Hormos. — Old Roads. Ruins at Fateéreh. — Old Kossayr. — Ruins in Wadee Jasóos. — Gebel e' Zayt. — Sulphur Mines.

THE desert between the Suez and Kossayr roads is chiefly occupied by the Maazee Arabs. South of the latter road are the Ababdeh, and the frontier of the Bisharéëh begins about latitude 23° 30′.

Though the Maazee claim that part of the desert as their own, and are the most powerful tribe who live there, others on friendly terms with them are permitted to frequent it, some of whom were the original inhabitants. All have the Suez road open to them; which is frequented by the Arabs of Tor, or Mount Sinai, as well as by the Teeaha, and others who live on the confines of Syria. The Arabs of the peninsula of Mount Sinai are, according to Burckhardt,—

I. The S̱owálha, the principal tribe, who live to the west of Mount Sinai, and are subdivided into the
    1. Welad Sāeed.
    2. Koráshee.
    3. Owáremeh, part of whom are called Beni-Mohsen.
    4. Raẖamee.
II. Elegát, or Aleyḵát, who live generally with the Mezáyneh. This is the same tribe to which those of Wadee el Arab belong, who live about Sabooa in Nubia.
III. El Mezáyneh, Mezaynee, or Emzáyna, to the east of Mount Sinai.
IV. Welad Soolayman; very few; mostly at Tor and the neighbouring villages.
V. Beni Wásel, about fifteen families, living with the Mezáyneh, originally from Barbary.

And at the northern parts of the peninsula the Heywát, the Teéaha, and the Tarabéen.

In Egypt, to the east of the Nile, are—

The Maazy or Maazee*, called by the Abábdeh Atownee (sing. Atwenee), the largest tribe.
Howaytat, about the Suez road and Cairo.
Tarabéen, on the northern extremity of Egypt.
Amrán or Amáréen, on the Suez road.
Eyéideh, or Aiáideh, about Mataréëh (Heliopolis).
Allowéen or Allawin, mostly between Egypt and Petrea, or to the north of Mount Sinai.
Neáám or Nëām, about Bussatin.
Beni Wásel (now *Fellahin*, opposite Benisooef).
Howázem, about Kossayr.

Billee	Small tribes, in different parts, chiefly near the Kossayr road.
Subbaha	
Geháynee	
Harb	

Metahrát, at Birg, opposite Osióot, now *Fellahin*.
E' Shereef, at e' Shurafa, near Keneh, now *Fellahin*.
Howára, in the Thebaïd, long since *Fellahin*.

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* Some of this tribe, settled near the bed of the old Suez canal, are called Barrara "strangers (*from without*)," having come from the neighbourhood of Moileh on the Arabian coast, where the rest of the Maazy tribe live.

Azeizee, or Azýzee, on the Kossayr road.

Azázne[*]
Tmylát
Howánieh
Deboor
Aïd
Aḳaileh
} Small tribes.

Semáneh
Attaiát
Kelaybát
Haggáza
Etaým
} Small tribes.

To the south of Kossayr are the Jenaab, and other *Emfăr*[†], or subdivisions of the Abábdeh.

The Suez roads have been already mentioned.[‡] The best and most interesting route from the Nile into the desert of the Red Sea is from Dayr Býád, opposite Benisooef, to the Wadee el Arraba, and the monastery of St. Antony. On the way are several springs or watering-places, in the Wadee el Arraba; the most convenient and frequented of which are at Wadee el Aréideh on the north, and Wadee om Ainebeh on the south side.

Dayr Mar-Antonios[§], "the monastery of St. Antony," is about seventy-six or seventy-seven miles from the Nile; and the road presents nothing worthy of remark until you reach that building. It is inhabited by Copts, who are supported by the voluntary contributions of their brethren in Egypt. Their principal saint is St. George of Cappadocia; but their patron is St. Anthony of the Thebaïd.[‖] He was the friend and companion of Mar-Bolos, or St. Paul, a hermit who founded another monastery, called after him Dayr Bólos, distant by the road about fourteen miles to the south-east. Dayr Antonios is seventeen or eighteen, and Dayr Bólos nine miles from the sea. The former may be considered the principal monastery in Egypt; and its importance is much increased since the election of the patriarch has been transferred to it from those at the Natron lakes. Dayr Bólos, however, claims for itself an equal rank; and one of the patriarchs has been chosen from its members; though Dayr Antonios surpasses it both in the number as well as the general tone of its inmates. I tried in vain to learn something about the dictionary for Coptic and Arabic, said by Wansleb to be in the library there, which he says was written by Ebn el Assal, and valued at thirty crowns. Nor were my questions respecting the Coptic map of the patriarch, containing the names and position of the towns in Egypt, more successful.

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[*] Perhaps the same as the Azéizee.

[†] Beddaneh or Beddan, "body," signifies a "*tribe;*" and Emfár or Eileh, its subdivisions. See below.

[‡] Above, Vol. I. p. 302.

[§] Mar or Amba is "Saint."

[‖] See Gibbon, vi. p. 241.

The monastery of St. Antony stands below the K̲alalla mountains, a limestone range of considerable height, which bounds the Wadee el Arraba to the south. This valley, which is of considerable breadth, has received its name from the *plaustra*, or carts, that formerly carried provisions to the two monasteries, and is absurdly reported to have been so called from the chariots of Pharaoh, that pursued the Israelites, as they crossed the sea to the desert of Mount Sinai.

The quarries of oriental alabaster, discovered about ten years ago, from which the stone has been taken to ornament the new mosk of the citadel and other works, is in the Wadee om-Argoób; a valley running into the Wadee Moäthil, which again falls into the Wadee Sennoor, to the south of the road leading to the convents. There is also a gypsum quarry near the el Gebel Khaled, on the north side of the Wadee Arraba; and Wansleb speaks of a ruined town in the same neighbourhood.

In this part of the desert the mountains are all limestone; like those that border the valley of the Nile, from Cairo southwards to the sandstones of Hagar Silsili and its vicinity. These, as well as the few variations in the geological features of the strata about Cairo, the secondary grès of the Red Mountain, and the petrified wood lying over the Gebel Mokuttum, I have already mentioned. In the interior of the desert, about latitude 28° 40′, begins a range of primitive mountains, which continue thence, in a direction nearly parallel with the sea, even to Abyssinia. As they go southwards they increase in breadth, branching off to the westward, after passing the latitude of Kossayr, and crossing the Nile in the vicinity of Asouan, as already observed. The principal primitive rocks in the Maazee desert, are the famous Egyptian porphyry, various granites, serpentines, and a few others; in the Abábdeh portion, the Breccia Verde, slates, and micaceous, talcose, and other schists. Along the coast, generally a short distance from the sea, is another range of low limestone hills, which borders the primitive ridge to the east, as the others do to the west; the lofty peaks of granite and other primitive mountains rising between them like vertebræ of the large backbone of the desert, one of which, Ghȧreb, measures 6000 feet above the sea.

The same formation occurs on the other side of the sea in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, where the limestone is succeeded by sandstone beds that separate it from the granite and other primitive rocks. The junction of the limestone and sandstone in the Maazy desert takes place at about latitude 28° 42′ to the south of Dayr Bolos, and the primitive rocks begin a few miles farther down. I have given some sections of this part of the desert in my fourth volume of the "Ancient Egyptians*," and I take this opportunity of observing (lest any misconception might arise from the position of the mountains) that the dark part is intended to represent the surface of the desert (or the rise and fall of the land) over which the road goes, and that the primitive mountains are seen as they stand *above*, but not *upon* it.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detailed account of this desert, as few travellers are likely to visit it.† I shall therefore notice, in a few words, the most remarkable objects.

The porphyry quarries at Gebel e' Dokhan, "the mountain of smoke," about the latitude of Manfaloot, and twenty-seven miles from the Red Sea hold the first place. They are highly interesting, from their having supplied Rome with stone for columns and many ornamental purposes, from the importance attached to them by the ancients, and from the extent of the quarries, the ruins there, and the insight they give into the mode of working that hard stone. The remains consist of an Ionic temple, of the time of Trajan, left unfinished, a town irregularly built of rough stones, tanks, and two large wells, one cut through the porphyry rock, and the ruins of buildings in various parts of the mountains.

Roads lead thence in several directions, one to the Nile at K̲eneh, another to the Myos Hormos, and others to different places; and that between "the porphyry mountain‡," and the

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* See Plate 18. Second Series.

† For a description of the ruins and other objects of interest in this part of the desert, see my journey published in the second volume of the Royal Geographical Society's Journal, 1832.

‡ Not improperly so called by Ptolemy.

Nile is furnished with fortified stations at intervals, to protect those who passed, and to supply them with water from the large wells within their walls.

The ruins of Myos Hormos are on the coast, in latitude 27° 24′. The town is small, very regularly built, surrounded by a ditch, and defended by round towers at the corners, the faces, and the gateways. The port which lies to the northward is nearly filled with sand. Below the hills, to the eastward, is the Fons Tadnos, mentioned by Pliny.

Myos Hormos was the principal port on the Red Sea in the time of Strabo.* According to Agatharcides† it was afterwards called the port of Venus, under which name it is also mentioned by Strabo.‡ Besides the ancient roads that lead from Myos Hormos to the westward, is another running north and south, a short distance from the coast, leading to Aboo Durrag and Suez on one side, and to Sowákin on the south, to which the Arabs have given the name of Dthenáyb el Ayr, or "the ass's tail."

The granite quarries in that part of the Claudian mountain, now called Gebel el Fateéreh, with the town of Fons Trajanus, lie in nearly the same latitude as Gow (Antæopolis), on the Nile, and about twenty-four miles south-east of the porphyry mountains. The stone has a white ground with black spots, of which some columns are still seen in Rome. The quarries are very extensive, and many blocks were evidently taken from them. They were principally worked in the time of Trajan and Adrian. The Hydreuma, or Fons Trajanus, is a town of considerable size. The houses are well built, considering the roughness of the materials, and outside the walls are a temple and other buildings. In the quarries are some large columns, and round blocks, probably intended for their bases and capitals. The Greek inscriptions here, and at Gebel e' Dokhan, may be found in the account given by me of this desert in the Transactions of the Geographical Society §, and in M. Letronne's Inscriptions of Egypt. At Old Kossayr are the small town and port of Philotera, of which little remains but mounds and the vestiges of houses, some of ancient, others of Arab, date. The name of Philotera was given it by an admiral of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in honour of the king's sister, having been previously called Ænnum.*

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* Strabo, 17. p. 561.

† Agatharcid. p. 54.

‡ Strabo, 17. p. 529.

§ Vol. ii. p. 38.

The modern town of Kossayr stands on a small bay, or cove, four miles and a half to the southward. It is defended by a small fort, mounting a few rusty cannon, and may be called a village rather than a town. The inhabitants are called Embawéëh, being originally from Emba (Yambo) in Arabia, of the tribes of Jeháyn and Harb.

In the Wade Jasóos †, between Kossayr and Ras Saffágee, is a very old station, with a small temple, and a tablet of hieroglyphics, bearing the name of Osirtasen II.; and another having that of his predecessor, Amun-m'-gori II. ‡, was found there by Mr. Burton after my visit. § In this valley is some brackish water; but in a neighbouring ravine it is found perfectly sweet; and we may conclude that the town of Philotera was supplied from this spot.

Gebel e' Zayt, situated close to the sea, between latitude 27° 50′ and 28° 3′, abounds in petroleum, whence its name "the mountain of oil;" and at E' Gimsheh, a headland projecting into the sea, and terminating the gulf to the S. S. W. of it, are some sulphur mines, worked by the ancients, but unknown to the Arabs previous to my going to that spot in 1826.

On reaching Keneh I learnt that Dr. Rüppell had visited E' Gimsheh by water a short time before, and had found some grottoes in the rock near the landing-place, and a few inscriptions in the character met with so frequently on the rocks of Mount Sinai.

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* See above, Vol. I. p. 115.

† Or Gasóos, the *g* being soft.

‡ The mode of reading this name is uncertain.

§ Brought by him to England.

THE ABABDEH DESERT.

Divisions of the Ababdeh Tribe. — Roads to the Red Sea. — Breccia quarries, inscriptions, and ruins in Wadee Foakheer. — Roads from Coptos to Berenice. — Gold mines. — Ruins of Berenice. — Basanite mountain. — Mons Pentedactylus. — Leucos Portus, and Nechesia. — Lead mines. — Basanite quarry. — Emerald mines. — Ruins at Sakáyt, and Wadee Noogrus. — Ruins on the road from Edfoo. — Bisháree language and tribes. — Water of the Red Sea.

The Abábdeh desert lies to the south of the Kossayr road, but many of those Arabs occupy the vallies bordering it to the north, where, during the peace that has now long subsisted between them and their old enemies the Maazée, or, as they call them, the Atównee Arabs, they live unmolested. The Abábdeh appear to be aborigines of the country, and are Arabs only in habits, their ancestors not having come from Arabia, like those of the Maazee, and other tribes to the north. They also differ much in appearance, being of a darker hue, approaching to copper colour, and having long hair like the Nubians, whom they resemble very much in many other respects. Their arms too, the spear, shield, sword, and small arm-knife, are the same as used in Nubia, which they prefer to fire-arms, and which in night encounters with the Maazee were generally found more efficient.

They formerly had a language of their own, but it is now lost, and replaced by Arabic; but their mode of speaking is peculiar, and readily distinguishes them, as well as their outward appearance, from their northern neighbours. They have no tents, but huts made of mats, which appear to have been used from the earliest times by the dwellers in these deserts, and, if we may believe Diodorus, were the common houses of all those who tended cattle in Egypt.*

The four principal subdivisions of their tribe are the Gawaléëh, the Fókara, the Aboodeéin, and the Ashabáb. They live principally, like the Maazee and others, on the borders of the valley of the Nile, or even at the ridge of the cultivated land; but some pass their whole time in the desert, and seldom visit the Reef, unless obliged to do so in quest of corn, or for some other purpose; and such is the dread they have of the small-pox, a complaint unknown in the desert, that some are known never to have seen the Nile. They are said to have come originally from Sbayd or Esbayd, and are called Ababdeh* e'Sbaydéën.

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* Diodor. 1. 43.

Several roads lead from Keneh, Coptos, and other places to Kossayr, on the Red Sea, in the following order, beginning from the south:—1. That called Mughaýg; 2. E' Debbáh; 3. El Merkh, or Essaýwee; 4. Sikkat el Homar, "the donkey's road," or el Edoót, passing by Moayleh and Wadee el Gush; 5. E' Russafa, or Derb e' Russafa; 6. Sikkat el Hammámee, a long and rough road. Those most used are, e' Russafa, passing by Hammamát and Foakheér, and el Edoót, which unite at el Bayda†, "the white" (hills), so called from the colour of the rocks, where there is a well called Beer el Ingleez, from having been dug by our Indian army on its way to the Nile.

The most interesting road is the Derb e' Russafa; from the ancient Roman stations met with at intervals, and from its having been the old road from Coptos to Philoteras Portus. There are eight of these stations, or *Hydreumas* ‡, some of which are distant from each other only 6, others from 8 to 12 miles; besides the wells of el Eghayta, which were also known to the ancients. The first station, whose site and plan is less easily traced than the others, was distant from Coptos only 9 miles, and was probably common to the Philotera and Berenice roads, though not given in the lists of Pliny or the Itinerary of Antoninus. Near the large wall of Hammamát, on this road, are the quarries of Breccia Verde, from which so many sarcophagi, fonts, *tazze*, and other ornamental objects made of this beautiful stone, were cut by the ancients, both in Pharaonic § and Roman times. The valley of the quarries is called Wadee Foakheér, from the quantity of pottery (*Fokhár*) found there. It is also remarkable for the number of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the rocks, of very early time, for the number of huts of workmen who lived there, and for the remains of a small Egyptian temple of the time of Ptolemy Euergetes I. The inscriptions on the rocks are interesting from their antiquity, some being of very ancient Pharaohs; and so numerous are they, that I was employed for more than a fortnight in copying them.

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* Abádee, or Abádeh, is the singular of Abábdeh.

† Not Beder, as in some maps.

‡ Like those from Coptos mentioned by Pliny, 6. c. 26. A Copto camelister, aquationum ratione *mansionibus* dispositis."

§ The sarcophagus, called "of Alexander," in the British Museum, but really of the time of Amyrtæus, is of this stone.

The principal names are of Papa, or Papi* (1.);—of Remeren (2.);—and these three early unknown Pharaohs (3, 4, and 5.), two of which occur in the chamber of kings at Karnak;—of Mandooftep, or Mandôthph (6.);—Osirtasen I. and III.; — Amun-m'-Gori I. and II.; — Thothmes III.;—Osirei I. and II.; — Remeses IV. and VIII.; — Sabaco, and the Princess Amunatis (7.)—Psamaticus I. and II.; — Amasis; — Cambyses; — Darius; — Xerxes; and Artaxerxes; — Amyrtæus; and Nectanebo.

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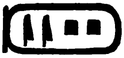

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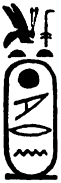

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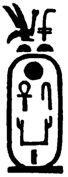

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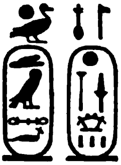

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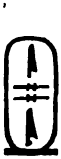

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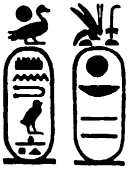

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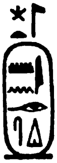

There are many hieroglyphic and Greek exvotos. In one of the latter, the writer is said to be a native of Alabastron; and in one of the former Amun-re is styled "Lord of the regions of the world," and Neph (Nou? or Kneph) is called "the Lord of the foreign land of the Elephant," or the island of Elephantine. Khem or Pan is the deity of the place. He was supposed to be the particular "guardian of the roads," and until the worship of Sarapis was introduced by the Greeks and Romans, he seems to have been the principal god to whom temples and prayers were made in the Egyptian deserts. The triad of this valley consisted of Khem, the infant Horus, and "Isis, the beautiful mother of the gods, queen of heaven."

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* This king is possibly Apappus.

I counted upwards of 1000 huts in the different ravines, or branches of the valley, and I have no doubt, from the care taken to break up every quartz vein in the neighbourhood, that the miners were employed, not only in the breccia quarries, but in searching for gold, which these veins afford; and indeed I never remember to have crossed a vein of quartz in the desert, that had not been broken up, doubtless in search of the precious ore.

The principal roads made by the ancients across this desert, were those from Coptos to Berenice, and to Philotera, just mentioned; one from Contra Apollinopolis (opposite Edfoo), to the emerald mines of Gebel Zabára; and another from Philotera along the sea-coast to the Leucos Portus, Nechesia, and Berenice, which continued thence southwards in the direction of Sowákin. There was also one which left the Nile near Contra Apollinopolis, and taking a southerly direction, ran probably to the gold mines (of Gebel Ollágee), mentioned by Agatharcides and other authors, and subsequently by the Shereef Edrisi * and Aboolfeda. They were generally furnished with stations, built at short intervals, where a supply of water could always be obtained, by means of large wells, sunk within them to a great depth, and frequently in the solid rock. From these spacious cisterns were filled, as well for the use of the soldiers quartered there, as of those who passed; and hence the name of "*Fons*," or "*Hydreuma*." The gold mines lie some distance to the south of the Abábdeh desert, in the territory of the Bisharéëh. Through my inquiries among the Abábdeh Arabs, I had obtained very accurate information respecting the existence of these mines, which have since been visited by M. Linant and M. Bonomi, the first Europeans who have examined them, and ascertained their exact position. † They are, as Edrisi and Aboolfeda observes, in the land of Begga ‡, the Bishàree* country; and, as appears from two of the Arabic funereal inscriptions found by those travellers, were worked in the years 339 A. H. (951 A. D.), and 378 A. H. (989 A. D.), the former being the fifth year of the Caliph Mostukfee Billáh, a short time before the arrival of the Fatemites in Egypt; and the other in the fourteenth year of El Azeez, the second king of the Fatemite dynasty. Certain it is, however, that they were also mined previous and subsequently to that period, though there are no other epitaphs with dates.

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* Or E'Shereef el Edreésee.

† See a more detailed account of them in my Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 228., and the ancient mode of working them, p. 230.

‡ Translators have written it "Terra Bogæ." It is pronounced Bojá or Begá.

The stations on the road from Coptos to Berenice have a peculiar interest, from being mentioned by Pliny, and the Itinerary of Antoninus; and I was fortunate enough to ascertain the positions of those which had not been previously visited. According to Pliny, they were:—

	M. P.
First Hydreuma, from Coptos -	32
Second Hydreuma - - -	63
Apollinis - - - -	89
Novum Hydreuma - -	49
(the Hydreuma Vetus being 4 miles off, out of the road.)	
Berenice - - - -	25
Total, in Roman miles,	258

Itinerary.

	M. P.
Phœnicon or Peniconon } from Coptos -	27
Didyme - - - -	24
Afrodito - - - -	20
Compasi - - - -	22
Jovis - - - - -	33
Aristonis - - - -	25
Phalacro - - - -	25
Apollonos - - - -	23
Cabalsi - - - -	27
Cœnon Hydreuma - -	27
Berenice - - - -	18
Total	271

The above distances of one station to another agree pretty well with the measurements I took, in surveying this part of the country, as may be seen in my map of Egypt, which extends to about thirty miles south of Berenice. Besides all those stations mentioned in the Itinerary, an intermediate one between Didyme and Afrodito is met with, on the direct road from Coptos to Berenice, about four and a half miles to the northward of the latter. At Afrodito I found a Latin inscription, on turning over the fallen lintel of the door, which begins with a date, unfortunately erased; and I had the satisfaction of ascertaining that the Hydreuma and Vicus Apollinis were distinct, standing a short distance from each other, in different parts of the valley. For suspecting this to be the case, I made some stay at the former, in order to search for the village, which was at last pointed out to me by a chasseur, who had been long in the neighbourhood. It contains upwards of 450 houses, not surrounded by a wall, but the Hydreuma, as usual, was fortified, to protect the wells. The Novum and Vetus Hydreuma are the last stations before reaching Berenice, the latter being out of the road, about four miles up a valley.

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* The Bisharéëh pretend that Kooka was their ancestor and god; but they are now Moslems.

Berenice, or Berenice Troglodytica, stands on a small bay, at the extremity of a deep gulph, according to Strabo, called Sinus Immundus, which is formed by the projecting point of Lepte Extrema, now Cape Nose, erroneously laid down in some charts as an island. It is even styled Gezeereh "island" by the Arabs, who call the cape Ras Banas, from a shekh buried there, or Ras Emkhéet. I believe the sailors give it the name of Ras el Unf, or "Cape Nose." This long peninsula or chersonesus, projecting from the *Sinus Immundus*, is mentioned by Diodorus*, who says its neck was so narrow that boats were sometimes carried across it, from the gulph to the open sea. From the end of the cape may be perceived the peak of St. John's, or the Emerald Isle, Gezeeret Zibírgeh or Semérgid, which seems to be the *οφιωδης*, or serpentine island of Diodorus. The inner bay, which constituted the ancient port of Berenice, is now nearly filled with sand; and at low tide its mouth is closed by a bar, which is then left entirely exposed. The tide rises and falls in it about one foot.

The town of Berenice was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and so called after his mother.† It was of considerable size, compared to its rival the Myos Hormos; but its streets were not laid out with the same regularity, and it was not defended by the same kind of fortified wall. The Myos Hormos indeed was very small, and scarcely larger than one of the ordinary hydreumas. The houses of Berenice are built of very inferior materials, being merely rude pieces of madrepore, collected on the sea-coast, and, as might be supposed, their walls are in a very dilapidated condition. There is a temple at the end of a street, towards the centre of the town, built of hewn stone, and consisting of three inner and the same number of outer chambers, with a staircase leading to the summit, the whole ornamented with sculptures and hieroglyphics in relief. It was dedicated to Sarapis, as appears from a Greek inscription on a small stone I found in one of the chambers; and in the hieroglyphics are the names of Tiberius and Trajan. A few figures of the contemplar deities may also be traced, on excavating the lower part, or wherever the stone has withstood the action of the atmosphere; which has proved more prejudicial to its limestone walls than the saline and nitrous soil, that has for ages covered the greater part of what now remains. In excavating the chambers (for I did not attempt the portico) I found, beside the Greek dedication to Sarapis, the head of a Roman emperor, either Trajan or Adrian, a small fountain*, and some rude figures, probably exvotos; and since my visit, the officers of one of the surveying ships resumed the excavation, and found another inscription.

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* Diodor. 3. 38.

† "Berenice oppidum matris Philadelphi nomine." Plin. 6. c. 29.

The modern name of Berenice is Sakáyt el K̲ublee, or "the Southern Sakáyt."

A road leads from Berenice to the Basanite mountain, now Om Kerrebeh†, passing by some ruined stations, and an ancient village of considerable extent; and some distance to the eastward of those quarries is the Mons Pentedactylus, now Gebel Feráïd, whose five cones are still more remarkable when seen from Berenice. At Om Kerrebeh are considerable workings of what the ancients called Basanite; a real quarry of which I afterwards found near Gebel e' Rossáss.

Following the coast from Berenice to Kossayr, the "several ports" mentioned by Pliny occur at short intervals, with landmarks to direct small vessels through the dangerous reef of rocks, whose abrupt discontinuance forms their mouth; but there are no remains of towns at any of them, except at Nechesia and the Leucos Portus, the sites of which I have ascertained; the former in Wadee e' Nukkaree, the latter known by the name of E' Shóona, or "the magazine." Nechesia has the ruins of a temple, and a citadel of hewn stone; but the Leucos Portus is in a very dilapidated state; and the materials of which the houses were built, like those of Berenice, are merely fragments of madrepore and shapeless pieces of stone.

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* Now in the British Museum.

† Mentioned by Ptolemy, 4. 5.

About half way between them is another small port, four miles to the west of which are the lead mines of Gebel e' Rosáss; and a short distance to the northward, in Wadee Aboo-Raikeh, is a small quarry of basanite, worked by the ancients.

The emerald mines are far less interesting than might be supposed. Some are at the Gebel Zabára, and others in that neighbourhood, about the Wadee Sakáyt. They have been successively worked by the ancient Egyptians, the caliphs, the Memlooks, and the present Pasha, but are now abandoned. They lie in micaceous schist; and numerous shafts of considerable depth have been excavated at the base of the mountain; the largest at Gebel Zabára, extending downwards, at an angle of thirty-seven degrees, to the distance of about 360 feet, being 318 in horizontal length, and 215 in perpendicular depth.

To the south of Gebel Zabára is the extensive village of Sakáyt[*], consisting of numerous miners' huts and houses; and independent of its mines, a temple excavated in the rock, and some Greek inscriptions, render it peculiarly interesting to the antiquary. The name of Sakáyt is evidently derived from that given to the town in old times. A Greek inscription there speaks of the god Sarapis and the lady Isis of Senskis, or Senskeet.[†] In the adjoining valley, called Wadee Noogrus[‡], which is only separated from Wadee Sakáyt by a ridge of hills, is another similar village, whose houses are better built and on a larger scale, with the advantage of a natural reservoir, under the neighbouring cliffs, of excellent water.

The route now usually taken from the Nile to Berenice passes through the Wadee Sakáyt; but the ancient road from Coptos to that port lies through Wadee Matoólee, and other vallies that succeed it, to the southward.

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[*] This name is also given to Berenice.

[†] *Ισιδι τῃ Σενσκειτῃ*. See Letronne's Inscriptions, vol. i. p. 460.

[‡] Nookrus.

On the road from Contra Apollinopolis to the emerald mines are three stations. The first is small, and presents nothing interesting except the name of King Amun-Toônh, a cotemporary of Amunoph III.; but close to the second is a temple cut in the rock, founded, and dedicated to Amun, by King Osirei, the father of Remeses the Great. Though small, its sculptures are of a very good style; and in the hall is a curious tablet of hieroglyphics, bearing the date of the ninth year of this Pharaoh.

The temple consists of a portico, supported by four columns; a hall, with four pillars in the centre, at the end of which are three small chambers, or rather niches, each containing three statues. Many visiters have written Greek inscriptions on its walls, most of which are exvotos to Pan; but one is remarkable as being of the soldiers quartered in the fortified station, whose thirteen names are inscribed on one of the columns of the portico.

In a chamber of the station is a block of stone, bearing an exvoto to "Arsinoë Philadelphe," the wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who founded the town of Berenice, to which this road also led from the upper part of the Thebaïd. The third station presents nothing of interest; and between it and the emerald mines no other ruins occur, though several wells once afforded a supply of water to those who passed on the road.

These are the principal objects worthy of notice in the Abábdeh desert, to the S. of which are the gold mines of Gebel Ollagee* already mentioned, and the Gebel el Elbeh, a curious mountain, the place of refuge of the Bisharéëh, which few travellers have been allowed to visit.

The Bisháree tribe differ from the Abábdeh in their features, the nose being less straight, and the lips thicker; they are also wild and uncouth, and their unintelligible jargon renders them still more inaccessible to strangers, of whom they are very distrustful.

* Or, El Alak̲ee علاقي

The following words may serve to give some idea of the sound of the language: —

Man	Otúk.	Fire	Enáyt.
Woman	Tukkút.	Leather	Osúr.
A bachelor	Nukráb.	Sheep	Oráywee.
Whose son?	Sunno?	Dromedary saddle	Okóor.
Camel	Wokám.	A shame	Agrayhát.
Camels	Oraýo.	Disgrace	Sararmít.
Female Camel	Taykúm.	Go away	Woollia. Dába.
Ditto young	Tokarteét.		
Load (the Camels)	Nā́bna.	Come quick	Fisra (Ar?)
Corn	Otúm.	Milk	Drar.
Give me some corn	Otum eeháy.	Kill the man	Otuk heridda.
		Peace be unto you	Shôm ha.
Sword	Madúd.	(*answer*)	Keteém.
Spear	Tóhfna or Tôfna.	How do you do?	Debáhna.
Give	Náma.	My salutation to you	Dibbéen.
To buy and sell	Tidlíbna.		
One	Ungā́ro.	Marry	Dohba, dôba.
Two	Melôb.	Tent	Shemlát.
Three	Meháit.	Morning	Ashtáyt.
Four	Sekéeb.	*Shekh*	Hadda.
Pipe	Kadôs-hama	Wicker bowl	Káhl.
Tobacco	Tombák Kasán.	Thirsty	Gása, or Kása.
Wood	Hindeéb.	Hungry	Hargáb.
Cakes of bread	Dombôt.	Satisfied	Geláb.
Donkey	Omík.		

The names of some of the subdivisions of the tribe are, the Alliab (the most northerly), composed of the Belgáb and Amráb; the Gummatáb to the E.; the Domaiab, united with the Hamadoráb and the Shinteráb, who are also called Anak Yabáb, and pretend to be of Turkish origin, though this is universally disbelieved. There are also the Ammarár and the Heddendóhar, the latter living near Sowákin*, the inhabitants of which town are called Haddárbee.

Every one will doubtless infer the probability of the water of the Red Sea containing more salt than that of the ocean; and this is confirmed by the analysis of some brought by me from Berenice, with which I have been favoured by Dr. Ure. From this it results that the specific gravity is 1·035; and that 1000 grains of water contain 43 of saline matter; of which about 4 grains are muriate of lime, with a little muriate of magnesia, and the remainder muriate of soda (common salt) with a little sulphate of magnesia. The specific gravity of water from the open ocean in the same latitude is only 1·028, and contains not more than 36 grains of saline matter, in a similar quantity.

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* This name is sometimes improperly written Sowake*m*. It is the plural of Saki*n*, and means "habitation."

MOUNT SINAI.

Tor, or Mount Sinai Arabs.—Tricks upon travellers.—Arrangements for the journey.—Suez.—Passage of the Israelites.—Manna.—Quails.—Gebel Attáka.—Migdol.—Kolzim.—Road from Suez to Sinai.—Fountains of Moses.—Bitter water of Marah.—Hammam-Pharaóon.—Nazbeh copper mines.—Sarábut el Khádem.—Inscriptions.—Convent or monastery of Mount Sinai.—Burning Bush.—Sinai and Horeb.—Rock of Moses.—Geology.—Wadee Faran.—Tor.—Akaba.—Ælа.—Akaba and Petra.

For the journey to Mount Sinai it will be necessary to engage some of the Tor Arabs, who will supply camels, and act as guides through their desert. As usual in these excursions, one of them is to be the shekh or chief of the party, the director of all relating to the Arabs, and responsible for the protection of the traveller.

In this, as in every other part of the country, it may be observed as a general rule, that you are never expected to supply or pay for the food of the camels, or the provisions of the Arabs under any plea whatever; any offer of the kind would infallibly lead to impositions from the very persons it was intended to befriend, and every attempt on their part to make such a demand should be firmly resisted. This I urge the more strongly, as some have been very improperly advised to provide beans for the camels, on the plea of having them for their return to Akaba, or on some other excuse. You should always engage the Sinai Arabs and their camels at Cairo, and not be persuaded to go by water from Suez to Tor, where, having you in their power, they may demand whatever they choose, without leaving you any alternative but that of returning to Suez and abandoning your intended journey.

Another observation I may also make about the tricks upon travellers practised by the Arabs, particularly in Syria, which should not be tolerated. It sometimes happens that a traveller is stopped on the road, by what is said to be a party of hostile Arabs, and obliged to pay a sum of money, as he supposes, to save his life, or to secure the continuation of his journey in safety. But it will be found on those occasions, that the Arabs of his own party never offer any resistance to the supposed hostile Arabs, and the traveller is allowed to be pillaged, without any defence being offered by those who should protect him and resent the affront.

Every body who knows Arab customs must be aware that no one of a hostile tribe can ever enter the territory of any other Arabs, without the insult being avenged by the sword; and it is evident, then, as no resistance is made on the part of those who conduct the traveller, that the attacking party are either some of their own or of a friendly tribe, who are allowed to spoil him by the very persons he pays to protect him; for an Arab would rather die than suffer such an affront from a *hostile* tribe in his *own* desert. If then his Arabs do not fight on the occasion, he may be sure it is a trick to extort money: he should, therefore, use no arms against the supposed enemies, but explain to his own guides that, as the money he thus loses belongs to them, being the very money *he took to pay them*, and as they who were to protect him are unable or unwilling to defend his and *their* property, he shall be obliged to deduct the sum lost from their pay, at the end of the journey; which, with expressions of ironical regret, he should take care to do, and if possible have them punished for their duplicity by the authorities, if he goes to any large town. It is also as well, before starting, to make them enter into an engagement that they are *able* as well as *willing* to protect the traveller, and answerable that no real or pretended attack shall be made; and, unless they engage to do this, he should revile them as a poor miserable set of beings, and propose to look out for another more manly tribe, who can take care of him and of themselves.

The natural questions are,—"Do you know that you can protect me through such a district?" "Are you on friendly terms or at variance with any tribe on the way, or in the neighbourhood?" "Can you answer for my safety and my property throughout the whole journey?" and, if not, the traveller must find out what tribe can do this, and be answerable for his security. If they do engage to conduct him without fear of any molestation, let this agreement be made—that, if attacked, the loss shall be put to their account, unless indeed the attack be real. It would always be easy to distinguish between a real or mock attack; and if they *actually* fight in his defence, and any are killed on either side, then the case is different, and they are blameless; except inasmuch as they took upon themselves to promise him a safe journey, and disguised the fact of their being at variance with other tribes at the time. For all such matters are well understood and foreseen by them, long before they occur.

I should add, that on starting it is very necessary to see that every camel has its proper and full load; if not, the Arabs will put a few things on each, and go away pretending they are loaded, their object being to get as many engaged as possible.

The shekhs of the Tor Arabs, who generally accompany Europeans to Mount Sinai, are Toáyleb, Hossayn, and Besharah, of the Welad Sāeed. There is no objection to them, except perhaps their having been spoilt by Europeans, and taught to be exorbitant; but they have no very great influence in their tribe, and are not the principal shekhs. Care should therefore be taken to ascertain if they have sufficient authority to prevent any disputes in the desert; and particularly if any quarrel has lately happened with the Mezáyneh tribe, who possess the district between Mount Sinai and Akaba. Indeed, the safest mode would be to agree with a shekh of the latter for safe conduct through that portion of the desert, if desirous of going to Akaba, and in crossing from that place to Hebron, the Hawat Arabs are the influential tribe.

All idea of travelling with one tribe through a desert belonging to another should never be entertained, and no proposition on their part to do this should be listened to; this would be as bad as a party of Englishmen offering, in time of war, to escort a Dutchman through France. There is another disagreeable thing to which travellers are sometimes exposed with the Arabs. Two parties of the same tribe quarrel for the right of conducting him; and after he has gone some distance on his journey, he and his goods are taken by the opposition candidates, and transferred to their camels. The war is merely one of words, which the inexperienced in the language cannot understand; but he fully comprehends the annoyance of being nearly pulled to pieces by the two rivals, and his things are sometimes thrown on the ground, to the utter destruction of every thing fragile. This should also be provided against, before starting, and a shekh or guide should be secured who has decided authority, and can overawe all parties. But all should be done with perfect good humour; and there is every advantage in securing the good-will and friendly understanding with the Arabs, on whom so much of the comfort of a journey necessarily depends. It can of course be better done if the traveller speaks Arabic; and I can safely say I never had a disagreement of any kind with any Arab, but have always met with good-humour and willingness to oblige on every occasion.

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* See above, p. 377., the names of the Tor Arabs.

In going to Mount Sinai you follow the Suez road, and either turn off before reaching that town or pass close to its walls, and thence, at a short distance from the water side, round the end of the gulf. A little beyond Suez is the ford, where at low tide the camels cross, bringing water to Suez from the fountains on the Arabian shore.

This appears to be the spot* where the Israelites passed, when pursued by Pharaoh.† The rise of a tide of five or six feet, added to the rush of the returning water, which had been blown back by the "strong east wind," would have the effect of destroying the Egyptians, entangled with their chariots and horses in the muddy bed of the sea; and in former times the gulf was not only deeper in this part, but extended much farther into the land. It may also be observed that the breadth of the sea in every other part is too great for the time, which appears to have been occupied in their passage, considering the immense multitude of persons, with their flocks and herds; nor is it necessary to send them

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* This was the opinion of Niebuhr, and others before and after him. See above, Vol. I. p. 307.

† The Arabs say the name of this Pharaoh was Weleed, or Amioós. The latter is evidently Amosis, or Ames, or Thothmes. I suppose him to have been Thothmes III. The name of the moon was Aah or Ioh, and Thoth was the moon.

ASHMOLEAN OXFORD

across near Ras Attaka, because the mountains, as some suppose, prevented them going to the southward of that point as there was no impediment to their passage between the south-east end of Gebel Attáka and the sea, where the present road now lies. It is, however, possible that Pharaoh may have thought no passage existed between that mountain and the sea, and have concluded that the Israelites were entangled in the land and shut in by the wilderness: the encampment of so large a body of people, doubtless, occupied a great portion of the plain; and the march of the Israelites was concealed from their enemies until the whole had left their encampment, and their rear had entered the bed of the sea.

The traditions of the Arabs fix the passage of the Red Sea at the eastern end of the Wadee el Arraba, which they say was so called from the Egyptian *chariots.* The wells and mountain of Hammam Pharaoón (Pharaoh's bath), on the opposite shore, are said to have derived that name from the destruction of Pharaoh's host; and a point of land projecting into the sea at Zaffarána point is said to mark the spot of the passage. But, besides the too great breadth of the sea, its depth here, as in all other parts, except at Suez, ill accords with the Bible account of the miraculous division of the water; which is said to have resembled "a *wall* unto them on their right hand and on their left *;" for it is reasonable to suppose that the Hebrew record of so wonderful an event would not have decreased the miracle; and the depth of the sea in other parts would deserve and require it to be described as a mountain rather than a wall. It is to this event that some suppose Diodorus to refer, when he says, "A tradition handed down from the times of their ancestors is preserved among the Ichthyophagi, which states that the whole coast of this gulf was left dry . . . the sea having receded to the opposite shore; and after the bottom of the gulf had been thus exposed, the waters returned again into their former bed." †

It may also be observed, in confirmation of the opinion that the Israelites crossed at the above-mentioned spot, that "the island just below the ford is called Gezeeret el Yahoód, 'the Island of the Jews,' though the ford has not that of Derb el Yahoód." [*] Some have endeavoured to account for the miracles performed on the journey and during the sojourn of the Israelites in Sinai by natural causes; but the mere fact of such a multitude of persons being fed in the wilderness, where no food of any kind is to be obtained, will of itself alone disprove this notion, and show the utter impossibility of accounting for them in this manner. The number of the Israelites is stated to have been 600,000 men, which with women, children, and old men, would not amount to less than 1,800,000, besides the "mixed multitude" that went out with them: it is very evident that 100,000 could not subsist there for ever so short a period; and whoever allows none but natural causes, had better at once refuse his belief of the Israelites having gone to Mount Sinai at all.

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* Exod. xiv. 22.

† Diodor. 3. 39. This seems rather out of place where it is introduced in Diodorus.

The manna is still found in this desert, yet it is rarely met with; "it is not produced every year, sometimes only after five or six years, and the quantity in general has greatly diminished. It is found in the form of shining drops, on the twigs and branches (not upon the leaves) of the Turfa [‡], *Tamarix Gallica mannifera* of Ehrenberg, from which it exudes in consequence of the puncture of an insect of the Coccus kind, *Coccus manniparus* of the same naturalist." [§] It is white, of the size of a very small pea, and "what falls upon the sand is said not to be gathered. It has the appearance of gum, is of a sweetish taste, and melts when exposed to the sun, or to a fire." In Arabic it is called *men*, and is sold by the druggists of Cairo. This name is similar to the old Hebrew, men or min, by which it is mentioned in the Bible, and which was given it in consequence of the uncertainty of the Israelites about this unknown substance, who called it *men*[*] (what), "for they wist not *what* it was."

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[*] See Dr. Robinson's excellent work on Palestine, vol. i. pp. 82. 84. &c.

[†] Though similar in leaf and other characters, the common Turfa and Abel are also a different variety of the Tamarix Gallica, the former being a tree, and giving wood for charcoal, the latter growing only as a shrub; but the distinction is not always observed.

[‡] Dr. Robinson, i. 170. See Exod. xvi. 14. 31. and Numbers, xi. 8, 9.

Quails, which also served the Israelites for food in their wanderings here, still frequent this desert, but they are in very small numbers, always single birds, as in the valleys on the opposite side of the Red Sea, and at no season of the year sufficiently numerous to feed the smallest caravan. Nor could the flocks of the Israelites have found sufficient pasture in the valleys, had they not produced grasses and other herbs in far greater abundance than at the present day.

The Gebel Attáka is supposed by the Jews and Christians to owe its name, "the Mountain of Deliverance," to the safe removal of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt, which it witnessed; though the Moslems assert that it was so called, from its giving the first intimation to the pilgrims, coming from Mecca, of their deliverance from their perilous journey.

It is difficult to fix the exact positions of all the places mentioned in the Bible, connected with the Exodus; but it is worthy of remark, that Migdol appears to be retained in the modern Mucktala, a defile near the north end of Gebel Attáka. The road there turns from its previous easterly direction to the southward, towards the Red Sea; and this change in its course agrees very well with the order to "the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth[†], between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon." Of these, and of Suez and its environs, I have already spoken.[‡]

Had I not been prevented visiting Mount Sinai, and fulfilling my intention of surveying that part of the country, I might have spoken with more confidence of the journeyings of the Israelites, and of the different places where they encamped, during their long sojourn there, and of the objects most worthy of a visit in this desert. But for all that portion beyond Suez I am indebted to the observations of others, and to the assistance of some friends who have visited it.

On leaving Suez, you pass below the mound called

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[*] See Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. p. 62. note.

[†] It has been translated "the entrance," or "mouth of the valley;" but the name could not be Hebrew, and Pi is the Egyptian article "the."

[‡] Section III. Vol. I. p. 307, 308.

Kolzim, a short distance from the walls of the town, which, as already observed, marks the site of Clysma. It was fortified by the French, while in occupation of Egypt, and the direction of the covert way that connected it with the gate of Suez may still be traced on the west side. Near it on the right you pass some remains of masonry, probably connected with the old canal; and soon afterwards the ford, where, as I before stated, the Israelites appear to have crossed the sea. The road taken by caravans rounds the head of the gulf, passing, at the distance of six miles from Suez, the mounds of the old canal, the direction of which is there distinctly seen. The road then turns round the end of the gulf, and "you glide," as Dr. Robinson observes, "out of Africa into Asia, without knowing the precise line of division." The same indications of the sea having formerly extended farther inland, appear here, as on the other side of Suez, owing to the gradual uplifting of the ground, which I observed in many places on the Egyptian shores of the gulf. Dr. Robinson thinks, "that the arm which now runs up north of Suez, was anciently not much wider at its entrance than at present, while, further north, it spread itself out into a broader and deeper bay."

After passing round the gulf, the road crosses "the track leading from the ferry of Suez to the fountain of Nâba, or, as it was called by the Arabs, El Ghurkudeh, from which that town is supplied with water for drinking. From this point the fountain is apparently three miles distant;" and after an hour's march along the coast you come to the Ain Moosa, or "fountain of Moses." Here are some wild palm trees, and a small spot of land irrigated by the brackish water of its springs, and cultivated by a few *fellahs* from Suez. Some broken pottery, and a low mound of rubbish, mark "the site of a former village." In Wadee Sudr are the head-quarters of the Tarabeen Arabs, "who claim the whole territory from opposite Suez to Wadee Ghúrundel;" and at the head of it is the isolated peak of Tásat Sudr, which is a conspicuous point on the road from Suez, and is seen far in the interior of the Egyptian desert. About thirty-three geographical miles from Ain Moosa is the Ain Howárah, supposed to be the Marah of the Israelites, where they found "*bitter*" water, "therefore the name of it was called *Marah.*" The water is brackish, and "somewhat bitter;" and though no stream ever flows from the basin, "there are traces of running water round about."

Much has been said of the supposed nature of the tree, which, when Moses "had cast into the waters" of Marah, they "were made sweet;" and some have imagined it to be the Ghardeḵ, or Ghurḵud[*], which abounds in these deserts. The red berry of that bush is eaten, but is not supposed to have any virtue in sweetening water; though there is a tree called *yéssur,* common in the Maazee desert, the seeds of whose long pods, when eaten before drinking, render the taste of water peculiarly sweet. It is the *Moringa aptera,* and the seed is called in Arabic *Hab-ghálee.*

The road then continues at some distance from, and nearly parallel with, the sea, till it passes on the right the mountain of Hammam Pharaóon, "the baths of Pharaoh," which projects into the sea about forty-five geographical miles to the S. S. E. of Suez. This mountain is so called from the hot springs that rise at its foot on the sea-shore; and a fanciful tradition of the Arabs has named it after the Egyptian king, as a memorial of the passage of the Israelites. The temperature of the largest spring is about 157° Fahr., and the water is strongly impregnated with sulphur and common salt. They lie some distance out of the road, and to visit them is a *détour* of several miles. The direct road from Wady Ghurundel, after having passed to the east of this mountain, takes a curve more inland, and then divides into two, one going to Mount Sinai by Wadee Humr and Sarábut el Khádem to the left, the other by Wadee Mokuttub, and Wadee Farán to the right.

Sarábut el Khádem is about half way from Ain Moosa to Mount Sinai, and you reach it early on the fifth day after leaving Suez. At Nusb, or Názbeh, a short distance off the road to the right, about four miles before reaching Sarábut el Khadem are ancient copper works, and many inscriptions in what has been called the Sinaïtic character, from having been considered peculiar to the desert of Mount Sinai. They do not however belong exclusively to that part of the country, as I found them on the rocks near the sea at Gebel Aboo Durrag on the Egyptian side of the Arabian Gulph, and others have been met with in the interior, at Wady Dthahal, as well as at e' Gimsheh, and, as I have been told by Mr. Burton, in the grottos of Wady Om-Dthummerána. Their long-wished-for interpretation is said to have been lately accomplished, and they are found to be of Christian time.

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[*] Dr. Robinson, vol. i. p. 96. The bush Ghurḵud is called by the Egyptian Arabs Ghárdeḵ.

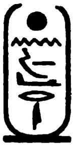
The only ruins at Názbeh are some small stone houses, probably miners' huts; and the scoria of copper shows that metal to have been worked or melted there, though no mines have been found in the neighbourhood. Instances of this frequently occur in the deserts, which was in consequence of their finding more wood in particular places for smelting the ore.

SARÁBUT EL KHÁDEM.

Sarábut (or Sarbóot) el Khádem is remarkable for its numerous hieroglyphic tablets, of very ancient date, and for the peculiar appearance of the place. It is a rocky eminence on a range of sandstone hills, with a footpath on one side, leading to its extensive flat summit, at one end of which is a confused mass of ruins and many tablets, some fallen, some standing erect, covered with hieroglyphics, which from their containing the names of very early Pharaohs are worthy the attention of the Egyptian antiquary. It is indeed particularly desirable that some one acquainted with Egyptian antiquities should examine this spot, and not only copy all the inscriptions, but make an accurate plan of the place with a view to ascertain what the nature of the building was, and discover the reason of its peculiar sanctity. From the account given me of the place by Mr. Crompton, it is evident that the plan of a large building may be traced there, about 1200 feet in length, the walls of which in many places are still standing. It does not appear to have been roofed, except at the inner or eastern end, before some cells, which are cut out of the rock. You enter the building by a court, about 34 feet broad, including the outer walls, and 22 long, with some tablets at either end; to this succeeds another court rather broader than the first, and 19 feet long. Nineteen feet behind this are tablets and columns with heads of Athor, on two of their faces, and a line of hieroglyphics down their two sides. One of these columns is standing, the other three are fallen. Then follows a chamber measuring 6·9 by 14 feet, and another 15 by 14, with a tablet at the end on either side, separating it from a broader room 24 feet by 9·8; at the upper end of which is a doorway 2·4 broad, covered by a flat stone. The face of the wall is covered in part with large figures and hieroglyphics, among which is the name of Thothmes III. Three other chambers succeed this part, occupying a length of 57 feet, with other tablets; after which the direction of the building alters from about due E. and W. to S. E. and N. W.; and at the end of it are the above-mentioned three cells cut in the rock, the innermost one of which is supported by a pillar in the centre, covered with hieroglyphics, as are the walls themselves.

Besides the numerous tablets within the building, are others on the outside, and some at a distance of half a mile from the entrance. They bear the names of various Pharaohs, and among those copied by Lord Prudhoe and Mr. Crompton are (1.) and (2.),—Osirtasen I.—(3.), the queen of the great obelisk at Karnak (4.),—Thothmes III. and IV.,—

1.



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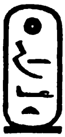

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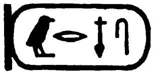

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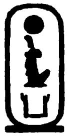
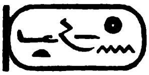


and Amunoph I. and III.,—Osirei and his son Remeses the Great,—Osirei III.,—and Remeses IV. and V.

The ancient name of Sarabut el Khadem seems to have been Mafak. Athor was the presiding deity, and Re (or Mandoo) seems to have shared the honours of the place.

About two miles to the south-east of the ruins of Sarabut el Khadem are three tablets cut in the face of the rock, bearing



the names of Thothmes IV., and close to them are small caves in the rock, used as tombs, where beads and fragments of blue pottery were found by Mr. Crompton, who was, I believe, the first to visit them.

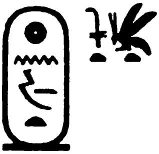
On the eastern road, at Gebel el Mokuttub*, or "the written mountain," the Sinaïtic inscriptions occur in considerable numbers. They cover the rocks on both sides of the valley, during great part of a day's journey, principally on the south side towards the Gebel, or mountain, of that name. There are also a few in Arabic and Greek.

Other Sinaïtic inscriptions are found near the supposed rock of Moses; between it and the convent of the forty martyrs; and again on the rocks of Mount Catherine; and some are met with in Wadee Meggub and W. Barak.

At Wadee Maghára are some Sinaïtic and hieroglyphic inscriptions of early time; and the name of a very ancient Pharaoh occurs on the sandstone rock of Wadee Genneh† (1.), with the date of his third year.

The hieroglyphics at W. Maghara contain the names of Remai (2.), who appears to have been the same as Papi;—of (3.), a nomen adopted at a later time by Sabaco II.;—

1.



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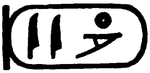

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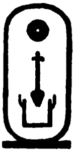

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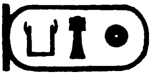
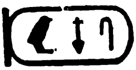


of (4.);—of (5.), erroneously supposed by Mr. Salt to be of a much later king, Zerah the Ethiopian;—of (6.);—of (7.);

5.



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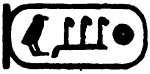

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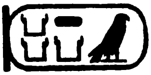

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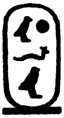

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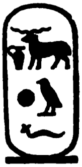

—of (8.);—of Shofo, Suphis, or Cheops, the founder of the great pyramid, and (9.) of another Memphite Pharaoh found in the great pyramid. The name Maghára signifies a "cave."

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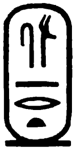
* Or Mokutteb.

† Or Keneh.

In Wadee Toneh are other early hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the names of (10.);—of (11.);—of (12.) with the date of forty-second year;—and of (13.); but the most numerous and most curious are those of Sarabut el Khadem, already mentioned.

10.



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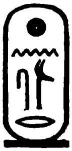

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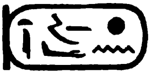

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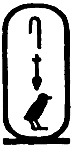

These inscriptions are of considerable importance to the antiquary; but the convent, or rather monastery, of St. Catherine*, Gebel Moosa, and the neighbouring localities, are the great objects of interest to those who visit the peninsula of Mount Sinai.

The convent is situated in a narrow valley, backed on the S.W. by the bold granite peaks of Mount Sinai, that give a grandeur to the scene, while they accord with the character of the secluded spot chosen for the abode of monks. In addition to these impressions, the traveller is delighted by the appearance of a habitation, and the sight of other objects as rare and as pleasing in the desert as the abode of human beings,—the green trees of a garden, which, however small, has in such a spot peculiar charms.

The convent stands on the slope of a rising ground, on the western side of the valley. It is surrounded by a strong and lofty wall, defended by towers. Moreover, the monks have small arms, and even cannon; but there is little reason to suppose that circumstances or their inclination often call for their use; and however successful they might be in hostility against the Arabs, the death of their enemies would be a far greater misfortune than advantage to the convent, and would be severely avenged by the stoppage of their supplies. We may therefore conclude that visitors know much more of these weapons than the Arabs, and that the defence of the convent consists, as becomes a Christian community, more in the friendly offices performed to the Arabs than in their arms; and its inaccessible walls, being a sufficient barrier to unwelcome strangers, suffice to prevent the intrusion of idle or ill-disposed persons. Though they have a back entrance through the garden, from which an underground passage communicates with the interior, the usual mode of admittance is by a trap-door, or window, raised about thirty feet from the ground, to which visitors are drawn up by ropes, as at the convents of St. Antony and St. Paul, in the Eastern Desert of Egypt. The interior consists of several courts, with two sets of rooms, one over the other; the doors of the ground-floors opening on the open area, and those of the upper story on a balcony or wooden corridor that runs round it.

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* Burckhardt says Seetzen is wrong in calling it the Convent of St. Catherine, as it is not dedicated to her but to the Transfiguration, or, as the Greeks call it, the Metamorphosis. p. 553. The animal the Arabs mentioned to him under the name of *shayb*, I have heard of in the Eastern Desert of Egypt as the *Sheeb*.

The inmates are Greek Christians; and the relics of the patron, St. Catherine, are preserved in the church. But this does not prevent St. George from receiving a few spare honours in a small chapel on the walls, where he is represented on his white horse, warring with the dragon, and with all the rules of drawing, in much the same manner as he usually does in the Coptic churches; and the votaries of Islam are flattered by the admission of a mosk* within the precincts of the convent, with the same object that induces the monks of Bibbeh to convert their saint into a Moslem shekh. Nor is this the only safeguard against the animosity of their religious enemies, or the assaults of the Arab freebooter. The monks of Mount Sinai have a claim on the protection, or at least on the toleration, of the Moslems by the express order of Mohammed, given them during his supposed visit to their convent, which enjoins his followers to abstain from molesting its charitable and useful inmates, on condition of their feeding those who passed by. This precious document was preserved by them with becoming respect within the convent, until Sultan Selim begged or demanded its removal to Constantinople, substituting another written by him for the same purpose.

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* Kinnear's Cairo, Petra, and Damascus, p. 82.

The convent only contains, at this time, twenty monks. They are governed by a superior; and some are priests, others lay brethren. The various duties required for the benefit of the community are divided amongst its members. One is the baker, another the miller, and another the cook; one has the care of the church, another of the dresses; in short, every department is in the hands of a responsible person,—one of the brethren, and no strange servant is admitted within the walls. They have stores sufficient to last for a length of time, which they take care to replenish long before they are too much diminished; and every attention is paid to those measures which render them independent of the Arabs, and capable of at least passive defence.

The great church is ornamented in the manner of similar buildings of early Christian times. It has a double row of Corinthian columns, and on the dome over the altar is represented the crucifixion in mosaic, of the Byzantine style, with portraits of Justinian and the Empress Theodora. The screen separating the altar from the nave is elaborately worked, and rich with gilding: a large cross towers above all, rising nearly to the roof, and the altar is resplendent with chalices, candlesticks, and other ornaments. Numerous handsome silver lamps are suspended from different parts of the ceiling, and many bad pictures of saints ornament and disfigure the walls. "The exterior of the church," says Mr. Kinnear, "is without any architectural beauty; but one little circumstance struck me as very interesting. This was, several shields and coats of arms rudely engraved on the stone, on each side of the entrance; memorials, no doubt, of the chivalry of the Crusades, and perhaps scratched with the daggers of some knightly pilgrims."*

The most sacred spot within this building is the chapel of the Burning Bush. "We descended a few steps," says the same traveller, "from the interior of the church to a low door, where we were required to take off our shoes, before entering this sanctum sanctorum of the monks; who displayed a great deal more fuss and ceremony about admitting us, than reverence after we were in. It is a small circular chapel under a dome, lighted by two or three lamps, and containing nothing worthy of note, except two very beautiful illuminated MSS. of the gospels, which were lying on the altar." The Bush is a sort of briar, as I perceive from a piece given me by a friend, who visited it a few years ago.

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* Kinnear, p. 81., from whom most of the above remarks are taken.

They also " show the silver lid of a sarcophagus representing a full length figure of the Empress Ann of Russia, who, it seems, intended to be buried here; and another, said to contain the bones of St. Catherine, which were found in the neighbouring mountain; whither, according to the monkish legend, her body was conveyed by angels. The spot is still marked by a small chapel, or hut, which covers a bed hollowed out of the rock, where the bones lay; and is looked upon with great respect by the credulous. In the library of the convent are a few printed books, and some Greek, Arabic, and other MSS.

The convent is said to have been founded by the Emperor Justinian, but Pococke observes that St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, appears to have been the first to lay the foundation of it, in the tower she built, probably for herself and the monks, when she came to Mount Sinai. This tower is in the middle of the convent, where the archbishop lives, and is called after the name of the empress.

There are several small chapels in the neighbourhood, and the ruins of other convents, which are among the objects visited by strangers, but possess no interest beyond that given by local tradition.

Some poor people, styling themselves Gebaléëh, " mountaineers," live in the vicinity of the convent. They are said, by Burckhardt*, to be descended from a few slaves, originally Christians, from the shores of the Black Sea, who were sent by Justinian as menial servants to the priests. They are dependent for their food on the monks, in the same manner as those of Wadee Arraba are maintained by the convent of St. Antony.

The Gebel Moosa consists of two parts; the lower portion has been called Mount Horeb, and the name of Mount Sinai has been applied to the highest peak, which stands upon the elevated platform of Horeb.

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* Burckhardt, Syria, p. 562.

I do not venture, nor do I feel myself authorised, to give any opinion respecting the disputed claims of Gebel Moosa and Mount Catherine to the sites of Sinai and Horeb of Scripture. Nor will I enter into the question of Horeb being the name used to denote "the whole wilderness, including the lower group, called Gebel Serbal, as well as the upper group of Mount Sinai;" or of Sinai being, as Mr. Kinnear supposes*, "the general name for the whole cluster," which is the opinion of Dr. Robinson.† I may, however, observe, that Horeb is sometimes mentioned as "an individual mountain," in the same manner as Sinai, and is denominated "the mount Horeb.‡

The stone which is supposed by the monks to have been the one struck by Moses, and from which the water gushed out in Rephidim, is a piece of the granite rock which has fallen from the mountain above, and lies in a hollow recess at the place where it was stopped in its fall. It is remarkable for an unusual appearance in the centre of one side, which the credulous have converted into the marks of falling water.§

On the top of Sinai is shown a fissure in the rock, where Moses is supposed to have retired when the glory of the Lord passed by; which, like all other localities, have been long looked upon with undoubting faith by the monks, and have been often questioned by sceptics. I do not pretend to enter upon these and other controverted points; but I cannot help expressing a regret, which all must feel, that though many have visited this desert, we are still without an accurate trigonometrical survey of so interesting a district. Several maps have been made, which give a general view of the principal mountains and valleys; but they are not sufficient for the settlement of the many intricate and difficult questions connected with the wanderings of the Israelites, and the position of places mentioned in the Bible. And there is more reason to urge the careful construction of a minute survey of the peninsula of Mount Sinai, as neither climate nor local impediments of any kind are likely to interfere; and the numerous elevated heights give every facility for fixing well-defined points, and filling in the details with precision and minuteness.* Its geological features are also interesting; and I am enabled to give the following general outline of them, from a manuscript map in the possession of Lord Prudhoe.

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* See Kinnear, pp. 86, 87. 90. and Lord Lindsay.

† Dr. Robinson's Palestine, vol. i. p. 177.

‡ Exod. xxxviii. 6.; Deut. i. 6.

§ See Dr. Robinson, vol. i. p. 166.

From Suez to the town of Tor, the rocks are limestone; the primitive range extends thence nearly to Ras Mohammed, the headland at its southern extremity, at the point of which the limestone again appears, and runs to the eastward, or north-east, along the coast to a little beyond e' Shurm, where the primitive rocks again advance to the sea. All the mountain ranges about Gebel Moosa and the convent are primitive, and stretch thence in a north-easterly direction to Sarábut el Khádem, where the secondary sandstones begin, intervening between the primitive and the limestone strata, and extending thence on the west nearly to the town of Tor, and on the east in the direction of El Akaba.

Wadee Faran, which, as Niebuhr says, has not changed its name since the days of Moses, is on the western route to Mount Sinai. It is a sort of Oasis with high mountains, where a stream of water flows; which, after bursting forth and running with rapidity for a few hundred yards, is lost in the sand. Here are several gardens with date trees, claimed by the Tor Arabs as belonging to them, and cultivated by some of the Gebeléëh, a sort of Arab peasantry, who live there, and who are the same class of persons as those above mentioned. These *felláhs* pay tribute to the Arabs in dates.

The town of Tor is not worth visiting. It is a mere sea-port, inferior to Suez.

It was probably founded originally by the Phœnicians, and appears to have been called Phœnicon by the Greeks, though its real name appears to have been taken from the mother city, Tyre, Toor, or Tzur.

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* It is also easy to connect the positions of these points with the principal ones in the Egyptian desert, as I can judge from the view seen from thence of the Sinai range of mountain.

Ak̲aba, or Akkaba, at the northern extremity of the Elanitic gulf, contains a few miserable houses and a fort, where a governor resides with a few Turks. The name signifies "a mountain pass." It is a pretty spot, with the advantage of the sea before it, which, to one coming from the monotonous colour of the desert, is a pleasing object; but it may be doubted whether it is worth the journey, if the traveller does not intend going thence to Petra. It stands about two miles south of the site of Ailôth or Ailath*, which, with its neighbour Ezion-geber, was remarkable for the importance attached to them in the time of Solomon, and from their having been the channel by which the treasures of Arabia and India flowed to Syria. It was the possession of this point that led to the wealth of Solomon; and it is curious to observe how every place has successively risen to importance the moment it enjoyed the benefits of the Indian trade.

When the Edomites were conquered by David, the whole of their country to the head of the Elanitic gulf fell into the possession of the Jews; all the "Edomites became David's servants," and "he put garrisons in Edom."† Solomon afterwards established and "made a navy of ships at Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom."‡ The ships were navigated by Phœnicians in the service of the Jewish king, whose friendship with Hiram secured for him the aid of those skilful navigators §; and this important source of wealth continued in the hands of the kings of Judah until the Edomites "revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves ||," in the reign of Joram.

Eloth was called by the Romans Aila or Æla; but this and Ezion-geber lost all their importance under the Greeks and Romans; the ports of Berenice, Myos Hormos, and Arsinoë, succeeded to the commerce of the East; and the Elanitic gulf enjoyed little of the lucrative traffic of former days. And if Petra, the capital of the Edomites, which once profited so much from the passage of Eastern commerce, con-

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* 1 Kings, ix. 26. אילרת, Deut. ii. 8. אילת.

† 1 Chron. xviii. 11.

‡ 1 Kings, ix. 26.

§ Ibid. ix. 27.

|| 2 Kings, viii. 20.

tinued to the late time of the Roman empire to benefit by its position on the way from Arabia to Syria, the trade that passed through it was principally confined to that of caravans, and the rise of Alexandria greatly reduced the trade from the eastern end of the Red Sea.

Aila or Aileh is mentioned by Arab writers [*], and a quotation from Macrizi, given by Burckhardt, speaks of it as near to Ezion-geber.[†] "It is from hence that the Hedjaz begins. In former times it was the frontier place of the Greeks [‡]: at one mile from it is a triumphal arch of the Cæsars. In the time of Islam it was a fine town, inhabited by the Beni Omeya. Ibn Ahmed Ibn Touloun (a caliph of Egypt) made the road over the Aḵaba, or steep mountain, before Aila. There were many mosks at Aila, and many Jews lived there. It was taken by the Franks during the crusades, but in 566 A. H. Salah ed deen (Saladin) transported ships on camels from Cairo to this place, and recovered it from them. Near Aila was formerly situated a large and handsome town called Aszioun عصيون (Ās̱eeoon), (Ezion-geber)," which in Hebrew is written Atzioun-Gebr (עצירן גבר)." [§]

The above exploit of the Crusaders I have mentioned in the history of that period.[‖] They also took possession of the island of Graia[**], now known to the Arabs as the Ḵalat e'dayr, "the citadel of the convent." It has been fortified, and remains of the works may still be perceived, though it does not appear from Laborde's account, who contrived to reach it on a raft, to be worthy of a visit.

In going to Petra from Aḵaba, it is necessary to make an agreement with the Alloween Arabs; but taking advantage of the position of the traveller in these lonely regions, who must pay whatever they choose to ask, or give up his journey, their demands have become so exorbitant, that few will feel disposed to take this route. They seem to think that 4500 piastres, or 45*l.*, is a moderate sum, and even refused to take

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[*] Written ايلة as in Aboolfeda, p. 31.

[†] Burckhardt's Syria, p. 511.

[‡] See Remains of Greek Empire.

[§] 1 Kings, ix. 26. In Deut. ii. 8. it is called Atzin-Jebr.

[‖] See Section VII.

[**] Or Gérieh, a name given to ancient forts.

Lord Castlereagh for 10,000; when he very properly put an end to the conference with their chief, Shekh Hossayn, and having returned, went to Petra from Hebron. It would be well if their exactions were always resisted. Indeed, the Tor Arabs charge much more for the journey to Mount Sinai than any one should pay, in a country where the food of a camel is so very cheap, and where the camel itself only costs about four pounds.

That a person accustomed to have dealings with the Arabs might make them lower their terms is possible; but the stranger who knows little or nothing of their habits, and, above all, who is unknown to them, must submit to their exactions; and I can only recommend him to make the best bargain he can, and take care it shall be respected; not to bind himself to give them any presents; and to make *backshish* dependent on their behaviour and obedience to his wishes.

With regard to the journey to Petra, he may try to make an arrangement at Akaba, before the governor of the place; and if he finds the Arabs unreasonable, and the governor more inclined to aid in the imposition than to protect him, or give an impartial opinion, he had better defer his journey for the present, and go by the route from Hebron-el Khaleel. Previous to, or during his negotiations with the Alloween shekh he must take care that his Sinai Arabs do not send away their camels, and thus deliver him over a prey to the Alloweens, without the possibility of returning westward; for which purpose he must keep them in arrears, and conduct his negotiations with a perfect show of independence.

If travellers will only persevere in resisting similar impositions, the Arabs will probably come to their senses, and the journey in these out-of-the-way districts may become less inconvenient and expensive. It is to be regretted that many, in order to save themselves trouble, pay whatever is asked, totally regardless of those who come after them, who are consequently subjected to fresh impositions; and it is surprising they do not perceive that whenever an Arab (or, indeed, any other man) has demanded and received more than his due, he always treats the *pigeon* with contempt; and it is as little creditable to be cheated, as to be actuated by a selfish feeling.

To give some idea of the charges for camels in these parts, I will introduce a few items from an agreement, made at Cairo, for the journey to Akaba.

1. From Cairo to Akaba, each camel 250 piastres, or £2 10*s*.
2. From Akaba to Suez, 150 piastres.
3. Suez to Daharieh, 150 piastres.
4. All the camels going to Akaba to be paid for their return to Suez.
5. The whole to be paid at Cairo for the journey to Akaba.
6. On returning to Suez, the journey from Akaba to Suez to be paid for there.
7. At Daharieh the camels hired at Suez to be paid for their return thither.

I shall only observe, that the charge for camels in the above is far too much; and the payment beforehand, mentioned in No. 5., should never be a condition, as the traveller thereby gives up all hold on the guides. Half the sum would be more than ample for all preparations for the journey required by the Arab, including a certain sum left behind him with his family. With such payment back carriage should also be resisted; but the great fault is in paying so large a sum for the hire of a camel, which is, to Akaba, more than half its own value.

The description of Petra has been so fully given by Laborde, that I shall refer to his work for an account of that interesting place; and only invite the attention of the antiquary to some inscriptions, near the arch or entrance, which I believe have not been copied. I also recommend his endeavouring to ascertain if, in any of the monuments or excavations, he can trace the older works of the Edomites, who are mentioned in the Bible. Monuments and caves doubtless existed then, and it would be curious to distinguish the portions which date at that remote period.

CERTAIN POINTS REQUIRING EXAMINATION.

Having mentioned what is most worth seeing in Egypt, I shall conclude this Section with a list of those things, to which the attention of the curious traveller may be most usefully directed.

1. Alexandria.—Ascertain the site of the buildings of the old city.
2. Schedia.—Make a plan of the mounds and ruins at Karioón, supposed to be Schedia.

3. Canopic branch. — Ascertain the site of Naucratis, Anthylla, and Archandra, and the course of the Canopic branch.
4. Saïs. — Excavate, and make a plan of Saïs; at least look for the temple of Neith.
5. Delta. — Examine the sites of the ruined towns in the Delta. Look for their name in hieroglyphics, and for Greek inscriptions; but particularly for duplicates of the Rosetta Stone. Look at Fort Julian below Rosetta for the upper part of that stone. A trilinguar stone is said to be at Menouf, and others at Tanta and Cairo.
6. Heliopolis. — Excavate (if possible) the site of the temple of Heliopolis.
7. Sphinx. — Clear the Sphinx at the Pyramids; and look on the N. side for the entrance.
8. Pyramids. — Look for a pit in the floor of the queen's chamber in the great pyramid.*
9. Memphis. — Make a plan of Memphis. Excavate about the Colossus for the temple. Examine the mounds.
10. Look for new names of Memphite kings, about the pyramids, Sakkara, and the site of Memphis.
11. About Cairo. — Ascertain the exact height of the column in the Nilometer, or Mekkeeas at the Isle of Roda.
12. Look for trilinguar stones in the mosks of Cairo.
13. Suez. — Look for an arrowheaded inscription to the N. of Suez, on the way to Syria.
14. Onice. — Excavate the mounds of Onice, and look for the temple of Onias.†
15. Fyoom. — Excavate the Labyrinth‡ at the Pyramid of Howára.
16. Fyoom. — Excavate about the pyramids or pyramidal buildings of Biahmoo, and at the obelisk of Biggig. Examine the site of M. Linant's supposed lake.
17. Ahnasieh. — Ascertain the hieroglyphic name of Ahnasieh (Heracleopolis.)
18. Behnesa. — At Behnesa visit the convents, tombs, and caverns, mentioned above in p. 24. Get Coptic MSS.
19. Tel el Amarna. — Copy the tablet in a valley to the southward of Tel el Amarna.§
20. Antinoë. — Excavate the gateway and proscenium before the theatre of Antinoë.
21. Oshmoonayn. — Look for and excavate a small temple said to be there. Look for names of Bakhan and other foreign kings. Visit Copt convents in the neighbourhood.
22. Kom Ahmar. — Inquire for and visit alabaster quarry in the mountains near Kom Ahmar. Look for hieroglyphics there, and if any copy them all. Go with an Arab of the Desert.
23. Metáhara. — Copy king's names at the tombs of Metáhara, and columns with full-blown lotus capitals.‖
24. Hermopolitana and Thebaïca Phylace. — Look for tombs in the neighbourhood.
25. Gebel Aboofayda. — Look for and copy hieroglyphics in the tombs of the mountain.
26. Ekhmim. — Look for its tombs. Examine the Greek inscription.¶ Ascertain the hieroglyphic name of the goddess Thriphis.

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* See Vol. I. p. 331.

† Ibid. p. 297.

‡ I find this has just been done by the Prussian commission, sent with Dr. Lepsius.

§ See above, p. 77.

‖ See above, p. 44.

¶ See above, p. 104.

27. How. — Excavate the Ptolemaïc temple there.
28. Gow el Kebeer. — Look for the figure of the god Antæus.
29. Kasr e' Syâd. — Look for old kings' names in the grottoes of the mountain behind the village.
30. Thebes. — Copy all the astronomical ceilings in the tomb of Memnon, and other tombs of the kings; also the *whole* series of the sculptures and hieroglyphics of one *entire* tomb.
31. Karnak. — Make an exact copy of the sculptures of the chamber of kings at Karnak; marking the exact size of the parts where the hieroglyphics or names are lost.
32. Esné. — Look for inner chambers of the temple behind the portico.
33. Ascertain what town stood near El Kenân, and the pyramid of Koola.*
34. Edfoo. — Copy the great hieroglyphic inscription of 79 columns.
35. Asouan. — Look for early Saracenic buildings, and the oldest pointed arch.
36. Oasis. — Ascertain the date of the crude brick pointed arch given by Mr. Hoskins at Doosh.
37. Ethiopia. — Copy the names and sculptures of Upper Ethiopia, and make a list of Ethiopian kings according to their succession, and ascertain their dates.
38. Mount Sinai. — Make a careful plan of the temple at Sarabut el Khadem.

There is a monument in Asia Minor, which is said to be Egyptian. If so, it is probably one of the *stelæ* of Sesostris mentioned by Herodotus†, and similar to that on the Lycus, near Beiroot, in Syria; and is worth examining. It is the figure of a man, cut on the rock, near Nymphio, the ancient Nymphæum, about 15 feet from the ground, with a javelin in his hand; and was seen by the Rev. G. Renouard some years ago, who observes that one of the ancient roads from Mysia to Lydia passed that way.

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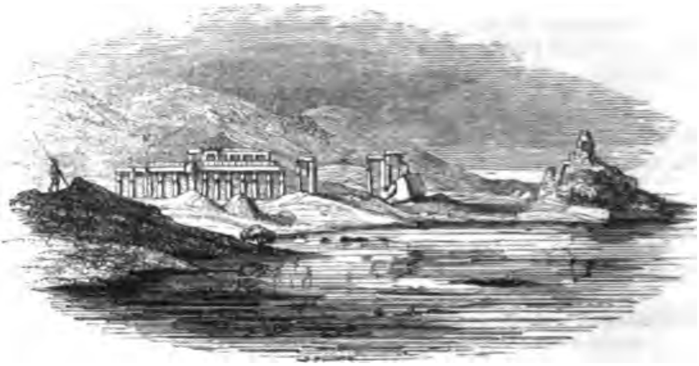
* This has been written, by mistake, Koofa, above, in p. 270.

† Herodot. 2. 106.



View of the Memnonium at Thebes.

SECTION VII.

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

Chronological List of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies.—Names of the Cæsars. Moslem Kings of Egypt.

WERE I to introduce the history of ancient Egypt, I should do little more than repeat what I have already said on that subject, in a previous work; I therefore refer the reader to my "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*," and now confine myself to the state of the country under the Caliphs, and other Moslem rulers of Egypt. But in order to give the reader the means of referring to the dates of the Pharaohs, and of becoming acquainted with their names, I shall introduce a Chronological Table and Plates containing the ovals of those kings whose succession has been ascertained†, as well as of the Ptolemies and Cæsars. The last, however, are rather intended for the student in hieroglyphics, or to show the mode of reading the characters that compose them.

I shall also preface my history of the Caliphs by a similar Chronological Table, for the convenience of referring to the dates.

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* Vol. I. pp. 1—214.

† For the unplaced Kings, I must refer to my Materia Hieroglyphica.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PHARAOHS AND PTOLEMIES.

In the two first series are the Pharaohs, together with some of the Persian monarchs who ruled Egypt after the conquest by Cambyses; the third contains the Ptolemies; and the fourth those Cæsars whose ovals occur on the monuments.

In introducing some of the names given by Manetho and Eratosthenes, I neither pretend to fix the precise era of their reigns, nor the actual succession of those kings; nor can I follow Manetho in the division of his first dynasties, which have every appearance, owing probably to the inaccuracies of his copyists, of having been greatly misplaced. Indeed, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, do not at all accord with the names remaining on the monuments, if, as there is every reason to induce us to admit, the eighteenth contains the same series of kings mentioned by that author.

With respect to the shepherd-kings, there is a considerable difficulty in fixing the exact era of their invasion, while some suppose it to be merely an exaggerated account of the power of the Jewish tribes in Egypt; but at all events the story of their inroads into that country, as given by Josephus, one of the copyists of Manetho, bears the evident stamp of anachronism, and in some parts of pure invention.

Regarding the era of Menes, I have been guided by Josephus; and by allowing seventeen years for each reign from Apappus, which requires a sum of 323, his era would fall about the same time, or B.C. 2324; though the number of the reigns intervening between his accession and that of Apappus is by no means certain.

In the fifteenth dynasty I have been guided by the tablet of kings at Thebes, which gives one Diospolitan between Menes and the eighteenth dynasty. Manetho makes it consist of six *Phœnician shepherd* kings!

I have already stated my reasons for considering Amosis and Chebron one and the same king*; and this conjecture gains considerable weight from the fact, that Manetho, as quoted by Syncellus, mentions the name of Amosis, without assigning any number of years for his reign; and the total of years allowed by him for the duration of this dynasty agrees exactly with that of the reigns of the remaining monarchs.

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* Hierogl. Extracts, p. 10., and Materia Hierog. p. 78.

The contemporary reigns of Shishak and Solomon are the earliest fixed epoch for the construction of a chronological table; but reckoning back the number of years of each king's reign, either according to Manetho, the dates on the monuments, or the average length of their ordinary duration, we may arrive at a fair approximation; and the epoch alluded to on the ceiling of the Memnonium, mentioned in the note on Remeses II.*, seems greatly to confirm my opinion respecting the accession of that prince. And, allowing for the reigns of the intervening monarchs, his predecessors, the Exodus of the Israelites agrees with Manetho's departure of the Pastors in the reign of Thothmes III.

But I offer this table with great deference, and shall willingly yield to any opinion that may be established on more positive and authentic grounds.

Those who wish to compare the lists of kings given by Manetho and Eratosthenes, will find them in the History of Egypt given in my "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians†," and in that very useful work, "Ancient Fragments," published by Mr. Cory.

The government of Egypt appears first to have been, as with the Jews, a hierarchy, which was successively composed of the priests of one or other of the principal deities; but its duration is uncertain. We then come to the Kings, the first of whom by universal consent was Menes, and with him I commence the following chronological table.

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* Below, p. 428.

† Vol. I. pp. 25—37.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF KINGS.—PHARAOHS.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
			B. C.	
Menes.	Menai.	First Dynasty.	2320.	Foundation of the kingdom of Assyria by Nimrod, 2204. Menes, first king of Egypt, according to Josephus, lived *upwards* of 1300 years before Solomon (who was born 1032, and ascended the throne in 1015). Eratosthenes gives 549 years for the 19 kings before Apappus.
Athothis, his son.	- - - -	-	2300.	
(His successors uncertain.)				Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon, 2089.
Suphis or Saophis.	- - - -	-	2123.	He built the great pyramid. These three kings should be the Cheops, Cephren (*his brother*), and Mycerinus of Herodotus, whom he has strangely misplaced, making them posterior to Sesostris and Mœris. Diodorus calls Cheops Chemmis, or Chembes.
Sen Saophis, *i.e.* Saophis' *brother*.	- - - -	-	2083.	Era of the Chinese emperor Yao, 2057.
Moscheris or Mencheris.	- - - -	-	2043.	
Musthis (?).	- - - -	-	2022.	
Pammus Archondes (?).	- - - -	-	2011.	
Apappus or Aphoph.	- - - -	-	2001.	Apappus is translated Maximus. Aphoph signifies a *giant* in Coptic. He is probably Papi* of the hieroglyphics. Abraham arrives in Egypt. 1920.
Achescus Ocaras (?).	- - - -	-	1901.	
Nitocris (?).	- - - -	-	1900.	(A queen called Nicaule by Josephus, Antiq. 8. 6.)
Myrtæus (?).	- - - -	-	1890.	
Thyosimares (?).	- - - -	-	1880.	
Thinillus (?).	- - - -	-	1866.	Foundation of the kingdom of Argos, 1856.
Semphucrates (?).	(?)	-	1848.	Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.

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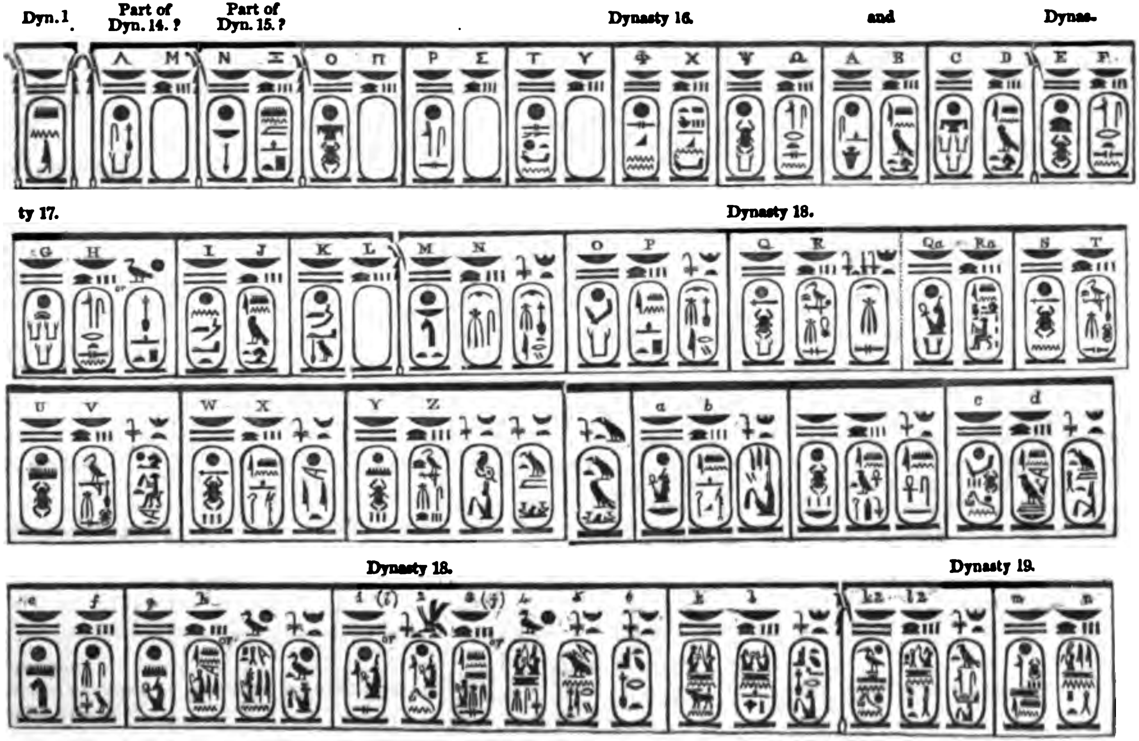
* See Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 41.

† Given above, in p. 388. No. 1.

LIST OF KINGS.—PHARAOHS.


Dyn. 1.
Part of Dyn. 14. ?
Part of Dyn. 15. ?
Dynasty 16.
and
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ty 17.
Dynasty 18.
G
H
or
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K
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V
W
X
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Dynasty 18.
Dynasty 19.
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or
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or
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or
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Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
XV. DYNASTY.—1 DIOSPOLITAN KING (?).*				
(?).	Men-ma-ftep, Menmaf, Menmoph, or Menmôthph.	N Ξ	1830.	
XVI. DYNASTY.—(FROM LOWER EGYPT.)				
	(?)	O Π	1812.	
		P Σ	1794.	
		T Υ	1776.	
		Φ X	1758.	
	Osirtasen I.	Ψ Ω	1740.	Reigned at least 43 years. Arrival of Joseph during his reign. 1706.
	Amun-m'-gori (?) I.	A B	1696.	
	Amun-m'-gori (?) II.	C D	1686.	Reigned at least 35 years. The mines of the eastern desert of Egypt already worked, and the Port of Ænnum or Philotera (old Kossayr) probably already built for trade with Arabia.
XVII. DYNASTY.—(LOWER EGYPT.)				
	Osirtasen II.	E F	1651.	
	Osirtasen III. or No-fri-ftep.†	G H	1636.	Death of Joseph. 1635.

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* The names and era of the monarchs before Osirtasen I. are uncertain. Very few monuments remain of a date prior to his reign; but the names of his predecessors occur in the sculptures.

† In my Materia Hierogl. p. 77., I have written his name Siphtep, owing to the force of the first character being then undetermined. It may also read Nofri-oph.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
	Amun-m'-gori (?) III.	I K K L	B. C. 1621. 1580.	Reigned at least 41 years. Phonetic name not met with.
XVIII. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS (FROM THEBES).				
Amosis Chebron.*	(Chebron) Ames.	M N	1575.	"There arose a *new* (dynasty or) king, who knew not Joseph."—Exod. i. 8. Moses born, 1571. Reigned at least 22 years. Cecrops leads a colony from Saïs, and founds the kingdom of Athens, B. C. 1556.
Amenoph.	Amunoph I.	O P	1550.	Crude brick arches already in use in Egypt, about 1540.
Amesses, his sister.	- - -	-	.	Included in the reign of Thothmes I.
Mephres, or Mesphris, or Mesphra Tuthmosis.	Thothmes I.	Q R	1532.	Appears to have married this Amesses or Ameses. Flight of Moses, 1531. Arrival in Greece of the first ship from Egypt, 1512. His 14th year found on the monuments.
Misphra Tummosis, or Misphramuthosis.	Thothmes II.	S T	1505.	The reign of Amun-neit-gori† (?), Q. a. R. a., is included in that of Thothmes II. Deluge of Deucalion, 1503.‡ Glass already known in Egypt.
Thummosis, or Tothmosis.	Thothmes III.	U V	1495.	Exodus of the Israelites in the month Abib or Epiphi, 1491, 430 years after the *arrival of Abraham*. Moses died in 1451.
Amenophis.	Amunoph II. (his son).	W X	1456.	Reigned at least 34 years. Eratosthenes allows him 39. He must have come to the throne very young, judging from a drawing at Thebes, where he appears under the tutelage of his mother.

Horus.	Thothmes IV. (his son).	Y Z	1446.	The sphinx at the pyramids cut out of the rock by his order. [Some foreigners ruled at this time, whose names are omitted in the lists of kings.]
Acherres, Achencherses, or Achenchres, a queen.	Maut-m-shoi. (Regency).			Included in the reign of her son, Amunoph III.
Rathotis.	Amunoph III.§ (son of Thothmes IV.)	*a b*	1430.	The (supposed) Memnon, of the vocal statue of Thebes. Reigned conjointly with a foreign king, called Amun-Toônh, whose name is omitted in the lists of kings on the monuments. May not this be the Danaus of the Greeks? who, leaving Egypt, went to Argos, of which he became king, and died 1425 B. C. (Herodot. ii. 91.) His phonetic name is Amun Toônh, whence probably the Gebel Toona, near Oshmoonáyn, where the oval of another foreign king (Bakham) is found. The head erroneously called young Memnon, and now in the British Museum, is not of this king, but of Remeses the Great.
Achencheres or Chebres.	Amun-men (?) (his son), or Horus?	*c d*	1408.	Iron discovered in Greece, 1406, according to some Plutarch, Hesiod, and others, date its use at a much later period, even after the Trojan war.
Achencheres or Acherres.	Remeses or Remesso I.	*e f*	1395.	
Armais; supposed to be Danaus.	Osirei (?) I. (his son).	*g h*	1385.	Calculating 900 years before the time of Herodotus, the reign of Mœris would fall about the time of this king, or B. C. 1360. But Mœris was much earlier.

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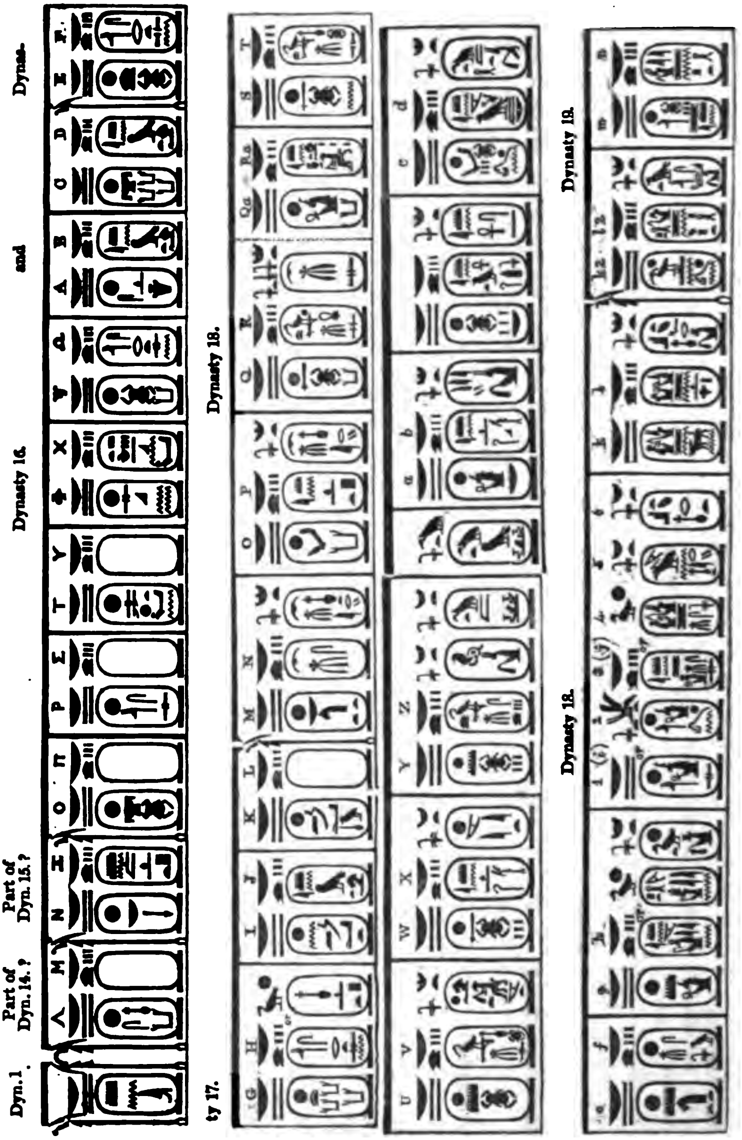
[*] See above, p. 422.

[†] This name is uncertain. If it really reads thus, she may be the Nitocris of Herodotus.

[‡] In Manetho also it is said to have happened during this reign.

[§] He took the name of Amunoph some time after his accession.

LIST OF KINGS.—PHARAOHS.


Dyn. 1
Part of Dyn. 14.?
Part of Dyn. 15.?
Dynasty 16.
and
Dynas-
ty 17.
Dynasty 18.
Dynasty 18.
Dynasty 19.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
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Amesses, his sister.	. . .	.	.	Included in the reign of Thothmes I.
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Misphra Tummosis, or Misphramuthosis.	Thothmes II.	S T	1505.	The reign of Amun-neit-gori† (?), Q. a. R. a., is included in that of Thothmes II. Deluge of Deucalion, 1503.‡ Glass already known in Egypt.
Thummosis, or Tothmosis.	Thothmes III.	U V	1495.	Exodus of the Israelites in the month Abib or Epiphi, 1491, 430 years after the *arrival of Abraham*. Moses died in 1451.
Amenophis.	Amunoph II. (his son).	W X	1456.	Reigned at least 34 years. Eratosthenes allows him 39. He must have come to the throne very young, judging from a drawing at Thebes, where he appears under the tutelage of his mother.

Horus.	Thothmes IV. (his son).	Y Z	1446.	The sphinx at the pyramids cut out of the rock by his order. [Some foreigners ruled at this time, whose names are omitted in the lists of kings.]
Acherres, Achencherses, or Achenchres, a queen.	Maut-m-shoi. (Regency).			Included in the reign of her son, Amunoph III.
Rathotis.	Amunoph III.§ (son of Thothmes IV.)	*a b*	1430.	The (supposed) Memnon, of the vocal statue of Thebes. Reigned conjointly with a foreign king, called Amun-Toônh, whose name is omitted in the lists of kings on the monuments. May not this be the Danaus of the Greeks? who, leaving Egypt, went to Argos, of which he became king, and died 1425 B. C. (Herodot. ii. 91.) His phonetic name is Amun Toônh, whence probably the Gebel Toona, near Oshmoonáyn, where the oval of another foreign king (Bakham) is found. The head erroneously called young Memnon, and now in the British Museum, is not of this king, but of Remeses the Great.
Achencheres or Chebres.	Amun-men (?) (his son), or Horus?	*c d*	1408.	Iron discovered in Greece, 1406, according to some Plutarch, Hesiod, and others, date its use at a much later period, even after the Trojan war.
Achencheres or Acherres.	Remeses or Remesso I.	*e f*	1395.	
Armais; supposed to be Danaus.	Osirei (?) I. (his son).	*g h*	1385.	Calculating 900 years before the time of Herodotus, the reign of Mœris would fall about the time of this king, or B. C. 1360. But Mœris was much earlier.

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* See above, p. 422.

† This name is uncertain. If it really reads thus, she may be the Nitocris of Herodotus.

‡ In Manetho also it is said to have happened during this reign.

§ He took the name of Amunoph some time after his accession.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Remeses Miamun.	Amunmai Remeses, Remeses II., or Remeses the Great (his son).	*i* 1, 2. *j* 3, 4.	B. C. 1355.*	I have shown why the name *i* 2. should be considered a variation of *i* 1. rather than of a different king. If they are distinct, they can only be brothers, and both sons of Osirei. Date of 44 years on the monuments; Manetho allows him 66. Sesoosis of Diodorus, the supposed Sesostris.† At all events he merits the name of Remeses the Great. See above, p. 314.
Amenophis.	Pthahmen, Thmeio-ſtep (?), or Thmeio-ſtep-ho (?), (his son).	*k l*	1289.	Pheron of Herodotus, *i. e.* Pharaoh; and Sesoosis II. of Diodorus.
XIX. Dynasty of Diospolitans.				
Sethos.	Pthahmen Se-Pthah.	*k* 2. *l* 2.	1269.	Probably not admitted into the Theban lists from being a Memphite king, or from having only succeeded to the throne by right of marriage with the Princess Taosiri.

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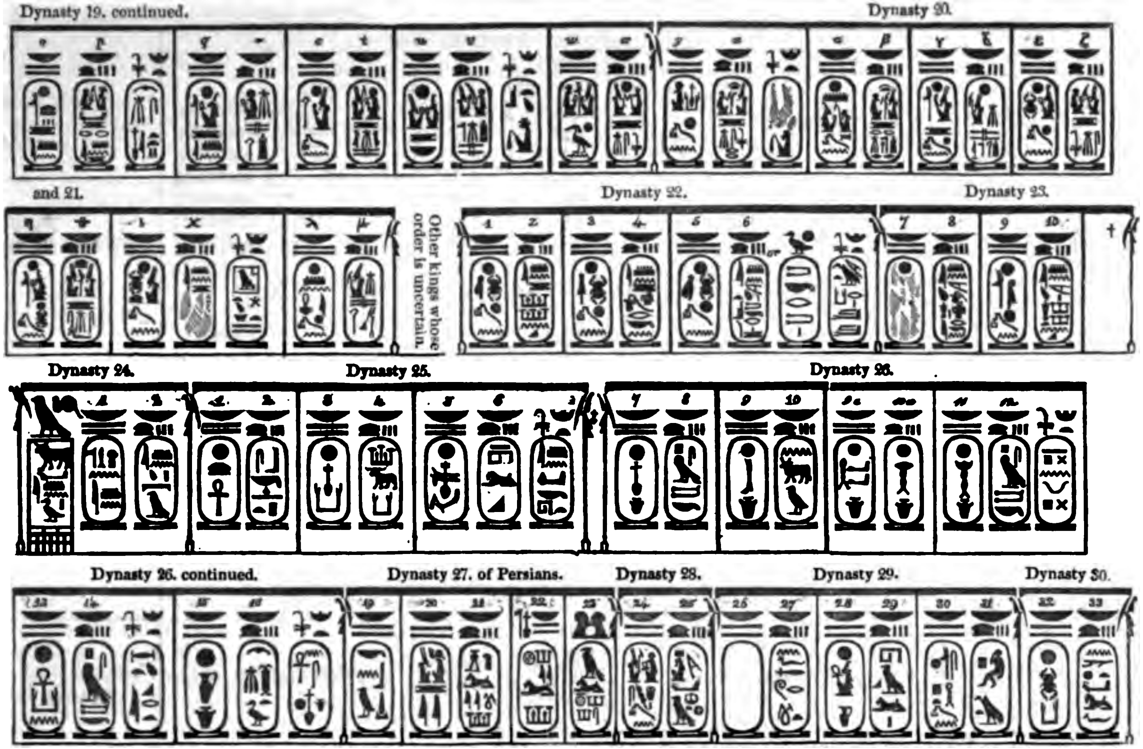
* Manetho places Sesostris in the 12th dynasty; it is therefore not impossible that this was the name of some early Egyptian conqueror, and the first who made himself conspicuous for his exploits; that afterwards, Remeses the Great, having distinguished himself still more by his conquests, the fame of the first hero became transferred to this monarch, and, in consequence, the name to which so great an idea of glory had hitherto been attached, was in like manner assigned by tradition to the more renowned conqueror. The war and defeat of the shepherd kings were doubtless long before the 18th dynasty; but the expulsion of the Jews having happened during that period, the accounts of those two occurrences became afterwards confounded together.

† I since find, on examining the astronomical ceiling of the Memnonium, that the date I have assigned for Remeses II. agrees with the period there alluded to, the heliacal rising of Sothis or Sirius being therein fixed to the commencement of the month Thoth, which must have happened in the year 1322 B. C. This, then, is exactly the middle of the king's reign; and allowing for the time elapsed during his military expeditions and the erection of the building, it may be admitted that my date of 1355 cannot be very far from the real accession of this Pharaoh. See "Jameson's Cuvier. Theory of the Earth," p. 186.

LIST OF KINGS.—PHARAOHS.*


Dynasty 19. continued.
Dynasty 20.
and 21.
Other kings whose order is uncertain.
Dynasty 22.
Dynasty 23.
†
Dynasty 24.
Dynasty 25.
Dynasty 26.
Dynasty 26. continued.
Dynasty 27. of Persians.
Dynasty 28.
Dynasty 29.
Dynasty 30.

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* This title Pharaoh, or Phrah, *i.e.* the sun, is prefixed to the names of all the kings as a banner. See the beginning of Dynasty 24., in this page.

† Other kings here, whose names are not ascertained.

‡ The twelve kings uncertain.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Ramses.	Osirei II. or Osiri Menpthah.	*m n*	1255.	Argonautic expedition, B. C. 1263.
Amenoph.	Osirita (?), Remerer (?), Amunmai, or Osirei III.	*o p*	1245.	
Ramesses.	Remeses III. (Miamun or Amunmai) (his son).	*q r*	1235.	
Ammenemes.	Remeses IV. (his son).	*s t*	1205.	
Thuoris, the supposed Polybus.	Remeses V., son of Remeses III.	*u v*	1195.	Troy taken, 1184 (Arundel. marbles), and in the reign of a Remeses, according to Pliny.
(?)	Remeses VI., son of Remeses III.	*w x*	1180.	

XX. AND XXI. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.

The names in Manetho very doubtful.	Remeses VII.	*y z*	1170.	
	Remeses VIII.	α β	1155.	
	Remeses IX.	γ δ	1140.	
	Remeses X.	ε ζ	1125.	
	Remeses XI. (?).	η θ	1110.	
	Amunmai-Pouee (?).	ι κ	1095.	
	Amunmeses (?).	λ μ	1080 to about 1068.	

The succession becomes then still more doubtful till the reign of Sheshonk. Solomon marries a daughter of one of the Pharaohs, 1013.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
				XXII. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.*
Sesonchis.	Sheshonk I.	1, 2.	978.	Shishak of S. S., who plundered the temple of Jerusalem 971 (2 Chron. c. xii. 9.), in the fifth year of Rehoboam.
Osorthon.	Osorkon I.	3, 4.	945.	Zerah, the Ethiopian king; battle with Asa (2 Chron. c. xiv.) 941 B. C. Date of his 11th year at Thebes.
Tacellothis.	Takelothe.	5, 6.	925.	Date of his 15th year.
				XXIII. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.
	Osorkon II.	7, 8.	908.	Homer flourished about this time; according to the Arundel marbles, 907. Some say in 844.
	Sheshonk II. (Then probably one or more kings, occupying a space of about 50 years.)	9, 10.	890 to about 860.	Date of his 29th year. Money first coined of gold and silver at Argos, 894.†

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* According to Africanus, of Bubastites and Tanites. But these two dynasties are also said to be both of Diospolitan kings.

† The money of the Egyptians was in rings of gold and silver, and was valued by weight. The custom of weighing their money is mentioned in Exodus and other parts of Scripture.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Tnephactus (?) or Tnephachthus, Technatis of Plutarch.	Other kings (?). - - - -	-	-	It does not appear whether Tnephachthus was in this or the succeeding dynasty. He was father of Bocchoris.
XXIV. DYNASTY OF 1 SAITE.				
Bocchoris (the wise), son of Tnephachthus. Asychis of Herodot. (?)	Pehor, Bakhor, or Amunse Pehor.	1, 2.	812.	According to Diodorus, a long time intervened between Bocchoris and Sabaco.
XXV. DYNASTY OF ETHIOPIANS.				
Sabaco, So of S. S.	Sabakoftep, or Sabakoph.	1, 2.	778.	Rome founded, 753. Captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, 721. Herodotus mentions Anysis expelled by Sabaco.
Sebechon or Sevechus (his son).	Shebek.	3, 4.	728.	I am not quite certain if Sabakoftep should be before or after Shebek. Sethos of Herodotus was the contemporary of Tirhakah, and ruled at Memphis.
Teraces or Tearchus. Tearchon of Strabo, Tirhaka of S. S.	Tehrak.	5, 6.	714 to 690.	Date of his 12th year on the monuments. Sennacherib attacks Judah 268 years after the death of Solomon, 710.
XXVI. DYNASTY OF SAITES.				
Stephinathis. Nechepsus. Nechao I.	- - - -	-	-	After the death of Sethos, it appears that the twelve chiefs seized the kingdom; but as Neco, the father of Psamaticus

				I., was put to death by Sabaco, it is probable that these three kings were contemporaries of the 25th dynasty. The twelve kings, or rather nomarchs, according to Herodotus*, reigned at this time.
Psammitichus (his son).	Psamatik I. (Psamaticus I.)	7, 8.	664.	
Nechao II.	Neco.	9, 10.	610.	Nechao of S. S. defeated and slew Josiah, king of Judah, 610 B. C. Era of Solon, Alcæus, and Sappho.
Psammitichus, Psammutis, or Psammis.	Psamatik II.	11, 12.	600.	A stela in the museum of Florence gives 71 years from the 3d of Neco to the 35th of Amasis. Captivity of Jehoiakim, 599.
Vaphres, or Apries.	Psamatik III.	13, 14.	596.	Pharaoh Hophra of S. S. He takes Sidon. It is not certain that he is the same monarch as Psamaticus III.
Amosis, or Amasis.	Ames Neit-se.	15, 16.	571.	Married the daughter of Psamatik III., was of a good family, and not of low extraction, as Herodotus supposes. Diodorus also states that he was "an illustrious person;" and this is sufficiently proved by his being a man of rank in the military caste. Date of his 44th year on the monuments. After six months, Egypt was conquered by Cambyses. Era of Thespis, Pythagoras, and Æsop. 560 B. C.
Psammicherites, or Psammenitus.	- - - -	17, 18.	525.	

XXVII. DYNASTY OF PERSIANS.

Cambyses.	Canbosh.	19.	525.	In his 4th year.
Darius Hystaspes.	Ndareeosh or Ntareosh.	20, 21.	521.	Egypt revolts.

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* Diodorus says there was an anarchy of two years, till twelve of the chiefs united at Memphis, and taking the direction of affairs, ruled fifteen years.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne. B. C.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Xerxes.	Khsheersh.	22	485	Xerxes reconquers Egypt, 484. Birth of Herodotus. Artabanus reigns 7 months after the death of Xerxes, according to Syncellus.
Artaxerxes Longimanus.	Artkhsheshes. .	23	472	Egypt revolts and elects Inaros and Amyrtæus kings. 463. The Persians retake Egypt, Inaros is crucified, and Amyrtæus flies to the Island of Elbo. Herodotus visits Egypt in 460. Era of Socrates, Phidias, &c.
Xerxes II.	- - - -	-	425	Reigns 2 months.
Sogdianus.	- - - -	-	-	Reigns 7 months.
Darius Nothus.	- - - -	-	424	Reigns 19 years.

XXVIII. DYNASTY OF 1 SAITE.

Amyrtæus.	Aomahorte (?)	24, 25.	414	Egypt again revolts, and Amyrtæus is recalled to the throne. The Breccia Sarcophagus, called of Alexander, in the British Museum, is of this king. See above, Vol. I. p. 136.

XXIX. DYNASTY OF MENDESIANS.

Nepherites (Nephreus, of Diodorus).	Nefaorot.	26, 27.	408	Diodorus places a king, Psamaticus, before Nephreus. Long vowels first used in Greek inscriptions, 403.
Achoris.	Hachori.	28, 29.	402	Death of Cyrus the younger, and retreat of the Ten Thousand, 401.
Psammoutis.	Pse Maut.	30, 31.	389	

Nepherotes. Mouthis.	not met with on the monuments.		388. 388.	Reigned 4 months.

XXX. DYNASTY OF SEBENNYTE KINGS.

Nectanebes.	Nectanebo or Nakhtnebo	32, 33.	387.	Nectabis of Pliny. Artaxerxes Mnemon in vain endeavours to reduce Egypt.
Teos.	- - - -	-	369.	Or Tachos. The Persians defeated by Agesilaus and the Egyptians, 362.
Nectanebes.	- - - -	-	362.	Agesilaus dethrones Tachos. Ochus succeeds Artaxerxes, 360. Nectanebo, defeated by the Persians, flies to Ethiopia, 340.

XXXI. DYNASTY OF PERSIANS.

Ochus.	- - - -	-	340.	In his 20th year. Death of Philip, 335.
Arses.	- - - -	-	338.	
Darius Codomanus.	- - - -	-	336.	Alexander makes himself master of Egypt, 322. Dies, 323.

MACEDONIANS. (Ptolemy being Governor of Egypt in their name.)

Philip Aridæus, natural son of Philip.	Phleepos.	-	323.	Ptolemy appointed governor of Egypt by Philip, 322. Perdiccas killed in Egypt, 321. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Philip to be put to death, 317, and is herself killed by Cassander. Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be murdered, 311. Hercules, son of Alexander the Great, and his mother Berenice, put to death by Polysperchon, 309.
Alexander, son of Alexander the Great.	Aleksandros.	-	317.	

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Remeses Miamun.	Amunmai Remeses, Remeses II., or Remeses the Great (his son).	*i* 1, 2. *j* 3, 4.	B. C. 1355.*	I have shown why the name *i* 2. should be considered a variation of *i* 1. rather than of a different king. If they are distinct, they can only be brothers, and both sons of Osirei. Date of 44 years on the monuments; Manetho allows him 66. Sesoosis of Diodorus, the supposed Sesostris.† At all events he merits the name of Remeses the Great. See above, p. 314.
Amenophis.	Pthahmen, Thmeioftep (?), or Thmeioftep-ho (?), (his son).	*k l*	1289.	Pheron of Herodotus, *i. e.* Pharaoh; and Sesoosis II. of Diodorus.
XIX. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.				
Sethos.	Pthahmen Se-Pthah.	*k* 2. *l* 2.	1269.	Probably not admitted into the Theban lists from being a Memphite king, or from having only succeeded to the throne by right of marriage with the Princess Taosiri.

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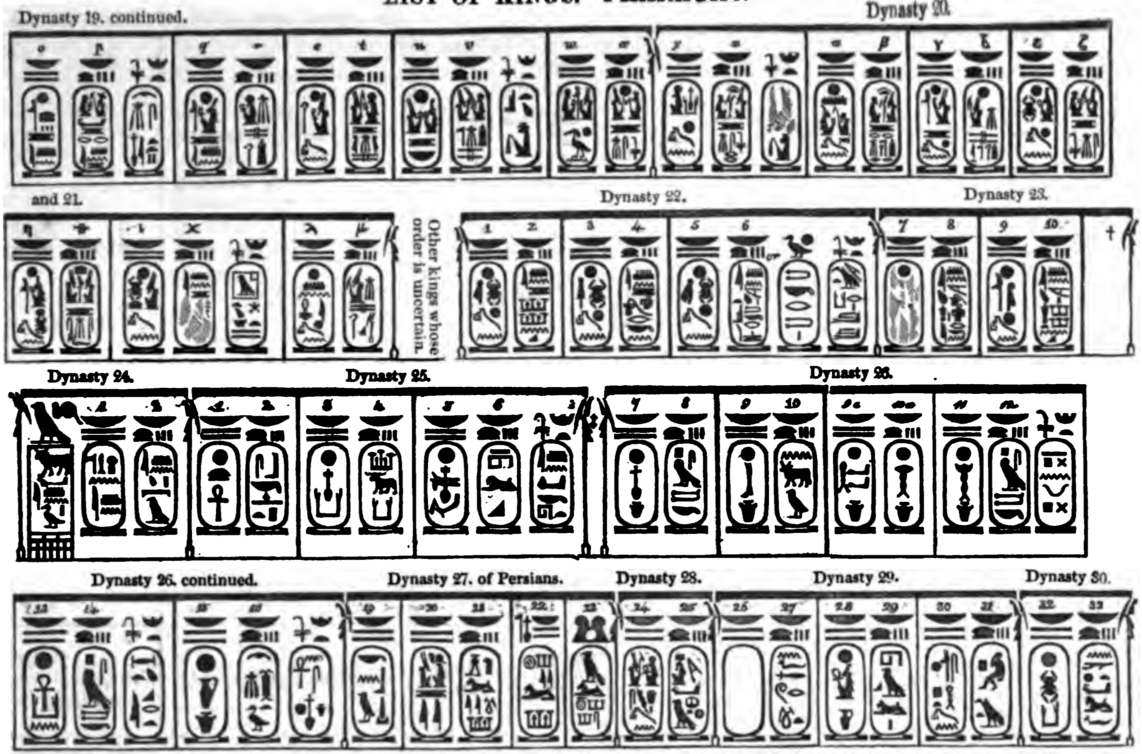
[*] Manetho places Sesostris in the 12th dynasty; it is therefore not impossible that this was the name of some early Egyptian conqueror, and the first who made himself conspicuous for his exploits; that afterwards, Remeses the Great, having distinguished himself still more by his conquests, the fame of the first hero became transferred to this monarch, and, in consequence, the name to which so great an idea of glory had hitherto been attached, was in like manner assigned by tradition to the more renowned conqueror. The war and defeat of the shepherd kings were doubtless long before the 18th dynasty; but the expulsion of the Jews having happened during that period, the accounts of those two occurrences became afterwards confounded together.

[†] I since find, on examining the astronomical ceiling of the Memnonium, that the date I have assigned for Remeses II. agrees with the period there alluded to, the heliacal rising of Sothis or Sirius being therein fixed to the commencement of the month Thoth, which must have happened in the year 1322 B. C. This, then, is exactly the middle of the king's reign; and allowing for the time elapsed during his military expeditions and the erection of the building, it may be admitted that my date of 1355 cannot be very far from the real accession of this Pharaoh. See "Jameson's Cuvier. Theory of the Earth," p. 186.

LIST OF KINGS.—PHARAOHS.*


Dynasty 19. continued.
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* This title Pharaoh, or Phrah, *i. e.* the sun, is prefixed to the names of all the kings as a banner. See the beginning of Dynasty 24., in this page.

† Other kings here, whose names are not ascertained.

‡ The twelve kings uncertain.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Ramses.	Osirei II. or Osiri Menpthah.	*m n*	1255.	Argonautic expedition, B. C. 1263.
Amenoph.	Osirita (?), Remerer (?), Amunmai, or Osirei III.	*o p*	1245.	
Ramesses.	Remeses III. (Miamun or Amunmai) (his son).	*q r*	1235.	
Ammenemes.	Remeses IV. (his son).	*s t*	1205.	
Thuoris, the supposed Polybus.	Remeses V., son of Remeses III.	*u v*	1195.	Troy taken, 1184 (Arundel. marbles), and in the reign of a Remeses, according to Pliny.
(?)	Remeses VI., son of Remeses III.	*w x*	1180.	

XX. AND XXI. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.

The names in Manetho very doubtful.	Remeses VII.	*y z*	1170.	
	Remeses VIII.	*α β*	1155.	
	Remeses IX.	*γ δ*	1140.	
	Remeses X.	*ε ζ*	1125.	
	Remeses XI. (?).	*η θ*	1110.	
	Amunmai-Pouee (?).	*ι κ*	1095.	
	Amunmeses (?).	*λ μ*	1080 to about 1068.	

The succession becomes then still more doubtful till the reign of Sheshonk. Solomon marries a daughter of one of the Pharaohs, 1013.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
				XXII. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.*
Sesonchis.	Sheshonk I.	1, 2.	978.	Shishak of S. S., who plundered the temple of Jerusalem 971 (2 Chron. c. xii. 9.), in the fifth year of Rehoboam.
Osorthon.	Osorkon I.	3, 4.	945.	Zerah, the Ethiopian king; battle with Asa (2 Chron. c. xiv.) 941 B. C. Date of his 11th year at Thebes.
Tacellothis.	Takelothe.	5, 6.	925.	Date of his 15th year.
				XXIII. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.
	Osorkon II.	7, 8.	908.	Homer flourished about this time; according to the Arundel marbles, 907. Some say in 844.
	Sheshonk II. (Then probably one or more kings, occupying a space of about 50 years.)	9, 10.	890 to about 860.	Date of his 29th year. Money first coined of gold and silver at Argos, 894.†

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* According to Africanus, of Bubastites and Tanites. But these two dynasties are also said to be both of Diospolitan kings.

† The money of the Egyptians was in rings of gold and silver, and was valued by weight. The custom of weighing their money is mentioned in Exodus and other parts of Scripture.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Tnephactus (?) or Tnephachthus, Technatis of Plutarch.	Other kings (?). - - - -	-	-	It does not appear whether Tnephachthus was in this or the succeeding dynasty. He was father of Bocchoris.
XXIV. Dynasty of 1 Saite.				
Bocchoris (the wise), son of Tnephachthus. Asychis of Herodot. (?)	Pehor, Bakhor, or Amunse Pehor.	1, 2.	812.	According to Diodorus, a long time intervened between Bocchoris and Sabaco.
XXV. Dynasty of Ethiopians.				
Sabaco, So of S. S.	Sabakoftep, or Sabakoph.	1, 2.	778.	Rome founded, 753. Captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, 721. Herodotus mentions Anysis expelled by Sabaco.
Sebechon or Sevechus (his son).	Shebek.	3, 4.	728.	I am not quite certain if Sabakoftep should be before or after Shebek. Sethos of Herodotus was the contemporary of Tirhakah, and ruled at Memphis.
Teraces or Tearchus. Tearchon of Strabo, Tirhaka of S. S.	Tehrak.	5, 6.	714 to 690.	Date of his 12th year on the monuments. Sennacherib attacks Judah 268 years after the death of Solomon, 710.
XXVI. Dynasty of Saites.				
Stephinathis. Nechepsus. Nechao I.	- - - -	-	-	After the death of Sethos, it appears that the twelve chiefs seized the kingdom ; but as Neco, the father of Psamaticus

				I., was put to death by Sabaco, it is probable that these three kings were contemporaries of the 25th dynasty. The twelve kings, or rather nomarchs, according to Herodotus*, reigned at this time.
Psammitichus (his son).	Psamatik I. (Psamaticus I.)	7, 8.	664.	
Nechao II.	Neco.	9, 10.	610.	Nechao of S. S. defeated and slew Josiah, king of Judah, 610 B. C. Era of Solon, Alcæus, and Sappho.
Psammitichus, Psammutis, or Psammis.	Psamatik II.	11, 12.	600.	A stela in the museum of Florence gives 71 years from the 3d of Neco to the 35th of Amasis. Captivity of Jehoiakim, 599.
Vaphres, or Apries.	Psamatik III.	13, 14.	596.	Pharaoh Hophra of S. S. He takes Sidon. It is not certain that he is the same monarch as Psamaticus III.
Amosis, or Amasis.	Ames Neit-se.	15, 16.	571.	Married the daughter of Psamatik III., was of a good family, and not of low extraction, as Herodotus supposes. Diodorus also states that he was "an illustrious person;" and this is sufficiently proved by his being a man of rank in the military caste. Date of his 44th year on the monuments. After six months, Egypt was conquered by Cambyses. Era of Thespis, Pythagoras, and Æsop. 560 B. C.
Psammicherites, or Psammenitus.	. . . .	17, 18.	525.	

XXVII. DYNASTY OF PERSIANS.

Cambyses.	Canbosh.	19.	525.	In his 4th year.
Darius Hystaspes.	Ndareeosh or Ntareosh.	20, 21.	521.	Egypt revolts.

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* Diodorus says there was an anarchy of two years, till twelve of the chiefs united at Memphis, and taking the direction of affairs, ruled fifteen years.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
			B. C.	
Xerxes.	Khsheersh.	22	485	Xerxes reconquers Egypt, 484. Birth of Herodotus. Artabanus reigns 7 months after the death of Xerxes, according to Syncellus.
Artaxerxes Longimanus.	Artkhsheshes.	23	472	Egypt revolts and elects Inaros and Amyrtæus kings. 463. The Persians retake Egypt, Inaros is crucified, and Amyrtæus flies to the Island of Elbo. Herodotus visits Egypt in 460. Era of Socrates, Phidias, &c.
Xerxes II.	- - - -	-	425	Reigns 2 months.
Sogdianus.	- - - -	-	-	Reigns 7 months.
Darius Nothus.	- - - -	-	424	Reigns 19 years.
XXVIII. DYNASTY OF 1 SAITE.				
Amyrtæus.	Aomahorte (?)	24, 25.	414	Egypt again revolts, and Amyrtæus is recalled to the throne. The Breccia Sarcophagus, called of Alexander, in the British Museum, is of this king. See above, Vol. I. p. 136.
XXIX. DYNASTY OF MENDESIANS.				
Nepherites (Nephreus, of Diodorus).	Nefaorot.	26, 27.	408	Diodorus places a king, Psamaticus, before Nephreus. Long vowels first used in Greek inscriptions, 403.
Achoris.	Hachori.	28, 29.	402	Death of Cyrus the younger, and retreat of the Ten Thousand, 401.
Psammoutis.	Pse Maut.	30, 31.	389	

Nepherotes. Mouthis.	not met with on the monuments.		388. 388.	Reigned 4 months.

XXX. DYNASTY OF SEBENNYTE KINGS.

Nectanebes.	Nectanebo or Nakhtnebo	32, 33.	387.	Nectabis of Pliny. Artaxerxes Mnemon in vain endeavours to reduce Egypt.
Teos.	- - - -	-	369.	Or Tachos. The Persians defeated by Agesilaus and the Egyptians, 362.
Nectanebes.	- - - -	-	362.	Agesilaus dethrones Tachos. Ochus succeeds Artaxerxes, 360. Nectanebo, defeated by the Persians, flies to Ethiopia, 340.

XXXI. DYNASTY OF PERSIANS.

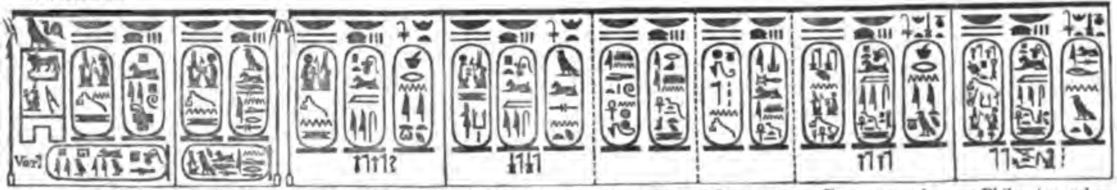
Ochus.	- - - -	-	340.	In his 20th year. Death of Philip, 335.
Arses.	- - - -	-	338.	
Darius Codomanus.	- - - -	-	336.	Alexander makes himself master of Egypt, 322. Dies, 323.

MACEDONIANS. (Ptolemy being Governor of Egypt in their name.)

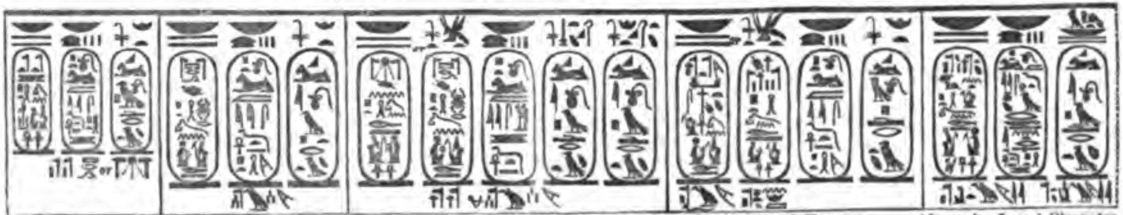
Philip Aridæus, natural son of Philip.	Phleepos.	-	323.	Ptolemy appointed governor of Egypt by Philip, 322. Perdiccas killed in Egypt, 321. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Philip to be put to death, 317, and is herself killed by Cassander. Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be murdered, 311. Hercules, son of Alexander the Great, and his mother Berenice, put to death by Polysperchon, 309.
Alexander, son of Alexander the Great.	Aleksandros.	-	317.	

LIST OF KINGS.—PTOLEMIES OR LAGIDES.

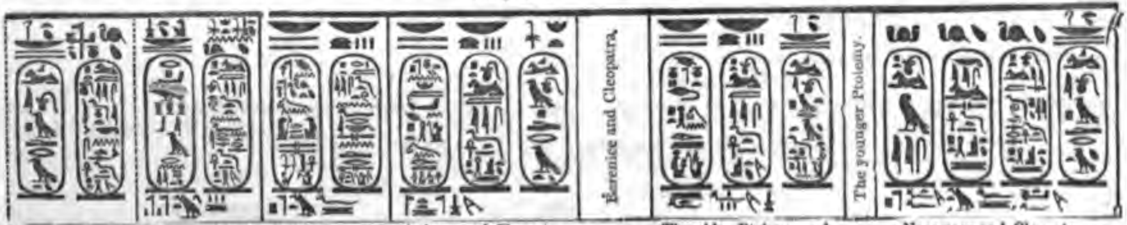
Macedonians.



Philip Aridæus.
Alexander.
Ptolemy Soter, and Berenice.
Philadelphus. Arsinoe.
(Ergamenes. Asharamun). (two Ethiopians).
Euergetes and Berenice.
Philopator and Arsinoe.



Epiphanes. Cleopatra.
Philometor. Cleopatra.
Physcon, Euergetes II., and the two Cleopatras.
Lathyrus and Cleopatra.
Alexander I. and Cleopatra.


Berenice and Cleopatra.
The younger Ptolemy.

Cleopatra, "niece ? of Alexander" I. ?
Berenice " wife and sister of Alexandor" I.?
Probably a variation of Alexander I.
Auletes and Cleopatra.
The elder Ptolemy and ,Cleopatra Tryphæna.
Neocæsar and Cleopatra.

PTOLEMIES.

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No. of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
I.	**Lagus**, Soter, son of Lagus and Arsinoë.	- -	B. C. 322 as Governor, 305 as King.	38.	1. Eurydice, daughter of Antipater.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. Lysandra, mar. to Agathocles, son of Lysimachus. Ptolemais mar. to Demetrius. Two other sons.	The generals of Alexander assume the title of king, 305.
					2. Berenice, widow of Philip, a Macedonian nobleman.	Philadelphus. Arsinoë, mar. to Lysimachus.	Magas, son of Philip and Berenice, is made governor of Cyrenaica and Libya. Lagus, or Ptolemy Soter cedes the kingdom to his second son, the second year before his death.
II.	**Philadelphus**, son of Soter and Berenice.	God Philadelphus.	284.	38.	1. Arsinoë, daughter of his sister Arsinoë and Lysimachus.	Euergetes. Lysimachus. Berenice, who married Antiochus Theos.	Ergamenes or Ergamun, an Ethiopian king, lived about this time. See p. 318. and list of Ptolemaic ovals. Had not Philadelphus two daughters, called Berenice, one of whom married Euergetes?

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
			B. C.		2. Arsinoë, her mother.	No children.	Ashar-amun (?), another Ethiopian monarch, appears also to have been a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus. See above, p. 307.
III.	EUERGETES, Tryphon, s. of Philadelphus and Arsinoë.	God Euergetes.	246.	25.	Berenice, d. of Magas, king of Cyrene and hf. brother of Philadelphus.	Philopator, Magas, and Arsinoë, put to death by their brother.	Berenice is styled his *sister* in the he roglyphics.
IV.	PHILOPATOR, Gallus, Tiphon, son of Euergetes and Berenice.	G. Philopator.	221.	17.	Arsinoë, his sister.	Epiphanes.	Arsinoë, called by Pliny Cleopatra (l. xxvii. c. 4.).
V.	EPIPHANES, s. of Philopator and Arsinoë.	God Epiphanes.	204.	24.	Cleopatra, d. of Antiochus, k. of Syria.	Philometor, Physcon, or Euergetes. Cleopatra.	

VI.	**Philometor**, son of Epiphanes and Cleopatra.	G. Philometor.	180.	35.	Cleopatra, his sister.	Young Ptolemy, killed by Physcon, on his ascending the throne. Cleopatra, who was married to Alexander Bala, king of Syria, and afterwards to Demetrius Nicator, who dethroned and succeeded him. Cleopatra Cocce.	Cleopatra, his mother, is regent till the year 173. Dies. Lenæus regent till 172. Antiochus invades Egypt and takes Philometor prisoner, 170. Ptolemy Physcon, his brother, is proclaimed king, 169, in the 11th year of Philometor, and reigns 6 years. Philometor restored, and reigns conjointly with Physcon 2 years. Philometor alone other 18 years. Physcon receives Cyrene and Libya as his portion. The elder Cleopatra also married Antiochus Sidetes, but returned again to Demetrius, his brother, 130.
VII.	**Euergetes** II. Physcon, Eupator, Cacergetes, Philologus (Philometor), son of Epiphanes and Cleopatra.	G. Euergetes: and G. Philometor, his brother's title, assumed by him.	145.	29.	1. Cleopatra, widow of Philometor, and his sister. 2. Cleopatra Cocce, his piece.	Memphites. Lathyrus, Alexander I., Tryphæna, married Antiochus Grypus. Cleopatra married to Lathyrus, divorced and killed by Tryphæna. Selene mar. Lathyrus. Apion, natural son, king of Cyrenaica.	Physcon, on his accession, assumed the date of his 25th year; his reign thus became extended nominally to 54 years. He must have married the younger Cleopatra before he repudiated her mother, both being found together with the king in the sculptures. Physcon is driven from Egypt to Cyprus with Cleopatra Cocce, 130. The elder Cleopatra seizes the kingdom. Physcon restored, 127.

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No. of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
VIII.	Soter II. Lathyrus, Philometor, s. of Physcon. With Cleopatra Cocce, his mother.	Gods Philometores.	B. C. 116.	10, but in all 17.	1. Cleopatra, his sister; repudiated. 2. Selene, his sister; repudiated and given by Cleopatra to Antioc. Grypus. 3. A concubine.	Berenice, called also Cleopatra. Two sons, who died before him. Neus Dionysus or Auletes, nat. son. Ptolemy of Cyprus. Cleopatra, married Alexander I.	Lathyrus reigned 10 years with his mother; he was then expelled to Cyprus, where he remained 18 years, and being restored after the death of Alexander I., he reigned 7 years more.
IX.	Alexander I. s. of Physcon. With Cleopatra Cocce, his mother.	Gods Philometores.	106.	18.	1. Cleopatra, his niece.	Alexander II. A daughter.	In the prenomen I have given, as a probable variation of Alexander I., he is styled the "living * image of Amun." Alexander I., according to the hieroglyphics, married "his niece (?) Cleopatra" and "his sister Berenice." (?) † He ruled 7 years in Cyprus, which he in-

					2. Berenice, his sister. (?)		cluded in his reign, and reckoned 25 years, or to his 26th year. After killing his mother, he was expelled, and Lathyrus regained the kingdom, 88 B. C.
	SOTER II., or Lathyrus, restored on the death of Alexander.	- -	rest. .88.	-	- -	- - -	Ruins Thebes‡ or Diospolis, B. C. 82. The reign of Lathyrus was reckoned 36 years, from 116 to 80 B. C., according to Porphyry.
X.	BERENICE, d. of Lathyrus.	- -	81.	6 m.			
XI.	ALEXANDER II.§ son of Alexander I.		80.	15.	Berenice. ?)	- - -	Dies at Tyre and bequeaths his kingdom to the Romans. The 15 years of this Alexander must be reckoned by Porphyry in the 29 he assigns to Auletes.

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* It is remarkable that the Coptic word for life (*ónh*), should so nearly resemble the Indian *yoni*, which signifies the female, as the *lingam* the male principle of life. The Egyptian emblem of life is the *crux ansata*, or *tau*, and it is often put alone, instead of the whole word *ónh*, of which it is the initial character.

† This Berenice may have been the sister and wife of Alexander II.

‡ See Pausanias, Strabo, and Juvenal, Sat. xv. 6.:—"Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis."

§ There is still much difficulty respecting the Alexanders. The Queen Berenice, sister of Alexander, taken from the enchorial by Dr. Young, may have been the wife of the second of this name. See Rud. of an Eng. Dict. p. 32.

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No. of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
XII.	Neus Dyonysus, Auletes, Philopator, and Philadelphus, nat. son of Lathyrus.	G. Philopator and Philadelphus.	B. C. 65.	14.	Cleopatra.	Berenice, Cleopatra Tryphæna, Cleopatra, Arsinoë, Ptolemy the Elder, Ptolemy the Younger.	Ptolemy, k. of Cyprus, deposed by the Romans, 58. Auletes expelled from Egypt, goes to Rome, 58. Berenice reigns 3 yrs., 1 of them conjointly with Cleopatra, her sister, who dies, and 2 alone. She is put to death by Auletes on his return, 55.
	Berenice and Cleopatra, daughters of Auletes.	- -	58.	-	- -	- - -	Berenice had married Seleucus Cybiosactes, and afterwards Archelaus, a pretended son of Mithridates, and high-priest of Comana.
	Berenice alone.	- -	57.				
	Auletes restrd.	- -	55.				
XIII.	Ptolemy the Elder, son of Auletes, called also Dionysus II.	G. Philopator and Philadelphus.	51.	4.	Cleopatra, his sister, who must have taken the name of Tryphæna.*		Ptolemy is slain fighting against J. Cæsar. Arsinoë is taken to Rome by Cæsar, she afterwards retires into Asia, and is put to death by Antony. Birth of Cæsarion, 47.

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* See enchorial description, Rud. of Eng. Dict. p. 34. mentioning "Cleopatra, surnamed Tryphæna."

XIV.	PTOLEMY THE YOUNGER, s. of Auletes, 11 years old.	- -	47.	3.	Cleopatra, his brother's widow.	- - -	Ptolemy the Younger is poisoned by Cleopatra, when arrived at the age of 15.
XVI.	CLEOPATRA, alone, or nominally with Cæsarion or Neocæsar.	Gods Philopatores.*	44.	14.		Neocæsar, or Cæsarion, by Julius Cæsar. Two sons, Alexander and Ptolemy, by Antony. One daughter.	Cæsarion, under the title of Neocæsar, was made partner in the kingdom, being found with Cleopatra on the monuments, and having been proclaimed so by Antony, 33 B.C. Cleopatra kills herself, and Egypt becomes a Roman province, 30 B.C. Cæsarion is put to death by Augustus.

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* Neocæsar has the title God Philopator and Philometor. Besides being called father-loving, and mother-loving, it seems that he is styled "relation-loving" or "friend-loving," ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲓⲟ, or ϩⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-ⲙⲁⲓ. See his name in the Woodcut, p. 436.

THE CÆSARS.

Though it is unnecessary to give a chronological list of the Cæsars, similar to those of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the great use that their names have been in ascertaining the force of numerous hieroglyphics requires that some remarks should be introduced explanatory of the ovals of those kings. The reading of them may be useful to beginners in hieroglyphics, and will serve to show how the characters correspond to the letters of each name. It must, however, be remembered, that the vowels are generally omitted, as in Arabic, and some other Oriental languages; and that *t* and *d; g, c,* and *k; l* and *r; a* or *e* and *i; b* and *v;* and *o, u, ou,* and *v,* are used synonymously; or, in other words, that the same character stands for the one or the other. Thus Autocrator is written Autocrtr, and Cæsar Kaisrs (for Καισαρος). As we always read hieroglyphics in the opposite direction to which they face, or *towards* the faces of the animals, we here begin on the right.

Nos. 1. and 2. are of Autocrator Cæsar (Augustus). 3, 4. of Tiberius Cæsar, the defender (?). 5, 6. Ruler or rulers.(?), Autocrator, beloved of Pthah and Isis; Caius Cæsar Germanicus, the ever-living. 7, 8. Ruler of rulers (?), Autocrator, Tiberius Claudius. 9, 10. Ruler of rulers ? (King of Kings ?) approved of Pthah, beloved of Isis, Autocrator, Nero(ne). 11, 12, 13. Vespasianus, the defender; and Autocrator Cæsar, Vespasianus, the defender (?). 14. Autocrator Titus Cæsar. 15, 16. Autocrator Cæsar, Domitianus Germanicus. 17, 18. Aut. Cæsar Nerva *, Trajanus Germanicus Dacicus. 19, 20. Aut. Cæsar Trajanus, Adrianus, the defender (?). 21, 22. Aut. Cæsar Titus, Ælius, Adrianus, Antoninus, the defender, Eusebes (Pius). 23, 24. Aut. Cæsar, Antoninus, Aurelius, the defender (?). 21. to 31. Verus (or Verree, for Verus), Antoninus, Sebastos, Autocrator, Cæsar, Lucius, Verus (written as the other Verree). 33. to 36. Autocrator, Commodus; and Autocrator Cæsar, Commodus, the ever-living.

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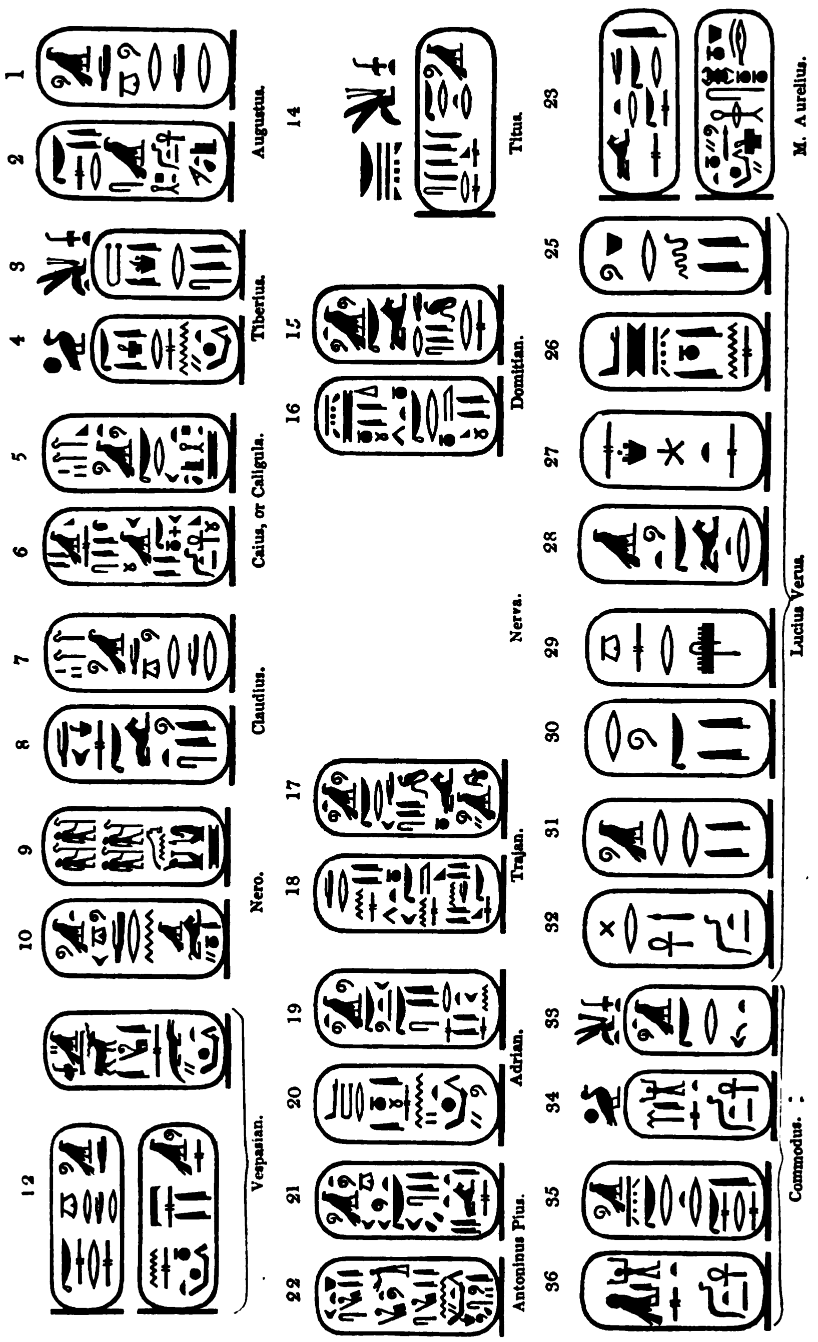
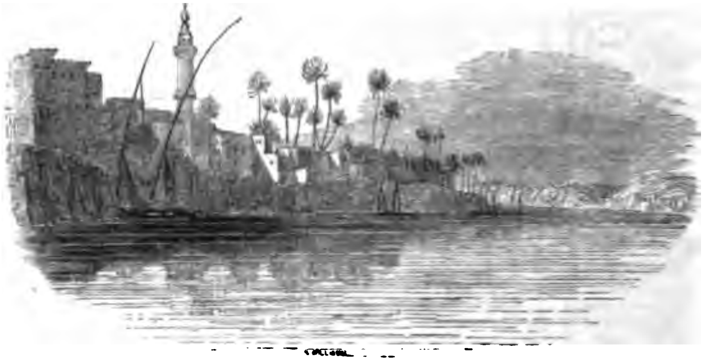
* The lion is used for the *r* of Cæsar, and of Nerva. This is not a solitary instance.


Augustus.
Tiberius.
Caius, or Caligula.
Claudius.
Nero.
Vespasian.
Titus.
Domitian.
Nerva.
Trajan.
Adrian.
Antoninus Pius.
M. Aurelius.
Lucius Verus.
Commodus.

The analysis of these names will prove of great use in beginning hieroglyphics, and have been of more value in forming the alphabet than any other authorities; as may be seen by looking over the one I have here introduced. And in order to give those who are curious on the subject some slight insight into the mode of reading hieroglyphics, I shall introduce some introductory hints published in 1828 in my Materia Hieroglyphica, which will be found in the Appendix D. of this volume.



View of Manfaloot.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE CALIPHS*, &c.

Name.	Events during their Reign.	Began to reign.
		A. D
Aboo Bukr, or Aboo Bekr (e' Sadéek).	Invasion of Syria commenced.	632.
O'mar (ebn el Khuttáb, or Khattab).	Conquest of Persia, Syria, and Egypt. A'mer † (ebn el As) enters Egypt in June, 638.	634.
Othmán.	Conquest of Africa begun.	644.
A'li (or Alee), and Moáwieh I.	Ali in Arabia reigns till 661; and El Hassan, his son, nominally succeeds him, and having reigned six months, abdicates, A. D. 661. Death of Hassan, 670. Moáwieh in Egypt and Syria.	656.
	House of Ammawéëh (Ommiades).	
Moáwieh I.	Alone. Fruitless attack on Constantinople by the Saracens.	661.
Yezéed I.	His son. Hossayn killed at Kerbela.	680.
Moáwieh II.	His son.	684.
	[Abdallah, son of Zobaýr, reigned nine years in the Hegáz (Arabia), from 64 to 73 A. H., or 684 to 693 A. D.‡]	
Merawán I. -	- - - - - - - - - -	684.
Abd el Mélek.	His son. Conquest of Africa completed. Abd el Azéez, his brother, made a Nilometer at Helwán. In 76 A. H. first Arab coinage. The oldest coin found is of 79 A. H. (699 A. D.); it is a silver Der'hem. The oldest gold *deenárs* are of the years 91 and 92 A. H.§	684.
El Weleéd I.	His son. Conquest of Spain, 710. First invasion of India by the Moslems	705.
Soolaymán.	His brother. Second failure before Constantinople. Was the first who founded a Nilometer at the Isle of Roda.	714.
Omar II.	Son of Abd el Azéez.	717.
Yezéed II.	Son of Abd el Mélek.	720.
Heshám.	His brother. Defeat of Abd e' Rahmán in France, by Charles Martel, 732.	724.
El Weleéd II.	Son of Yezéed.	743.
Yezéed III.	His son.	744.
Ibrahím.	His brother.	744.
Merawán II.	Grandson of Merawán I., killed at Aboosécr, a town belonging to the Fýoóm, in Egypt.	744 to 749.

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* I am indebted to Mr. Lane for much valuable assistance in the dates of this table.

† This name is generally written by Europeans Amrou; but I have shown that Amrou is unknown in the East, and is a misnomer.

‡ The Hégira, or Moslem era, begins 622 A. D., dating from the "*flight*" of the prophet from Mecca. To reduce any year of the Hégira to our own, we have only to add 622 to the given year, and deduct 3 for every 100, or 1 for every 33; *e. g.* 1233 + 622 = 1855; then for the 1200 deduct 36, and 1 for the 33 = 37, leaves 1818 A. D.

§ See below in the history, p. 475.

Dynasty of the Abbasides, or Abbaséëh, descended from Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed.		Began to reign.	Contemporary Dynasties.		Began to reign.
E' Seffăh, Aboo 'l Abbas, Abdallah.	- - - - -	A. D. 749.			
El Munsoór, Aboo Gáfer, Abdallah.	His brother. Bagdad is founded by Munsoór, and becomes the seat of empire. Under these Caliphs, astronomy and other sciences were particularly patronised.	754.	Abd e' Rahmán.	Established the Ommiade dynasty at Cordova in Spain; an example followed by the House of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the Aglebites and Fatemites of Eastern Africa.	755.
El Mahdee Mohammed.	His son.	775.			
El Hádee Moosa.	His son.	785.			
Haroón e' Rasheéd, or E'Rasheéd Haroón.*	His son. The hero of Arabian tales, the *ally* of Charlemagne, and the dread of the Romans. The Edrisites found the kingdom of Faz (Fez).	786.	*Aglebéëh, or Aglebite Dynasty in Africa.* Ibrahim ebn el A′gleb (or Akleb).	Governor of Africa. Throws off his allegiance to the Caliphs. Regular troops first introduced by him.	800 to 811.
El Ameén Mohammed.	His son.	809.			
El Mamoón Abdallah (Ibrahim, son of El Mahdee, his competitor from 817 to 818).	Son of Haroón. A great encourager of arts and sciences, particularly astronomy. By his order Greek authors were translated into Arabic. Measures a degree of the meridian.	813.	This Dynasty rules till the year A. D. 900. Kayrawan (Cairoan), 50 miles south of Tunis, was their capital. It was founded A. D. 670. This is followed in 910 by the Fowátem or Fatemite Dynasty.		

El Mautússim billáh, Mohammed.	His brother. War with Theophilus. Turkish guards taken into the service of the Caliphs. Decline of the Caliphate.	842?
El Wáthek billáh, Haroón.	His son. The Saracens attack Rome and fail, 846.	843?
El Motawúkkel al Alláh, Gáfer.	His brother. Makes the new Nilometer in the Isle of Roda.	847.
El Muntússer billáh, Mohammed.	His son.	861.
El Mostain billáh, Ahmed.	- - - - -	862.
El Mautúz billáh, Mohammed.	- - - - -	866.
El Mohtúddee billáh, Mohammed. •	The power of the Caliphs was weakened by the factions of the Taherites, in 813; Soffarides, 872; Samanides, 874; Aglebites and Tooloonides, 800 to 906; Ikshidites, 934; Hamadanites, 892; and Bowites, 933.	869.
El Mautummid al Allah, Ahmed.	New sect of the Carmathians, 890. (El Mowuffuk billáh, his coadjutor from 871 to 891).	870.

Tooloonides, Dowlet e' Tooloonéëh, in Egypt.

Ahmed ebn e' Tayloón (or e' Tooloón).	Governor of Egypt. Usurps the sovereignty of that country in 868. Builds a mosk at the back of the Kottaeéa or Kálat el Kebsh, now within the walls of Cairo, with *pointed* arches, in his 11th year (A.H. 265, A.D. 879).	868.
Aboolgáysh Khamaraweéh.	His son. Builds a series of palaces from Egypt to Bagdad. His	884.

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* Many of these names are convertible.

Abbaséëh, or Abbaside Dynasty.		A. D.	Tooloonide Kings.		A. D.
El Mautússim billáh, Ahmed.	- - - - -	892.		daughter Kutr e' Nedda marries the Caliph Mautuddíd.* Dies at Damascus in 896.	
			Abool Asáker Gaysh	His son.	896.
El Moktuffee billáh, Ali el Mautuddíd.	- - - - -	902.	Aboo Moosa Haroón.	His brother.	897.
			Abool Magházee Sheeban.	Son of Ahmed ebn e' Tooloón. Reigns ten days. In him ends this dynasty. The Caliphs retake Egypt.	906.
			Dynasty of the Fatemites (Fowátem), or the Fatmëëh Dynasty.		
			Abayd Allah El Mahdee billáh.	Usurps the government of Eastern Africa. Assumes the title of Mahdee or "Guide." Subdues the Edrissites of Western Africa. Invades Egypt in 912. Is defeated by the forces of Moktuddir.	from 910 to 934.
El Moktuddír billáh, Gáfer.	The Carmathians under Aboo Táher pillage Mekkeh (Mecca), 929.	908.			
El Káher billáh, Mohammed.	- - - - -	932 to 934.			

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* Probably Mautummid. But Aboolfeda mentions the same name Mautuddid. The marriage took place no doubt before he became Caliph; and this title is not given him by Aboolfeda.

Abbaséëh.		A. D.	Fowátem in Africa.*		A. D.	Cotemporary Kings of Egypt. Akhsheed Dynasty of Turks.		A. D.
E' Rádee billáh, Mohammed.	- -	934.	El Kaiem be amr Illah, Mohammed.	His son.	934.	El Akhsheed, Mohammed ebn Tughg, e'Toorkee, el Faraghánee.	Usurps the government of Egypt.	936.
El Motúkkee Ibrahim.	- -	940.						
El Mostúkfee billah, Abdallah.	- -	944.	El Munsoor Ismáël.	The Arabic character first employed about this time; but Cufic still used.†	945.	Aboól Kásem ebn el Akhsheed.	His son.	948.
El Motée al Illah, El Fodl.	The Byzantine arms, under John Zimisces, threaten Bagdad.‡	946 to 974.	Aboo Tummím, or El Möéz le-deen-Illah, Aboo Tum-	Sends Góher el Käéd § with an army to invade Egypt, which he takes. Góher founds a new	952. to 969.	Aboól Hassan, Ali.	His brother.	962
						Kafóor el Akhsheedee.	A slave of El Akhsheed.	967.

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* This Dynasty deduced its origin from Ismael, the seventh Imám of the descendants of Ali.

† Cufic continued in use to the end of the Fowátem Dynasty; and on buildings, Arabic and Cufic were both employed to the time of Sultán El Ghóree, A. D. 1508.

‡ This name is written with the *ghain*, Boghdad.

§ El Kaëd, *i. e.* "the leader," "guide," or "general." He built the walls of the new city with brick, for which Yoosef Saláh-e'deen (Saladin) afterwards substituted stone. The mosk or college of El Ezher is said to have been founded originally by Góher.

Abasséëh.		A. D.	Fowátem in Africa.		A. D.	Akhsheed Dynasty.		A. D.
			méem (Tummím) Maad (his son).	city, under the name of Misr El Káherah (Cairo) A. H. 358. In 362 A. H. it becomes the capital of Egypt. El Moéz arrives himself in 360 A. H., and removes the seat of empire to Cairo, leaving Yusef ebn Zeiri, his viceroy, in Africa.		Aboól Fowáris, Ahmed.	Son of Ali, deposed by Goher.	969 to 970.

Abaséëh.		Began to reign.	Fowátem in Egypt.		Began to reign.
		A. D.			A. D.
E'Táieea billah, Abd el Kereem.	Rise of the Turkmans, 980. Mahmood created Sultán by the Caliph, in 997; overruns, about the year 1000, the whole	974.			

	of the provinces from the Caspian to India, which he also invades. Rise of the Seljuk Dynasty.		El Moëz - -	(as above) - - -	969.
			El Azeéz billah, Aboól Nusr, Nizár.	His son.	975.
El K̲áder billáh Ahmed.	Peter the Hermit, 995.	991.	El Hákem, be Omr Illah, Aboo Ali, Muns̲oor (his son).	The prophet of the Druses, aids Derari and Hamzah in founding this new sect. A mosk of his remains at Cairo, with pointed arches, and date 393 A. H. or 1003 A. D.*	996.
El K̲áiem be Omr Illah̲, Abdallah.	Alp Aslan, nephew of Togrul, defeats Romanus, Emperor of Constantinople, and takes him prisoner, 1063. Accession of Melek Shah, 1072.	1031.			
El Moktúddee billáh, Abdallah.	Jerusalem taken, 1076. Division of the Seljuk empire into Persian, Kermani, Syrian, and Room Dynasties, 1092.	1075 to 1094.	E'Záher, or E'Dtháher, le Azáz deen Illah.	His son.	1021.
			Aboo Tummím, El Mostúnser Billah (his son).	Moëz, third successor of Yusef ebn Zeiri, in 1050, defeated by Mostúnser, whose rights to the African throne had been disputed. William I. of England, 1066 to 1087. William II., 1087 to 1100.	1036 to 1094.

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* It is a remarkable fact that he is treated as a prophet in the inscription over a door of his mosk, which contains this date. See Vol. I. p. 234.

Abbaseéh.		A. D.	Fowátem in Egypt.		A. D.
El Mostúzhir billáh, Ahmed.	Expedition of Godefroy de Bouillon, and taking of Jerusalem, 1096–99.	1094.	El Mostálee billah, Aboól Kasém, Ahmed (his son).	Takes Jerusalem from the Turks, 1098. It is taken by the Latins in 1099. Henry I. succeeds in 1100. First Crusade, 1098.	1094.
El Mostúrshid billáh, El Fodl.	Foundation of the Mohades Dynasty in Africa and Spain, 1120.	1118.			
E'Rashéed billáh -	- - - -	1136.	El Amr, be-ahkam Illah, Aboo Ali el Munsoor.	- - - -	1101.
El Moktúffee le-omr-Illah, Mohammed.	Crusade of the Emperor Conrad III. and Louis VII., 1148; Noor e'deen, son of Zenghi, in Syria, 1145–74.	1136.	El Háfuz le deen Illah, Abd el Megeed, Mohammed.	- - - -	1130.
El Mostunged billáh, Yusef.		1160 to 1170.	E'Dtháfer, Illah, Ismáel.	Henry II., 1154.	1149.
			El Fiyéz, le Nusr Illah, Aesa.	His son.	1155.
			El Aádud le deen Illah, Abdallah.	The intrigues of Shawer and Darghan bring about the dissolution of this Dynasty in Egypt. The Franks penetrate to Cairo under Amaury, or Amalric, king of Jerusalem; the city is burnt on their approach, and they are forced to retreat.	1160 to 1171

			Eiyoobëëh, or Aioobite Sultáns of Egypt. Curd Dynasty.		
El Mostúddee be-Noor-Illah.	- - - - -	1170.	El Mélek Yusef, Saláh-e'deen*; or E'Nás̲er Saláh-e'deen, Yoosef ebn Eiyoob. (Saladin.)	Retakes Jerusalem from the Crusaders, in 1187. Crusade of the Emperor Frederick I. (Barbarossa), and Philippe Auguste, and Richard Cœur de Lion, 1189—1191.	1171.
			El Mélek e'deen, or Melek el Azéez, Othmán.	His second son. (Melek Afdal, his eldest son, ruled in Syria.)	1193.
			El Mélek el Munsoor, Mohammed.	His son; a child. In England the large massy column of the Saxon architecture began to be divided into smaller pilasters; and the *arch took a pointed form about* 1200.†	1200.
E'Náser le-déen-Illáh, Ah̲med.	Fourth *Crusade*. Taking of Constantinople by the French and Venetians, from the Greeks, 1204. Fifth Crusade, 1218.	1180 to 1225.	El Mélek‡ el A'del, Sayf-e'deen, Aboo Bukr. (Mélek A'del.)	Brother of Saladin, usurps the throne. Fifth Crusade. The Franks penetrate into Egypt, and take Damietta, but are obliged to abandon it, 1218—1221.	1200.

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* Saláh-e'deen, "the righteousness of religion."
† Having existed in Egypt *at least* 320 years. See Vol. I. p. 231.
‡ The title Mélek, attached to these names, signifies "King."

Abbaséëh.		A. D.	Aioobite Soltans.		A. D.
E'Dthaher, or E'Záher billáh, Mohammed.	- - - - -	1225.	El Mélek el Kámel, Mohammed.	His son. Crusade of Frederick II., who obtains possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tyre, and Sidon, 1228.	1218.
El Mostánsir billáh, Ahmed.		1226. to 1242.	El Mélek el A'del, Aboo Bekr.	His son.	1238.
			El Mélek E'Sáleh*, Eiyoob, Nigm e'deen.	His brother. Sixth Crusade. St. Louis takes Damietta, 1249. In advancing towards Cairo the Count d'Artois is killed, and the king taken prisoner. On the evacuation of Damietta, and the payment of 400,000 pieces of gold, he is released.	1239.
			El Mélek el Moëzzem, Tarawán Shah.	His son, murdered by his father's Memlóoks.	1249.
			Shégeret e'doór †, Om Khaléel.	Widow of Sáleh, after three months abdicates.	1250.
			El Mélek el Ashraf, Moosa.	From 1250 to 1254. Deposed by Moëz, who dates from the beginning of this reign.	1250.

El Mostásum billáh.	In whom ended the Caliphate of Asia.	1242 to 1258.

Nominal Caliphate of the Abbaséëh, in Egypt.

El Hakem be Omr Illah, Ahmed e' Rasheed, el Abbásee.	Appointed Caliph in the time of E'Záher Baybérs, in 1263, and died in 1302.	1263.

Baharite Memlooks, Sultáns ‡, *or Kings of Egypt.*§ *Dowlet el Memaleek el Bahréëh or Toorkéëh.*

El Moëz, Ez-e'deen, I'bek e'Toorkománee, e'Salehee.	Marries Shegeret e'door, and is killed by her from jealousy.	1250.
El Munsoor Noor e'deen, Alee.	His son.	12 56
El Mozúffer Sayf e'deen, Kotoz el Moëzzee.	Syria, which had been conquered by the Tatars, recovered to Egypt in 1260.	1259.
E'Záher Baybérs el Bendukdáree (a Memlook of E'Sáleh).‖ Called also Rookn-e'deen and Aboo'l Fotóoh.	Succeeds, having assassinated his predecessor. Syria again invaded by the Tatars. Baybers marches thither, and takes Damascus. In 1264–5 he again goes into Syria, and extends his conquests over great part of Armenia.	1260.

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* E'Sáleh, *i. e.* "the religious" or "devout." His tomb, which is opposite the Morostan, in Cairo, is the only one that remains of the Caliphs. They occupied the site of the Khan Khaléel.

† *I. e.* "The tree of pearl."

‡ Properly Soltán.

§ These have also the title of Mélek and of Sultán.

‖ Originally of Sitteh Fatmeh, who had employed him in making bows and *balls* (*béndu*k) of the cross-bow, whence he received this name. He is called, in the Noozhet e' Názereen, E'Záher Rookn e'doóneea oo e'deen Baybérs el Aláee el Bendukdáree, Saheb el Fotóohát.

Abbaséëh in Egypt.		A. D.	Baharite Memlook Kings.		A. D.
				St. Louis dies before Tunis, 1270.	
			Mohammed e' Sáeed, Naser e' deen, Bárakat Illah.	His son.	1277.
			El Aádel, Béder e' deen, Salámish.	His brother.	1279.
			Dowlet el Kalaoonéëh, e' Salahéëh ; a division of the same Baharite Dynasty.		
			El Munsoór Kalaóon (a Memlook of E' Sáleh).	In 1279-80, sends an army into Syria, and recovers Damascus, lost to Egypt since the death of Baybérs. Founds the Hospital of Morostán in Cairo, 1286.	1279.
			El A'shraf Saláh e' deen, Khaleel.	His son. Takes Akkeh (Acre) from the Christians.	1290.
			E' Náser Mohammed. Ebn Kalaóón.	His brother.	1293.
			El Aádel Ketbogha el Munsóoree.	Syria again overrun by the Tatars, 1295-6.	1294.

			El Munsóor Hesám e' deen Lagéen, el Munsóoree	- - - - -	1296.
			E' Naser* Mohammed Ebn Kalaóon (restored).	An Egyptian army sent against the Tatars, who had obtained possession of all Syria, completely defeated. The Tatars are routed by a second Egyptian army, and driven beyond the Euphrates, 1302-3. Absolute *Gothic* began in England about 1300.	1298.
El Mostúkfee billáh, Soolayman.	His son. Abdicated and was banished to Koos, by Náser Mohammed, who crowned El Wáthek as the new caliph.	1302.	El Medúffer, or el Mozuffer, Rookn-e' deen, Baybérs, e' Gáshenkéer, el Munsóoree.	- - - - -	1309.
El Wáthek billáh, Ibrahim.	Deposed by Naser at his death.	1341.	E'Náser Mohammed, Ebn Kalaóon (restored again).	Agriculture and the arts encouraged.	1310.
El Hakem be Omr Illah, Ahmed.	Son of Mostúkfee.	1341.	El Munsoor Aboo Bekr.	His son.	1341.
			El Ashraf Kégek.	His brother.	1341.
			E' Náser Shaháb e' deen, Ahmed.	His brother.	1342.

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* I have sometimes distinguished the two kinds of s, k, a, h, o, z, t, and other letters in Arabic, but it is unnecessary to do it on every occasion. I hope also to be excused, if I sometimes write names differently, as Yoosef and Yusef, Aboo Bukr and Aboo Bekr, Ismáël and Ismail, &c., or use j for a soft g.

Abbaséëh in Egypt.		A. D.	Baharite Memlook Kings.		A. D.
				St. Louis dies before Tunis, 1270.	
			Mohammed e' Sáeed, Naser e' deen, Bárakat Illah.	His son.	1277.
			El Aádel, Béder e' deen, Salámish.	His brother.	1279.
			Dowlet el Kalaoonéëh, e' Salahéëh ; a division of the same Baharite Dynasty.		
			El Munsoór Kalaóon (a Memlook of E' Sáleh).	In 1279-80, sends an army into Syria, and recovers Damascus, lost to Egypt since the death of Bayhérs. Founds the Hospital of Morostán in Cairo, 1286.	1279.
			El A'shraf Saláh e' deen, Khaleel.	His son. Takes Akkeh (Acre) from the Christians.	1290.
			E' Náser Mohammed. Ebn Kalaoón.	His brother.	1293.
			El Aádel Ketbogha el Munsóoree.	Syria again overrun by the Tatars, 1295-6.	1294.

			El Munsóor Hesám e' deen Lagéen, el Munsóoree	- - - - -	1296.
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El Wáthek billáh, Ibrahim.	Deposed by Naser at his death.	1341.	E' Náser Mohammed, Ebn Kalaóon (restored again).	Agriculture and the arts encouraged.	1310.
El Hakem be Omr Illah, Ahmed.	Son of Mostúkfee.	1341.	El Munsoor Aboo Bekr.	His son.	1341.
			El Ashraf Kégek.	His brother.	1341.
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Abbaséëh in Egypt.		A. D.	Baharite Memlook Kings.		A. D.
			E' Sáleh Ismáël.	His brother,	1342.
			El Kámel Shabán.	His brother.	1345.
			El Meduffer (or Mezuffer) Hágee.	His brother.	1345.
			E' Náser Hassan.	His brother.	1348.
			E' Sáleh Saláh e' deen.	- - - - -	1351.
			E' Náser Hassan (restored).	Built the mosk of Sultan Hassan in Cairo.	1354.
El Mautuddid billáh, Aboo Bekr.	His brother.	1352.	El Munsoor Mohammed.	Son of Hágee, the son of K̲alaóon.	1361.
			El Ashraf Shabán. (A great grandson of K̲alaóon.	The first who ordered the Shereefs, or descendants of the Prophet, to wear a green turban. In 1365 Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, besieges Alexandria and fails.	1363.
El Motawúkkel al Alláh, Mohammed.	His son, deposed in - -	1362.	El Munsooor Ali.	- - - - -	1377.
El Mautússim Zakaréëh.	Deposed after one month.	1378.	E' Sáleh Hágee.	Deposed - - -	1381 to 1382.
El Motawúkkel.	Restored, and deposed again after six years.	1378.	*Dowlet el Memaleek el Borgéëh, e' Gerákseh (or Tcherkaséëh) Circassian or Borgile Memlook Kings.*		
El Wáthek̲ billáh, Omer.	- - - - -	1384.	E' Záher Berk̲óok̲.	Marches into Syria, and twice repulses the Tatars under Tee-	1382.

				moorlang, or Teemóor (Tamerlane or Timur), in 1393-4.	
El Mautússim Zakaréëh.	Restored in 1387, and reigned till 1390.	1387.	E' Náser Fúrreg.	His son. The governor of Syria having rebelled, Fúrreg marches against him, takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, 1399-1400. The Tatars again invade Syria: Fúrreg marches against them, but is defeated, and returns to Egypt, 1400-1. He recovers Syria, 1405-6.	1399.
El Motawúkkel.	Restored again, and died in 1406.	1390.	El Munsoor Abd el Azeez.	Reigns forty-seven days.	1406.
El Mostain billáh, Aboo 'l Fodl, el Abbas.	His son, deposed by Moáïud Shekh, in 1413, and imprisoned at Alexandria till his death.	1406 to 1413.	E' Náser Fúrreg (restored.)*	- - - - -	1406.
			El Moáïud, Aboo l' Nusr, Shekh.	The para was, until this reign, of a drachm's weight of silver, and Moáïud coined, instead of it, the *moáïudee*, now corrupted into máydee.	1412.
			El Meduffer Ahmed.	- - - - -	1421.
			E' Záher, Aboo 'l Futteh, Tatr.	- - - - -	1421.

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* According to a MS. in my possession of the Noozhet e' Nazereen.

Abbaséëh in Egypt.		A D.	Borgéëh, or Circassian Memlooks.		A. D.
			E' Sáleh Mohammed.	- - - - -	1421.
			El Ashraf, Bursabái, or Borosbai.	Attacks Cyprus, and taking John III. prisoner, enforces the regular payment of tribute, 1423-4.	1422.
El Mautuddid billáh aboo 'l Fet-h, Daood.	His brother.	1413.	Abd el Azeéz, Aboo 'l Mahásin, Yoosef.	- - - - -	1438.
El Mostukfee billáh, Soolaymán.	His brother.	1442.	E' Záher Gekmek.	- - - - -	1438.
El Kaiem be-omr-Illáh, Hamza.	His brother; deposed by El Ashraf Eenál, in 1455, and exiled to Alexandria.	1452.	El Munsoor Othman.	- - - - -	1453.
			El Ashraf Eenál.	- - - - -	1453.
			El Moáïud Ahmed.	Gives the crown of Cyprus to James, son of John III., on condition of receiving tribute.	1461.
			E' Záher Khooshkudm.	- - - - -	1461.
			E' Záher Bolbai.	- - - - -	1467.
El Mostunged billáh, Aboo 'l Mahásin, Yúsef.	His brother.	1455.	E' Záher Tumr Boghá.	- - - - -	1467.
			El Ashraf Aboo 'l Nusr, Káëdbai (or Kaitbay) e' Záheree.	After a successful war against the Turks, concludes a treaty of peace with them, 1490-1. Fall of Grenada, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and extinction of the Moslem power in Spain, 1492.	1468.

El Motawúkkel (or Metawúkkel) al Allah, Aboo 'l Ez, Abd el Azeéz.	His cousin.	1480.	E' Náser Mohammed*, Aboo 'l Sadát.	Son of Kaitbay, reigned six months.	1496.
El Mostunsik billáh, Yakoob, or Mostunsir billáh.	His son.	1497.	El Ashraf Kansóóh.†	A Memlook of Kaitbay, eleven days.	1496.
			E' Náser Mohammed.	Son of Kaitbay, one year and a half.	1496.
			E' Záher, Aboo Saeed, Kansóóh.‡	- - - - -	1498.
			El Ashraf Ganbalát.	- - - - -	1500.
			El A'del Toman Bai (Bay).	- - - - -	1500.
			El Ashraf Kansóóh el Ghóoree, (or El Ghóree).	Defeated by the Turks under Sultan Selím, near Aleppo, and slain. The Turks advance to Egypt.	1501
El Motawúkkel al Allah, Mohammed	His son, taken to Constantinople by Sultan Selím. After the death of Selim he returned to Egypt, and reigned there till 1543, when he died, in the time of Daood Pasha. In him ended the Caliphate in Egypt. The Sultans of Constantinople thenceforward assumed the title of Caliph.	1517. to 1543.	El Ashraf Toman Bai, or Toman Bay§ (his nephew).	Elected by the Memlooks to succeed El Ghóree; defeated by the Turks near Heliopolis, and in a second battle taken prisoner, and hanged at the Bab Zooayleh, in Cairo, A.D. 1517.	1517.

Sultan Selím abolished the Monarchy, but left the Aristocracy of the Memlooks, on certain conditions; the chief of which were—annual tribute, obedience in matters of faith to the decisions of the Mufti of Constantinople, and the insertion of the name of the Sultan of the Osmanlis in the public prayers and on the coin. But the total subversion of the power of the Memlooks dates, in reality, from the invasion of the French and the subsequent occupation of Egypt by the Turks; and the finishing stroke to their real or nominal power, and to their very existence, has been since put by Mohammed Ali.

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* According to the above-mentionod MS.

† Id.

‡ This and El Ashraf are names applied to several of these kings.

§ Not the same as Bey or Bek, governor of a province.

RISE OF THE MOSLEMS, AND THEIR CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs seems to have been as little expected by the generality of their nation, as by the Greeks themselves; to whose mismanagement this event may be attributed, rather than to any well-devised plan of attack on the part of the invaders. The country was defended by several strong garrisons; Pelusium, Memphis, and above all Alexandria, were capable of resisting the most formidable armies versed in all the arts of war; and the forces of Amer were neither numerous nor furnished with the necessary engines for a siege. The rapid rise of the new religion, and of the power of the Moslems, was indeed an extraordinary phenomenon; and one hundred years after the Hégira*, or flight of Mohammed from Mecca, their arms had extended over Syria, Egypt, Persia, Africa, and Spain.

But before we enter upon their career in Egypt, it may be better to take a slight glance at their previous history, beginning with the prophet.

Mohammed, born at Mecca, A. D. 571, was sprung from the tribe of the Ḵoraysh, and the illustrious family of Háshem, by whom the office of guardian of the Kábah was inherited as their right. He was son of Abd-allah, and grandson of Abd-el-Motulleb, a wealthy and powerful citizen of Mecca, renowned, as well for probity, as for his courage in delivering his country from the aggressions of the Abyssinians. The education of Mohammed, who lost his father and mother in his infancy, was undertaken by his uncle, Aboo-Táleb; and at the age of 25 he accepted the office of factor to the rich Khadeégeh, whom he afterwards married.

The idolatry of the Kábah, and the discordant theories of heterodox theologians and speculative philosophers, had paved the way for the introduction of a new religion; and Mohammed having converted the principal members of his own family, and gained over to his cause the respectable name of Aboo Bekr, began to set forth the doctrines of a new faith. Opposed at Mecca, and obliged to fly its precincts (A. D. 622), he boldly withstood the attacks of the hostile Ḵoraýsh; and succeeding at length in subduing the most formidable of his opponents, he returned a conqueror to that city which had before expelled him from her walls. It is from this *flight* that the Moslems date their era, which corresponds to our year 622 A. D.

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* Hégira, or Hejira.

Ali, the son of Aboo Táleb, had been the first proselyte, and the firmest support, to the new creed. Faithful to his friend, and courageous in the field, his fidelity and valour had more than once ensured success in the most hazardous enterprises; and the capture of Khayber, and the conquest of the Jewish tribes of Arabia, confirmed the power of the Moslems, and ennobled the name of Ali.

A. D. 632. The death of Mohammed and the choice of a successor were the signal of injustice and party prejudice. The violence of Omar, and the intrigues of Aësha, the widow of Mohammed, succeeded in securing the election of Aboo Bekr to the post of Caliph *; and the injured Ali was excluded from those honours which his early fidelity, his services to the cause of Islám, and even the promises of Mohammed, might have claimed as his right. His partisans might also put forth the strong recommendation of his having married Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, by whom he had two sons, Hassan and Hossayn.

The father of Aësha did not long enjoy these honours: his reign lasted only two years, and the aged Aboo Bekr appointed Omar ebn el Khuttáb as his successor. Ali was still excluded; and, upon the assassination of Omar, Othmán was invested with the title of "Prince of the Faithful;" nor was it till the death of the third caliph that the son of Aboo Táleb was elected to that office; and the mildness of his character, and his repugnance at fomenting discord among the tribes, add not a little to the honour of the most valiant of his nation.

Ali did not long enjoy the honour so tardily bestowed upon him. Moáwieh, the son of Aboo Sofeeán, supported by a numerous faction and a powerful army, usurped the title of Caliph; and, being defeated on the plains of the Euphrates, he fled to Kufa, where he fell by the hand of an assassin A. D. 661. His son Hassan nominally succeeded him; but, waiving his claims, he retired to Medina, the burial-place of his grandfather, where he was poisoned by his own wife; and Yezeed succeeded to the throne of his father Moáwieh by the right of inheritance. And though Hossayn, the younger son of Ali, disputed for some time his title to the Caliphate, he at length fell a victim to treachery and the superior power of his rival.

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* Khaleefeh, "vicar," "lieutenant," or "substitute," corrupted into Caliph.

This exclusion of Ali has been the origin of the enmity of the Persian and Turko-Arab votaries of Islám; the former, known by the name of Shiites (Sheéëh)*, maintaining the rights of Ali; the latter, the Soonnees † (Soonnéëh), upholding the priority of the caliphs, and the veracity of their *traditions.* By the Persians Ali is called the Saint of God, and the formula of their coins is La Illáh, il'Alláh, Mohammed Rossool Alláh, oo Ali Wellee Alláh, "There is no deity but God: Mohammed is the prophet of God, and Ali the saint of God."

The derwishes are equally tenacious of the claims of Ali with the Persian Shiites; they look upon him as little inferior to the founder of Islám, and one of their fabulous legends pretends to heavenly authority for the name they have given him of "the Lion of God."

The Persians still nominally maintain the line of succession in the family of the Hashemites, and the twelve Imáms are reckoned as commencing with Ali, Hassan, and Hossayn, to the ninth generation of his descendánts.‡

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* شيعة from شيع, "a follower." They call themselves Adléëh, from their claims to a *just* cause.

† Soonnees, or Sunnites, Soonnéëh, Soonéëh سنية.

‡ The twelve Imams, according to the tenets of the Shiites, are—1. Ali (or Alee); 2, 3. His two sons, Hassan and Hossayn; 4. Ali, the son of Hossayn; 5. Mohammed, the son of Ali; 6. Gâfer, or Jâfer, the son of Mohammed; 7. Moosa, the *second* son of Gâfer; 8. Ali, the son of Moosa; 9. Mohammed, the son of Ali; 10. Ali, the son of Mohammed; 11. Hassan, the son of Ali; and 12. Mohammed, the son of Ali, who has the title of El Mahdee, or the Guide, and who is believed by them to be still living. Some, however, of the Shiites dispute this succession on the following grounds: Ismaël, who was the eldest son of Gâfer, had been nominated to succeed his father, but having died before him, Gâfer declared his second son Moosa his successor. Ismaël, however, had left children, and those Shiites, who looked upon the Imamate as hereditary, denied the rights of Moosa; and consequently, in reckoning the Imams, they stopped at Ismaël, whom they considered the seventh, and rejected all those whose claims were derived from the younger brother. From Ismaël the Fatemite caliphs pretended to be descended, and the founder of their dynasty assumed the title of El

The invasion of Syria was the first step towards foreign conquest meditated by the Moslems; the possession of that country had been coveted by the Prophet previous to his death; and Aboo Bekr hastened to fulfil the wishes he had expressed.

But the discord that sprang up in Arabia, on the death of Mohammed, impeded the progress of their arms beyond the limits of their own country, and the Moslems had to encounter enemies among their own tribes. It required all the wisdom of Aboo Bekr * to fix the wavering faith of the Koráysh, who threatened to relax into their former idolatry; and the alarming rebellion of an usurper, who assumed the character of a prophet, was with difficulty repressed by the arms of K̲hâled ebn el Weleed, the lieutenant of the caliph.

The victorious K̲hâled then marched into Irak; but his successful advance into the provinces of the Tigris was for the present abandoned for the more favourite project of a Syrian campaign. The riches of Damascus, and the eagerness of the Moslems to wrest the holy city of Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels, were a sufficient stimulus for this design; Yezeed and Aboo Obeidah had already advanced into that country; and the acknowledged skill and valour of Khâled pointed him out as the fittest person to assume the supreme command. Every endeavour was made by the Greeks to resist the Saracen invaders; but from the first moment victory declared in favour of the Moslems, and no effort was neglected by Khâled to ensure entire success. Amer † was sent for from Irak: all the other generals were ordered to unite for the conquest of Syria; and in the summer

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Mahdee, which was usually applied to the last of the Imams. A secret association, called Ismaëlian, which was framed by one Abdallah, a native of Khuzistan, received their immediate protection, its mysteries were rendered peculiarly sacred, and lodges were established in the capitals of their dominions, both in Western and Eastern Africa. With these Ismaëlians were connected the Druses, a new sect, founded by Sultan Hákem, third king of the Fatemite dynasty.

* Called E' Sedeék̲, or E'Sádeek̲, "the veracious," from his integrity and love of truth.

† I have already observed that the letter o (wow) is written at the end of this name merely to distinguish it from Omar, the orthography of the two being otherwise exactly similar, and that it is never pronounced. Amrou is a name unknown to the Arabs.

of A. D. 634, Damascus was taken by assault. The aged caliph did not live to receive the news of this glorious event, having died the same day; and Omar's accession to the caliphate was rendered auspicious by these welcome tidings. The war continued with unabated fury, and Jerusalem, after a siege of four months, was forced to capitulate. The caliph himself arrived from Arabia to receive the keys of the city. Aleppo, Antioch, and Cæsarea were then speedily taken, and the whole of Syria passed under the yoke of the Moslems.

INVASION OF EGYPT.

Elated with their success, Amer or Ãmr ebn el As, with 4000 Arabs, advanced, by permission of the caliph, to the confines of Egypt, which he entered June 6. 638. A. D. Pelusium was immediately invested, and after a siege of thirty days he became master of that important fortress, which had been the barrier of the country on the Syrian side from the earliest period of the Egyptian monarchy. An undefended passage was thence open to him, either by the eastern border of the Delta, or across the low hills of the Arabian desert, to the city of Babylon, which occupied the site of the modern Musr el Ateékeh (Old Cairo), and the extent of the adjacent mounds.* The Roman station † (whose solid walls still contain a Christian village) was so strong a fortress that it delayed the invaders, and defied their attacks for seven months, when a reinforcement of 400,000 men revived their courage, and the scaling ladder supplied the want of more formidable military engines. This is the K̲asr e' Shemma of the Arab historians; a name by which it is still known to the modern Copts.

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* Gibbon supposes the Saracen general did not advance immediately on the capture of Pelusium; but the reason he gives for detention there will not apply to that place as it does to Damietta, the road from Pelusium being beyond the limits of the inundation. He must, however, have halted a long time somewhere on his way to Alexandria; for if he entered Egypt June 6. (A. D. 638), and took Alexandria December 22. (640), the sum of thirty days before Pelusium, seven months before Babylon, twenty-two days' march to Alexandria, and fourteen months' siege of that city, being a total of twenty-two months and twenty-two days, requires an addition of seven months and twenty-four days; which may have been spent partly at Pelusium, partly on the march thence to Babylon, and partly at Memphis.

† See above, vol. i. p. 274.

Religious controversy formed at this time the principal occupation of the Christians of Egypt, and the enmity of the rival sects had led to much injustice and oppression, which naturally excited a thirst for revenge. The Copts, whose hatred of the Greeks is not even yet extinguished, no sooner perceived than they welcomed the moment, which promised to free them from the superior power of their religious adversaries: they thought the victorious Saracens destined eventually to obtain possession of Egypt; and a good opportunity was open to obtain for themselves favourable conditions. John Mekaukes * had been appointed governor of Egypt by Heraclius; but profiting by the state of the Greek empire and its wars with Chosroës, king of Persia, who had laid siege to Constantinople, he had appropriated the revenues of the country. He therefore felt little repugnance to a change of masters, provided he could secure the riches he had amassed: and this consideration, added to his hatred of the Greeks, decided him to make terms with the invaders. The payment of tribute to the caliph was gladly agreed to by the Copts, and greeted with equal satisfaction by the lieutenant of Omar. It was stipulated that two Egyptian *deenars* † of gold should be paid for every Christian above sixteen years of age, with the exception of old men, women, and monks; and a hospitable entertainment for three days was promised to the Moslems who journeyed through the country. The fall of Memphis was the consequence of this treaty, and the Greeks were at once betrayed and deserted by the population of the country.

But Alexandria presented an almost insurmountable obstacle to the ardour of the invaders: and the canals of the Delta, added to several fortified places along their banks, delayed their arrival before that city for twenty-two days.

Oct. 639. The siege was immediately commenced, and the army of Amer, swelled by a numerous reinforcement of Arabs, and assisted by the revolted natives, invested the well-defended walls of Alexandria. But the garrison was inspired with no less resolution to resist the assailants; the city was well supplied with provisions, and its formidable walls were furnished with every engine of defence. The besiegers and the besieged displayed the most determined heroism. "The Saracens fought with the courage of lions; they repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack the sword, the banner of Amrou (Amer) glittered in the van of the Moslems. On a memorable day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valour: his followers who had entered the citadel were driven back; and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amrou was conducted before the præfect he remembered his dignity and forgot his situation; a lofty demeanour, and resolute language, revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived; he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of their general, and insulted the folly of the infidels."*

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* The same who sent presents to Mohammed. † See below, p. 474.
‡ There were then in Egypt 600,000 Copts.

Though the siege had continued upwards of a year, the ardour of the Arabs was in no degree abated; and the arrival of fresh reinforcements from Syria, the value of the prize before them, and the persevering courage of their general urged them to persist. At length, after an obstinate defence of fourteen months, the besieged agreed to surrender the place; and the opulent Alexandria, second only to Rome itself, and the emporium of the East, fell into the hands of the Arabs.

Dec. 640. The news of this success was immediately sent to the caliph by his victorious general, in terms which, though short, were expressive of his surprise at the size and wealth of this splendid city. "I have taken," says Amer, "the great city of the West. Its size is immense. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing that it contains 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres, or places of amusement, 12,000 shops for the sale of vegetables and food, and 40,000 tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms without treaty or capitulation; and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory."* The wealth was ordered by the caliph to be reserved for the public use, and, contrary to the wishes of Amer, the library of Alexandria was consigned to the flames by the fanaticism of Omar.†

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* Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 51. p. 436.

The ancient renown of Egypt, the peculiar nature of its soil where the most abundant harvests were produced without rain, so necessary in other climes, and the immense wealth found there by the Arabs, naturally excited the curiosity of Omar to learn more respecting so peculiar a country. Amer was enjoined to write a description to the caliph; which was as follows: "Egypt, O commander of the Faithful, is a compound of black earth‡ and green plants, between a pulverised mountain and a red sand. The distance from Syene to the sea is a month's journey for an horseman. Along the valley descends a river, on which the blessing of the most High reposes both in the evening and morning§, and which rises and falls with the revolutions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensation of Providence unlocks the springs and fountains that nourish the earth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through the realm of Egypt: the fields are overspread by the salutary food, and the villagers communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilising mud for the reception of the various seeds: the crowds of husbandmen who blacken the land may be compared to a swarm of industrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the lash of the taskmaster, and the promise of the flowers and fruit of a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit trees, and the cattle, are unequally shared between those who labour and those who possess. According to the vicissitudes of the seasons the face of the country is adorned with a *silver* wave, a verdant *emerald*, or the deep yellow of a *golden* harvest."*

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* Ibid., ix. p. 437.

† See above, vol. i. p. 133.

‡ This colour, according to Plutarch, was the reason of its being called by the Ancient Egyptians Chemmia, *chemi* signifying "*black*" in their language. De Iside et Osir. s. 33.

§ The evening is still the beginning of the day in the East as in old times: — "The evening and the morning were the first day." Gen. i. 5.

Amer did not neglect any opportunity of improving the newly-acquired territory, of which his valour had obtained for him the government. Among his first acts was the erection of a mosk on the spot where he had pitched his tent at the siege of Babylon. It was placed in the centre of the city he founded there under the name of Fostát, and which then became the capital of Egypt. This appellation of Fostát† was retained until the building of Cairo or Musr el K̲aherah in 973 A.D., from which time the Arab city was called Musr el Atéek̲eh, as at the present day.

It would be endless to relate the numerous abuses stated by Arab writers to have been corrected by the wisdom of Amer, or the benefits conferred on the country by the invasion of the Moslems. Many of them indeed might not stand the test of impartial scrutiny; and credulity revolts at the improbable tale of his having put a stop to the annual sacrifice of a virgin to the Nile, in a country long under the dominion of Rome, and inhabited by a Christian population. The story even goes farther, and pretends that the indignant river, missing the customary sacrifice, withheld its usual supply of water, and that Amer, having applied to the caliph, received a letter from him addressed to the Nile, which being thrown into it, obtained the wished-for inundation.‡ The character of Amer, however, was that of a humane and brave soldier; the opinions he expressed respecting the government of the country were judicious and enlightened; and it had been well for Egypt if successive governors or princes of the country had taken them as their guide.

Upper Egypt was speedily overrun by the arms of the victorious invaders; and though opposed at Behnesa and other strongholds, they speedily obtained possession of the whole country between Memphis and Syene; where, as at Fostát, a mosk bears the name and records the conquest of

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* Gibbon, ix. c. 51. p. 445.

† See above, vol. i. p. 274.

‡ See Savary, vol. i. letter 9.

Amer. The once powerful Thebes, that had withstood the arms of Ptolemy Lathyrus* for three years, was now no longer a city, or capable of resistance; and the feeble population, whose principal abode was around the temple of Medeenet Haboo†, no sooner heard of the approach of the Arabs, than they fled its precincts, and left the church and houses to be plundered by the invaders. They were afterwards overtaken near Esné, and put to death in a promiscuous slaughter; and tradition still records the spot, and the site of their tombs.

According to Arab history, Behnesa offered the strongest opposition; an army of 16,000 men was engaged for several months in besieging its well-defended walls, and the possession of the place cost the besiegers 5000 men‡ (A. H. 21. A. D. 643.) This force is said to have been commanded by Khaled ebn el Weleed, whose tomb is still shown to the traveller in the Great Oasis, where he is said to have been buried; but both statements may be questioned. It is improbable that the conqueror of Syria should have held a post beneath Amer; and Arab historians state him to have been buried at Emessa.

In 644 A. D. the Caliph Omar perished by the hand of an assassin; and Othmán was called to the throne by the voice of the people. Notwithstanding the tried fitness of Amer for the government of Egypt, the jealousy of Othmán deprived him of his post; and Abdallah, once the faithless secretary of Mohammed, was appointed to succeed him, and commence the conquest of Western Africa, assisted by the counsels and valour of Zobaýr.

The imprudent removal of Amer from his command in Egypt, by fostering discontent in the country, gave the Greeks an opportunity of making an attempt to recover this valuable possession; and the arrival of a fleet sent by Heraclius was the signal of revolt. Alexandria was once more recovered from the Saracens. But the triumph of the Greeks was of short duration; and the prowess of Amer was again distinguished in retaking this important city A. D. 646. No further attempts were made to dispute the possession of Egypt: the son of As was restored to his government; the spirit of dissatisfaction was quelled; and he was permitted to pass the remainder of his days in the city he had founded on the banks of the Nile.

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* Pausanias calls him Philometor, which name he bore as well as Soter II. Pausan. i. 9.

† See above, p. 167. 269. 287.

‡ This is the account given in an Arab MS. in my possession of Aboo Abdillahi ebn Mohammed el Mukkari. See above, p. 25. 29. Journey to Upper Egypt.

Amer is said at his death to have left 100 kantars of gold and 7 of silver, a sum amounting to about 882,740*l.* sterling*; which, considering the immense riches obtained by the Arab conquerors, is not surprising; and it is said that the Caliph Othmán, notwithstanding the sums he lavished in charitable donations, left at his death upwards of eleven millions sterling.

From this time the history of Egypt is deficient in events of interest: it continued to be a province of the Arab empire under a governor appointed by the caliph, undisturbed by the factious wars that sprung up in the reign of Moáwieh and his successors.

THE OMMIADES, OR AMMAWÉËH DYNASTY.

Moáwieh was the first caliph of this dynasty. For a time he shared the caliphate with Ali, who ruled in Arabia, while Egypt and Syria fell to the share of Moáwieh. But in 661 he became sole possessor of the empire; and he was the first who succeeded in making the caliphate hereditary in his family. In the reign of Abd el Melek, his fourth successor, the conquest of Africa, which may be said to date its commencement from the taking of Alexandria, was completed; and this paved the way for the establishment of the Saracens in Spain.

The reign of this prince is also remarkable for the establishment of the first Arab coinage. Macrizi † says, that money was coined by the Caliph Omar, A. H. 18 (A. D. 639), but that Abdallah ben e' Zobáyr, who assumed the title of Caliph at Mecca and Medina in 684 A. D., was the first who struck round *Dérhems.* Other Arab authors affirm that the earliest coinage dates during the caliphate of Abd-el-Melek A. H. 76. (A. D. 696), and that it was commenced under the superintendence of El Hagág (or Hajaj), who had been appointed to the government of Irak in 75, and who there built the city of Wáset, afterwards so famous for its coinage.*

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* The Kantar is 44 okas, and 1 oka is 400 derhems (drachms), amounting therefore to 1,760,000 derhems of gold, and 123,200 of silver.

† Macrizi wrote on this subject by order of one of the Circassian Memlook kings about 820 A. H. (A. D. 1417).

Besides Persian money, the Moslems had previously used the Greek coins; and an accidental circumstance is said to have led to this change in the currency. The caliphs had always inserted the formula "there is no deity but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God," in their epistles to the Greek emperors; but one of those monarchs taking umbrage at it, threatened, if it was not hereafter omitted, to adopt one on the coins which would be equally offensive to the Moslems. Abd el Melek, upon this, determined to establish his own coinage; and while obviating the intended insult of the Christian emperor, to display the same formula on the money that circulated through his dominions: and in spite of the objections offered by many of his subjects, who were unwilling that the name of Allah should pass through impure hands, his plan was speedily put into execution. The two first coins were the *deenár*† and the *dérhem,* the former of gold, the latter of silver. The oldest deenár hitherto found bears the date 91 A. H. (710 A. D.); the oldest derhem was struck in 76, or, as some read the inscription, 79 A. H. (A. D. 699). Beside the date and above formula, they generally bear a sentence from the Koran, and the derhems occasionally have the name of the caliph and the place where they were coined. Some of the money that circulated during the reigns of the early caliphs of the Ommiade dynasty, was struck from Sassanide dies (besides the Greek coins current also at the same time), and to these the caliphs added their own names; so that we find Sassanide figures and inscriptions with the Arabic (Cufic) name of Omar and other Ommiade monarchs on the same pieces.‡ And to this, I

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* I have a silver derhem with the legend "coined at Damascus in 96" A.H.

† The oldest gold coins have the word Deenr, not Deenár. The change from the name and value of the Roman denarium was singular.

‡ These coins may be seen in the British Museum and other collections.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Remeses Miamun.	Amunmai Remeses, Remeses II., or Remeses the Great (his son).	*i* 1, 2. *j* 3, 4.	B. C. 1355.*	I have shown why the name *i* 2. should be considered a variation of *i* 1. rather than of a different king. If they are distinct, they can only be brothers, and both sons of Osirei. Date of 44 years on the monuments; Manetho allows him 66. Sesoosis of Diodorus, the supposed Sesostris.† At all events he merits the name of Remeses the Great. See above, p. 314.
Amenophis.	Pthahmen, Thmeioftep (?), or Thmeioftep-ho (?), (his son).	*k l*	1289.	Pheron of Herodotus, *i. e.* Pharaoh; and Sesoosis II. of Diodorus.
XIX. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.				
Sethos.	Pthahmen Se-Pthah.	*k* 2. *l* 2.	1269.	Probably not admitted into the Theban lists from being a Memphite king, or from having only succeeded to the throne by right of marriage with the Princess Taosiri.

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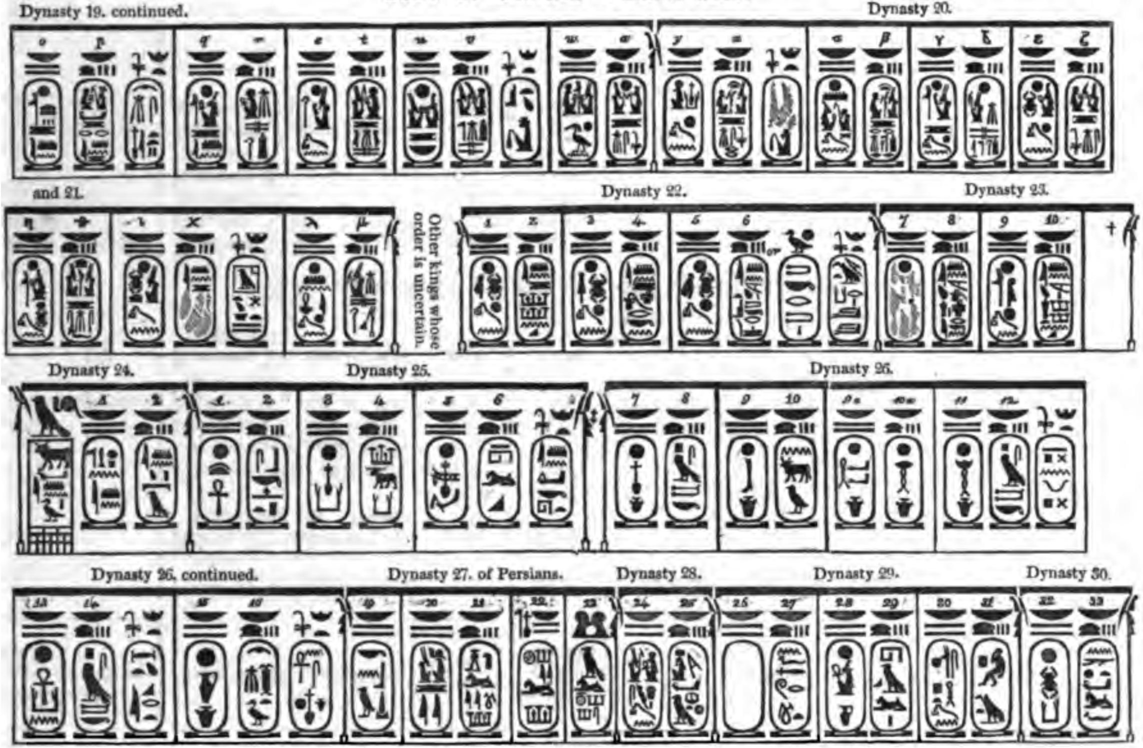
[*] Manetho places Sesostris in the 12th dynasty; it is therefore not impossible that this was the name of some early Egyptian conqueror, and the first who made himself conspicuous for his exploits; that afterwards, Remeses the Great, having distinguished himself still more by his conquests, the fame of the first hero became transferred to this monarch, and, in consequence, the name to which so great an idea of glory had hitherto been attached, was in like manner assigned by tradition to the more renowned conqueror. The war and defeat of the shepherd kings were doubtless long before the 18th dynasty; but the expulsion of the Jews having happened during that period, the accounts of those two occurrences became afterwards confounded together.

[†] I since find, on examining the astronomical ceiling of the Memnonium, that the date I have assigned for Remeses II. agrees with the period there alluded to, the heliacal rising of Sothis or Sirius being therein fixed to the commencement of the month Thoth, which must have happened in the year 1322 B. C. This, then, is exactly the middle of the king's reign; and allowing for the time elapsed during his military expeditions and the erection of the building, it may be admitted that my date of 1355 cannot be very far from the real accession of this Pharaoh. See "Jameson's Cuvier. Theory of the Earth," p. 186.

LIST OF KINGS.—PHARAOHS.*


Dynasty 19. continued.
Dynasty 20.
and 21.
Other kings whose order is uncertain.
Dynasty 22.
Dynasty 23.
†
Dynasty 24.
Dynasty 25.
‡
Dynasty 26.
Dynasty 26. continued.
Dynasty 27. of Persians.
Dynasty 28.
Dynasty 29.
Dynasty 30.

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* This title Pharaoh, or Phrah, *i. e.* the sun, is prefixed to the names of all the kings as a banner. See the beginning of Dynasty 24., in this page.

† Other kings here, whose names are not ascertained.

‡ The twelve kings uncertain.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Ramses.	Osirei II. or Osiri Menpthah.	*m n*	1255.	Argonautic expedition, B. C. 1263.
Amenoph.	Osirita (?), Remerer (?), Amunmai, or Osirei III.	*o p*	1245.	
Ramesses.	Remeses III. (Miamun or Amunmai) (his son).	*q r*	1235.	
Ammenemes.	Remeses IV. (his son).	*s t*	1205.	
Thuoris, the supposed Polybus.	Remeses V., son of Remeses III.	*u v*	1195.	Troy taken, 1184 (Arundel. marbles), and in the reign of a Remeses, according to Pliny.
(?)	Remeses VI., son of Remeses III.	*w x*	1180.	
	XX. AND XXI. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.			
The names in Manetho very doubtful.	Remeses VII.	*y z*	1170.	
	Remeses VIII.	α β	1155.	
	Remeses IX.	γ δ	1140.	
	Remeses X.	ε ζ	1125.	
	Remeses XI. (?).	η θ	1110.	
	Amunmai-Pouee (?).	ι κ	1095.	
	Amunmeses (?).	λ μ	1080 to about 1068.	

The succession becomes then still more doubtful till the reign of Sheshonk. Solomon marries a daughter of one of the Pharaohs, 1013.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
	XXII. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.*			
Sesonchis.	Sheshonk I.	1, 2.	978.	Shishak of S. S., who plundered the temple of Jerusalem 971 (2 Chron. c. xii. 9.), in the fifth year of Rehoboam.
Osorthon.	Osorkon I.	3, 4.	945.	Zerah, the Ethiopian king; battle with Asa (2 Chron. c. xiv.) 941 B. C. Date of his 11th year at Thebes.
Tacellothis.	Takelothe.	5, 6.	925.	Date of his 15th year.
	XXIII. DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITANS.			
	Osorkon II.	7, 8.	908.	Homer flourished about this time; according to the Arundel marbles, 907. Some say in 844.
	Sheshonk II. (Then probably one or more kings, occupying a space of about 50 years.)	9, 10.	890 to about 860.	Date of his 29th year. Money first coined of gold and silver at Argos, 894.†

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* According to Africanus, of Bubastites and Tanites. But these two dynasties are also said to be both of Diospolitan kings.

† The money of the Egyptians was in rings of gold and silver, and was valued by weight. The custom of weighing their money is mentioned in Exodus and other parts of Scripture.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
Tnephactus (?) or Tnephachthus, Technatis of Plutarch.	Other kings (?). - - - -	-	-	It does not appear whether Tnephachthus was in this or the succeeding dynasty. He was father of Bocchoris.
				XXIV. Dynasty of 1 Saite.
Bocchoris (the wise), son of Tnephachthus. Asychis of Herodot. (?)	Pehor, Bakhor, or Amunse Pehor.	1, 2.	812.	According to Diodorus, a long time intervened between Bocchoris and Sabaco.
				XXV. Dynasty of Ethiopians.
Sabaco, So of S. S.	Sabakoftep, or Sabakoph.	1, 2.	778.	Rome founded, 753. Captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, 721. Herodotus mentions Anysis expelled by Sabaco.
Sebechon or Sevechus (his son).	Shebek.	3, 4.	728.	I am not quite certain if Sabakoftep should be before or after Shebek. Sethos of Herodotus was the contemporary of Tirhakah, and ruled at Memphis.
Teraces or Tearchus. Tearchon of Strabo, Tirhaka of S. S.	Tehrak.	5, 6.	714 to 690.	Date of his 12th year on the monuments. Sennacherib attacks Judah 268 years after the death of Solomon, 710.
				XXVI. Dynasty of Saites.
Stephinathis. Nechepsus. Nechao I.	- - - -	-	-	After the death of Sethos, it appears that the twelve chiefs seized the kingdom; but as Neco, the father of Psamaticus

				I., was put to death by Sabaco, it is probable that these three kings were contemporaries of the 25th dynasty. The twelve kings, or rather nomarchs, according to Herodotus*, reigned at this time.
Psammitichus (his son).	Psamatik I. (Psamaticus I.)	7, 8.	664.	
Nechao II.	Neco.	9, 10.	610.	Nechao of S. S. defeated and slew Josiah, king of Judah, 610 B. C. Era of Solon, Alcæus, and Sappho.
Psammitichus, Psammutis, or Psammis.	Psamatik II.	11, 12.	600.	A stela in the museum of Florence gives 71 years from the 3d of Neco to the 35th of Amasis. Captivity of Jehoiakim, 599.
Vaphres, or Apries.	Psamatik III.	13, 14.	596.	Pharaoh Hophra of S. S. He takes Sidon. It is not certain that he is the same monarch as Psamaticus III.
Amosis, or Amasis.	Ames Neit-se.	15, 16.	571.	Married the daughter of Psamatik III., was of a good family, and not of low extraction, as Herodotus supposes. Diodorus also states that he was "an illustrious person;" and this is sufficiently proved by his being a man of rank in the military caste. Date of his 44th year on the monuments. After six months, Egypt was conquered by Cambyses. Era of Thespis, Pythagoras, and Æsop. 560 B. C.
Psammicherites, or Psammenitus.	- - - -	17, 18.	525.	

XXVII. DYNASTY OF PERSIANS.

Cambyses.	Canbosh.	19.	525.	In his 4th year.
Darius Hystaspes.	Ndareeosh or Ntareosh.	20, 21.	521.	Egypt revolts.

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* Diodorus says there was an anarchy of two years, till twelve of the chiefs united at Memphis, and taking the direction of affairs, ruled fifteen years.

Name from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other Authors.	From the Hieroglyphics.	No. in Plates.	Ascends the Throne.	Events during their Reigns, &c.
			B. C.	
Xerxes.	Khsheersh.	22	485	Xerxes reconquers Egypt, 484. Birth of Herodotus. Artabanus reigns 7 months after the death of Xerxes, according to Syncellus.
Artaxerxes Longimanus.	Artkhsheshes.	23	472	Egypt revolts and elects Inaros and Amyrtæus kings. 463. The Persians retake Egypt, Inaros is crucified, and Amyrtæus flies to the Island of Elbo. Herodotus visits Egypt in 460. Era of Socrates, Phidias, &c.
Xerxes II.	- - - -	-	425	Reigns 2 months.
Sogdianus.	- - - -	-	-	Reigns 7 months.
Darius Nothus.	- - - -	-	424	Reigns 19 years.
XXVIII. DYNASTY OF 1 SAITE.				
Amyrtæus.	Aomahorte (?)	24, 25.	414	Egypt again revolts, and Amyrtæus is recalled to the throne. The Breccia Sarcophagus, called of Alexander, in the British Museum, is of this king. See above, Vol. I. p. 136.
XXIX. DYNASTY OF MENDESIANS.				
Nepherites (Nephreus, of Diodorus).	Nefaorot.	26, 27.	408	Diodorus places a king, Psamaticus, before Nephreus. Long vowels first used in Greek inscriptions, 403.
Achoris.	Hachori.	28, 29.	402	Death of Cyrus the younger, and retreat of the Ten Thousand, 401.
Psammoutis.	Pse Maut.	30, 31.	389	

Nepherotes. Mouthis.	{ not met with on the monuments. }		388. 388.	Reigned 4 months.

XXX. DYNASTY OF SEBENNYTE KINGS.

Nectanebes.	Nectanebo or Nakhtnebo	32, 33.	387.	Nectabis of Pliny. Artaxerxes Mnemon in vain endeavours to reduce Egypt.
Teos.	- - - -	-	369.	Or Tachos. The Persians defeated by Agesilaus and the Egyptians, 362.
Nectanebes.	- - - -	-	362.	Agesilaus dethrones Tachos. Ochus succeeds Artaxerxes, 360. Nectanebo, defeated by the Persians, flies to Ethiopia, 340.

XXXI. DYNASTY OF PERSIANS.

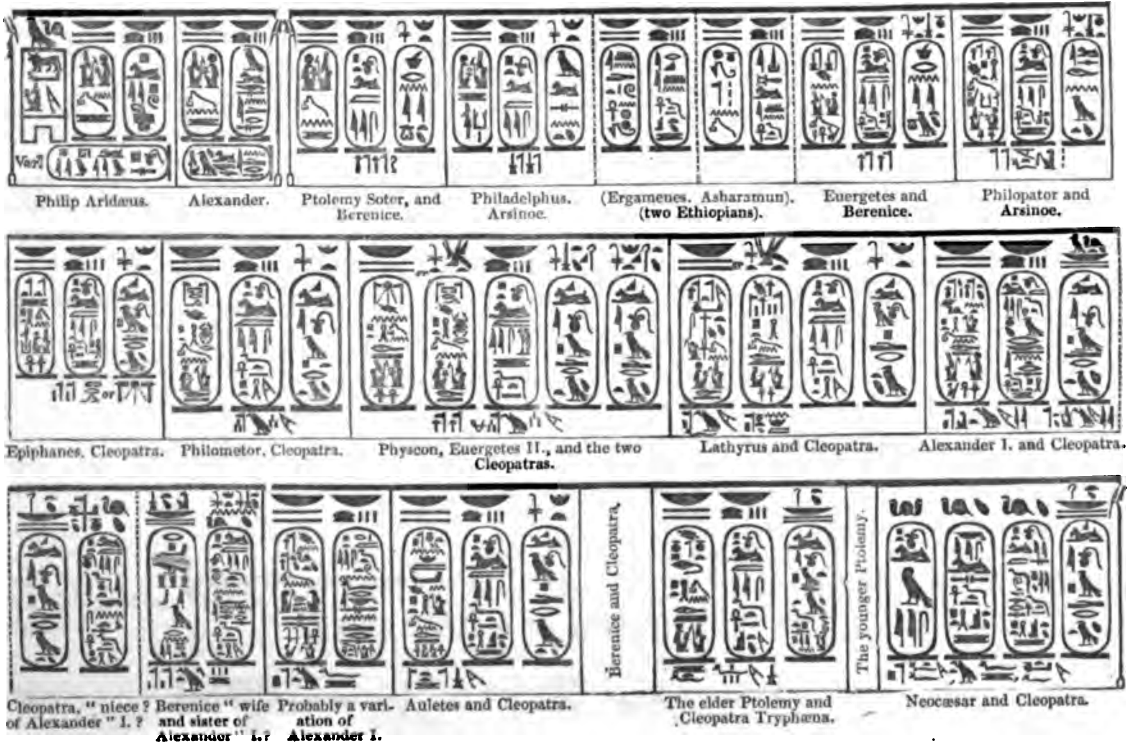
Ochus.	- - - -	-	340.	In his 20th year. Death of Philip, 335.
Arses.	- - - -	-	338.	
Darius Codomanus.	- - - -	-	336.	Alexander makes himself master of Egypt, 322. Dies, 323.

MACEDONIANS. (Ptolemy being Governor of Egypt in their name.)

Philip Aridæus, natural son of Philip.	Phleepos.	-	323.	Ptolemy appointed governor of Egypt by Philip, 322. Perdiccas killed in Egypt, 321. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Philip to be put to death, 317, and is herself killed by Cassander. Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be murdered, 311. Hercules, son of Alexander the Great, and his mother Berenice, put to death by Polysperchon, 309.
Alexander, son of Alexander the Great.	Aleksandros.	-	317.	

LIST OF KINGS.—PTOLEMIES OR LAGIDES.

Macedonians.


Philip Aridæus.
Alexander.
Ptolemy Soter, and Berenice.
Philadelphus. Arsinoe.
(Ergamenes. Asharamun). (two Ethiopians).
Euergetes and Berenice.
Philopator and Arsinoe.
Epiphanes. Cleopatra.
Philometor. Cleopatra.
Physcon, Euergetes II., and the two Cleopatras.
Lathyrus and Cleopatra.
Alexander I. and Cleopatra.
Cleopatra, " niece ? of Alexander " I. ?
Berenice " wife and sister of Alexander " I.?
Probably a variation of Alexander I.
Auletes and Cleopatra.
Berenice and Cleopatra.
The elder Ptolemy and Cleopatra Tryphæna.
The younger Ptolemy.
Neocæsar and Cleopatra.

PTOLEMIES.

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No. of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
I.	**Lagus**, Soter, son of Lagus and Arsinoë.	- -	B.C. 322 as Governor, 305 as King.	38.	1. Eurydice, daughter of Antipater.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. Lysandra, mar. to Agathocles, son of Lysimachus. Ptolemais mar. to Demetrius. Two other sons.	The generals of Alexander assume the title of king, 305.
					2. Berenice, widow of Philip, a Macedonian nobleman.	Philadelphus. Arsinoë, mar. to Lysimachus.	Magas, son of Philip and Berenice, is made governor of Cyrenaica and Libya. Lagus, or Ptolemy Soter cedes the kingdom to his second son, the second year before his death.
II.	**Philadelphus**, son of Soter and Berenice.	God Philadelphus.	284.	38.	1. Arsinoë, daughter of his sister Arsinoë and Lysimachus.	Euergetes. Lysimachus. Berenice, who married Antiochus Theos.	Ergamenes or Ergamun, an Ethiopian king, lived about this time. See p. 318. and list of Ptolemaic ovals. Had not Philadelphus two daughters, called Berenice, one of whom married Euergetes?

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
			B. C.		2. Arsinoë, her mother.	No children.	Ashar-amun (?), another Ethiopian monarch, appears also to have been a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus. See above, p. 307.
III.	**Euergetes**, Tryphon, s. of Philadelphus and Arsinoë.	God Euergetes.	246.	25.	Berenice, d. of Magas, king of Cyrene and hf. brother of Philadelphus.	Philopator, Magas, and Arsinoë, put to death by their brother.	Berenice is styled his *sister* in the he roglyphics.
IV.	**Philopator**, Gallus, Tiphon, son of Euergetes and Berenice.	G. Philopator.	221.	17.	Arsinoë, his sister.	Epiphanes.	Arsinoë, called by Pliny Cleopatra (l. xxvii. c. 4.).
V.	**Epiphanes**, s. of Philopator and Arsinoë.	God Epiphanes.	204.	24.	Cleopatra, d. of Antiochus, k. of Syria.	Philometor, Physcon, or Euergetes. Cleopatra.	

VI.	**Philometor**, son of Epiphanes and Cleopatra.	G. Philometor.	180.	35.	Cleopatra, his sister.	Young Ptolemy, killed by Physcon, on his ascending the throne. Cleopatra, who was married to Alexander Bala, king of Syria, and afterwards to Demetrius Nicator, who dethroned and succeeded him. Cleopatra Cocce.	Cleopatra, his mother, is regent till the year 173. Dies. Lenæus regent till 172. Antiochus invades Egypt and takes Philometor prisoner, 170. Ptolemy Physcon, his brother, is proclaimed king, 169, in the 11th year of Philometor, and reigns 6 years. Philometor restored, and reigns conjointly with Physcon 2 years. Philometor alone other 18 years. Physcon receives Cyrene and Libya as his portion. The elder Cleopatra also married Antiochus Sidetes, but returned again to Demetrius, his brother, 130.
VII.	**Euergetes II.** Physcon, Eupator, Cacergetes, Philologus (Philometor), son of Epiphanes and Cleopatra.	G. Euergetes: and G. Philometor, his brother's title, assumed by him.	145.	29.	1. Cleopatra, widow of Philometor, and his sister. 2. Cleopatra Cocce, his piece.	Memphites. Lathyrus, Alexander I., Tryphæna, married Antiochus Grypus. Cleopatra married to Lathyrus, divorced and killed by Tryphæna. Selene mar. Lathyrus. Apion, natural son, king of Cyrenaica.	Physcon, on his accession, assumed the date of his 25th year; his reign thus became extended nominally to 54 years. He must have married the younger Cleopatra before he repudiated her mother, both being found together with the king in the sculptures. Physcon is driven from Egypt to Cyprus with Cleopatra Cocce, 130. The elder Cleopatra seizes the kingdom. Physcon restored, 127.

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No. of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
VIII.	Soter II. Lathyrus, Philometor, s. of Physcon. With Cleopatra Cocce, his mother.	Gods Philometores.	B. C. 116.	10, but in all 17.	1. Cleopatra, his sister; repudiated. 2. Selene, his sister; repudiated and given by Cleopatra to Antioc. Grypus. 3. A concubine.	Berenice, called also Cleopatra. Two sons, who died before him. Neus Dionysus or Auletes, nat. son. Ptolemy of Cyprus. Cleopatra, married Alexander I.	Lathyrus reigned 10 years with his mother; he was then expelled to Cyprus, where he remained 18 years, and being restored after the death of Alexander I., he reigned 7 years more.
IX.	Alexander I. s. of Physcon. With Cleopatra Cocce, his mother.	Gods Philometores.	106.	18.	1. Cleopatra, his niece.	Alexander II. A daughter.	In the prenomen I have given, as a probable variation of Alexander I., he is styled the "living * image of Amun." Alexander I., according to the hieroglyphics, married "his niece (?) Cleopatra" and "his sister Berenice." (?) † He ruled 7 years in Cyprus, which he in-

					2. Berenice, his sister. (?)		cluded in his reign, and reckoned 25 years, or to his 26th year. After killing his mother, he was expelled, and Lathyrus regained the kingdom, 88 B. C.
	SOTER II., or Lathyrus, restored on the death of Alexander.	- -	rest. .88.	-	- -	- - -	Ruins Thebes‡ or Diospolis, B. C. 82. The reign of Lathyrus was reckoned 36 years, from 116 to 80 B. C., according to Porphyry.
X.	BERENICE, d. of Lathyrus.	- -	81.	6 m.			
XI.	ALEXANDER II.§ son of Alexander I.		80.	15.	Berenice. ?)	- - -	Dies at Tyre and bequeaths his kingdom to the Romans. The 15 years of this Alexander must be reckoned by Porphyry in the 29 he assigns to Auletes.

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[*] It is remarkable that the Coptic word for life (*ónh*), should so nearly resemble the Indian *yoni*, which signifies the female, as the *lingam* the male principle of life. The Egyptian emblem of life is the *crux ansata*, or *tau*, and it is often put alone, instead of the whole word *ónh*, of which it is the initial character.

[†] This Berenice may have been the sister and wife of Alexander II.

[‡] See Pausanias, Strabo, and Juvenal, Sat. xv. 6.:—" Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis."

[§] There is still much difficulty respecting the Alexanders. The Queen Berenice, sister of Alexander, taken from the enchorial by Dr. Young, may have been the wife of the second of this name. See Rud. of an Eng. Dict. p. 32.

	Name.	Hieroglyphic Title.	Began to reign.	No. of Years.	Wives.	Children.	Observations, &c.
XII.	Neus Dyonysus, Auletes, Philopator, and Philadelphus, nat. son of Lathyrus.	G. Philopator and Philadelphus.	B. C. 65.	14.	Cleopatra.	Berenice, Cleopatra Tryphæna, Cleopatra, Arsinoë, Ptolemy the Elder, Ptolemy the Younger.	Ptolemy, k. of Cyprus, deposed by the Romans, 58. Auletes expelled from Egypt, goes to Rome, 58. Berenice reigns 3 yrs., 1 of them conjointly with Cleopatra, her sister, who dies, and 2 alone. She is put to death by Auletes on his return, 55.
	Berenice and Cleopatra, daughters of Auletes.	- -	58.	-	- -	- - -	Berenice had married Seleucus Cybiosactes, and afterwards Archelaus, a pretended son of Mithridates, and high-priest of Comana.
	Berenice alone.	- -	57.				
	Auletes restrd.	- -	55.				
XIII.	Ptolemy the Elder, son of Auletes, called also Dionysus II.	G. Philopator and Philadelphus.	51.	4.	Cleopatra, his sister, who must have taken the name of Tryphæna.*		Ptolemy is slain fighting against J. Cæsar. Arsinoë is taken to Rome by Cæsar, she afterwards retires into Asia, and is put to death by Antony. Birth of Cæsarion, 47.

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* See enchorial description, Rud. of Eng. Dict. p. 34. mentioning "Cleopatra, surnamed Tryphæna."

XIV.	PTOLEMY THE YOUNGER, s. of Auletes, 11 years old.	- -	47.	3.	Cleopatra, his brother's widow.	- - -	Ptolemy the Younger is poisoned by Cleopatra, when arrived at the age of 15.
XVI.	CLEOPATRA, alone, or nominally with Cæsarion or Neocæsar.	Gods Philopatores.*	44.	14.		Neocæsar, or Cæsarion, by Julius Cæsar. Two sons, Alexander and Ptolemy, by Antony. One daughter.	Cæsarion, under the title of Neocæsar, was made partner in the kingdom, being found with Cleopatra on the monuments, and having been proclaimed so by Antony, 33 B. C. Cleopatra kills herself, and Egypt becomes a Roman province, 30 B. C. Cæsarion is put to death by Augustus.

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* Neocæsar has the title God Philopator and Philometor. Besides being called father-loving, and mother-loving, it seems that he is styled "relation-loving" or "friend-loving," ⲁⲛⲉϯⲓⲟ, or ϩⲉⲛϯⲁϥ-ⲙⲙⲁⲓ. See his name in the Woodcut, p. 436.

THE CÆSARS.

Though it is unnecessary to give a chronological list of the Cæsars, similar to those of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the great use that their names have been in ascertaining the force of numerous hieroglyphics requires that some remarks should be introduced explanatory of the ovals of those kings. The reading of them may be useful to beginners in hieroglyphics, and will serve to show how the characters correspond to the letters of each name. It must, however, be remembered, that the vowels are generally omitted, as in Arabic, and some other Oriental languages; and that *t* and *d*; *g*, *c*, and *k*; *l* and *r*; *a* or *e* and *i*; *b* and *v*; and *o*, *u*, *ou*, and *v*, are used synonymously; or, in other words, that the same character stands for the one or the other. Thus Autocrator is written Autocrtr, and Cæsar Kaisrs (for *Καισαρος*). As we always read hieroglyphics in the opposite direction to which they face, or *towards* the faces of the animals, we here begin on the right.

Nos. 1. and 2. are of Autocrator Cæsar (Augustus). 3, 4. of Tiberius Cæsar, the defender (?). 5, 6. Ruler or rulers.(?), Autocrator, beloved of Pthah and Isis; Caius Cæsar Germanicus, the ever-living. 7, 8. Ruler of rulers (?), Autocrator, Tiberius Claudius. 9, 10. Ruler of rulers ? (King of Kings ?) approved of Pthah, beloved of Isis, Autocrator, Nero(ne). 11, 12, 13. Vespasianus, the defender; and Autocrator Cæsar, Vespasianus, the defender (?). 14. Autocrator Titus Cæsar. 15, 16. Autocrator Cæsar, Domitianus Germanicus. 17, 18. Aut. Cæsar Nerva *, Trajanus Germanicus Dacicus. 19, 20. Aut. Cæsar Trajanus, Adrianus, the defender (?). 21, 22. Aut. Cæsar Titus, Ælius, Adrianus, Antoninus, the defender, Eusebes (Pius). 23, 24. Aut. Cæsar, Antoninus, Aurelius, the defender (?). 21. to 31. Verus (or Verree, for Verus), Antoninus, Sebastos, Autocrator, Cæsar, Lucius, Verus (written as the other Verree). 33. to 36. Autocrator, Commodus; and Autocrator Cæsar, Commodus, the ever-living.

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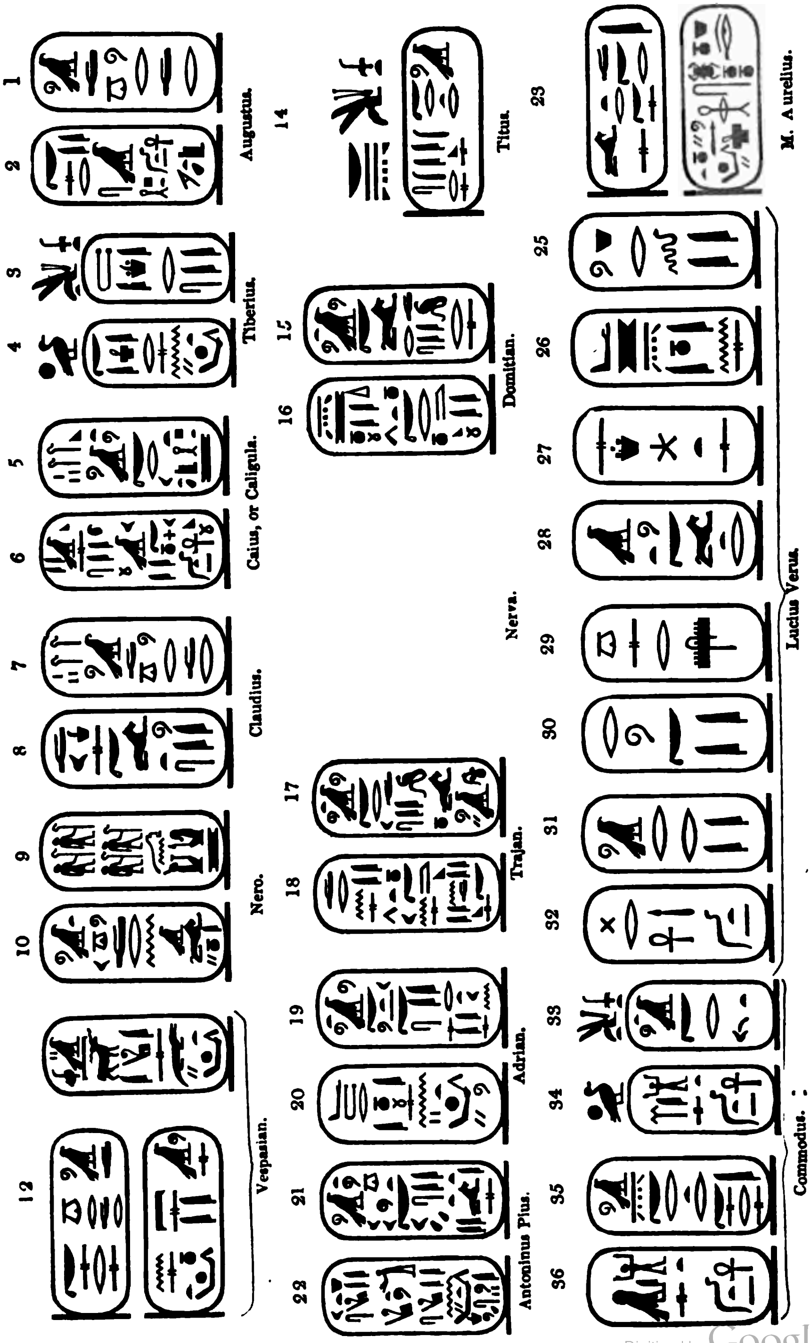
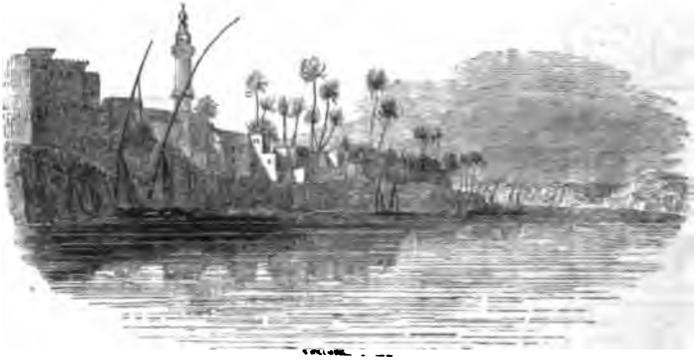
* The lion is used for the *r* of Cæsar, and of Nerva. This is not a solitary instance.


Augustus.
Titus.
M. Aurelius.
Tiberius.
Domitian.
Caius, or Caligula.
Nerva.
Claudius.
Lucius Verus.
Nero.
Trajan.
Vespasian.
Adrian.
Antoninus Pius.
Commodus.

The analysis of these names will prove of great use in beginning hieroglyphics, and have been of more value in forming the alphabet than any other authorities; as may be seen by looking over the one I have here introduced. And in order to give those who are curious on the subject some slight insight into the mode of reading hieroglyphics, I shall introduce some introductory hints published in 1828 in my Materia Hieroglyphica, which will be found in the Appendix D. of this volume.



View of Manfaloot.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE CALIPHS*, &c.

Name.	Events during their Reign.	Began to reign.
		A. D
Aboo Bukr, or Aboo Bekr (e' Sadéek).	Invasion of Syria commenced.	632.
O'mar (ebn el Khuttáb, or Khattab).	Conquest of Persia, Syria, and Egypt. A'mer† (ebn el As) enters Egypt in June, 638.	634.
Othmán.	Conquest of Africa begun.	644.
A'li (or Ālee), and Moáwieh I.	Ali in Arabia reigns till 661; and El Hassan, his son, nominally succeeds him, and having reigned six months, abdicates, A. D. 661. Death of Hassan, 670. Moáwieh in Egypt and Syria.	656.
	House of Ammawéëh (*Ommiades*).	
Moáwieh I.	Alone. Fruitless attack on Constantinople by the Saracens.	661.
Yezéed I.	His son. Hossayn killed at Kerbela.	680.
Moáwieh II.	His son. [Abdallah, son of Zobaýr, reigned nine years in the Hegáz (Arabia), from 64 to 73 A. H., or 684 to 693 A. D.‡]	684.
Merawán I. -	- - - - - - - - -	684.
Abd el Mélek.	His son. Conquest of Africa completed. Abd el Azéez, his brother, made a Nilometer at Helwán. In 76 A. H. first Arab coinage. The oldest coin found is of 79 A. H. (699 A. D.); it is a silver Der'hem. The oldest gold *deenárs* are of the years 91 and 92 A. H.§	684.
El Weleéd I.	His son. Conquest of Spain, 710. First invasion of India by the Moslems	705.
Soolaymán.	His brother. Second failure before Constantinople. Was the first who founded a Nilometer at the Isle of Roda.	714.
Omar II.	Son of Abd el Azéez.	717.
Yezéed II.	Son of Abd el Mélek.	720.
Heshám.	His brother. Defeat of Abd e' Rahmán in France, by Charles Martel, 732.	724.
El Weleéd II.	Son of Yezéed.	743.
Yezéed III.	His son.	744.
Ibrahím.	His brother.	744.
Merawán II.	Grandson of Merawán I., killed at Abooséer, a town belonging to the Fýoóm, in Egypt.	744 to 749.

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* I am indebted to Mr. Lane for much valuable assistance in the dates of this table.

† This name is generally written by Europeans Amrou; but I have shown that Amrou is unknown in the East, and is a misnomer.

‡ The Hégira, or Moslem era, begins 622 A. D., dating from the "*flight*" of the prophet from Mecca. To reduce any year of the Hégira to our own, we have only to add 622 to the given year, and deduct 3 for every 100, or 1 for every 33; *e. g.* 1233 + 622 = 1855; then for the 1200 deduct 36, and 1 for the 33 = 37, leaves 1818 A. D.

§ See below in the history, p. 475.

Dynasty of the Abbasides, or Abbaséëh, descended from Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed.		Began to reign.	Contemporary Dynasties.		Began to reign.
E' Seffáh, Aboo 'l Abbas, Abdallah.	- - - - -	A. D. 749.			
El Munsoór, Aboo Gáfer, Abdallah.	His brother. Bagdad is founded by Munsoór, and becomes the seat of empire. Under these Caliphs, astronomy and other sciences were particularly patronised.	754.	Abd e' Rahmán.	Established the Ommiade dynasty at Cordova in Spain ; an example followed by the House of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the Aglebites and Fatemites of Eastern Africa.	755.
El Mahdee Mohammed.	His son.	775.			
El Hádee Moosa.	His son.	785.			
Haroón e' Rasheéd, or E'Rasheéd Haroón.*	His son. The hero of Arabian tales, the *ally* of Charlemagne, and the dread of the Romans. The Edrisites found the kingdom of Faz (Fez).	786.	*Aglebééh, or Aglebite Dynasty in Africa.* Ibrahim ebn el A'gleb (or Akleb).	Governor of Africa. Throws off his allegiance to the Caliphs. Regular troops first introduced by him.	800 to 811.
El Ameén Mohammed.	His son.	809.			
El Mamoón Abdallah (Ibrahim, son of El Mahdee, his competitor from 817 to 818).	Son of Haroón. A great encourager of arts and sciences, particularly astronomy. By his order Greek authors were translated into Arabic. Measures a degree of the meridian.	813.	This Dynasty rules till the year A. D. 900. Kayrawan (Cairoan), 50 miles south of Tunis, was their capital. It was founded A. D. 670. This is followed in 910 by the Fowátem or Fatemite Dynasty.		

El Mautússim billáh, Mohammed.	His brother. War with Theophilus. Turkish guards taken into the service of the Caliphs. Decline of the Caliphate.	842?
El Wáthek billáh, Haroón.	His son. The Saracens attack Rome and fail, 846.	843?
El Motawúkkel al Alláh, Gáfer.	His brother. Makes the new Nilometer in the Isle of Roda.	847.
El Muntússer billáh, Mohammed.	His son.	861.
El Mostain billáh, Ahmed.	- - - - -	862.
El Mautúz billáh, Mohammed.	- - - - -	866.
El Mohtúddee billáh, Mohammed. •	The power of the Caliphs was weakened by the factions of the Taherites, in 813; Soffarides, 872; Samanides, 874; Aglebites and Tooloonides, 800 to 906; Ikshidites, 934; Hamadanites, 892; and Bowites, 933.	869.
El Mautummid al Allah, Ahmed.	New sect of the Carmathians, 890. (El Mowuffuk billáh, his coadjutor from 871 to 891).	870.

Tooloonides, Dowlet e' Tooloonéëh, in Egypt.

Ahmed ebn e' Tayloón (or e' Tooloón).	Governor of Egypt. Usurps the sovereignty of that country in 868. Builds a mosk at the back of the Kottaeéa or Kálat el Kebsh, now within the walls of Cairo, with *pointed* arches, in his 11th year (A.H. 265, A.D. 879).	868.
Aboolgáysh Khamarawéëh.	His son. Builds a series of palaces from Egypt to Bagdad. His	884.

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* Many of these names are convertible.

Abbaséëh, or Abbaside Dynasty.		A. D.	Tooloonide Kings.		A. D.
El Mautússim billáh, Ahmed.	- - - - -	892.		daughter Kutr e' Nedda marries the Caliph Mautuddíd.* Dies at Damascus in 896.	
			Abool Asáker Gaysh	His son.	896.
			Aboo Moosa Haroón.	His brother.	897.
El Moktuffee billáh, Ali el Mautuddíd.	- - - - -	902.	Abool Maghâzee Sheeban.	Son of Ahmed ebn e' Tooloón. Reigns ten days. In him ends this dynasty. The Caliphs retake Egypt.	906.
			Dynasty of the Fatemites (Fowâtem), or the Fatméëh Dynasty.		
			Abăyd Allah El Mahdee billáh.	Usurps the government of Eastern Africa. Assumes the title of Mahdee or "Guide." Subdues the Edrissites of Western Africa. Invades Egypt in 912. Is defeated by the forces of Moktuddir.	from 910 to 934.
El Moktuddír billáh, Gáfer.	The Carmathians under Aboo Táher pillage Mekkeh (Mecca), 929.	908.			
El Káher billáh, Mohammed.	- - - - -	932 to 934.			

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[*] Probably Mautummid. But Aboolfeda mentions the same name Mautuddid. The marriage took place no doubt before he became Caliph; and this title is not given him by Aboolfeda.

Abbaséëh.		A. D.	Fowátem in Africa.*		A. D.	Cotemporary Kings of Egypt. Akhsheed Dynasty of Turks.		A. D.
E' Rádee billáh, Mohammed.	- -	934.	El Kaiem be amr Illah, Mohammed.	His son.	934.	El Akhsheed, Mohammed ebn Tughg, e'Toorkee, el Faraghánee.	Usurps the government of Egypt.	936.
El Motúkkee Ibrahim.	- -	940.						
El Mostúkfee billah, Abdallah.	- -	944.	El Munsoor Ismáël.	The Arabic character first employed about this time; but Cufic still used.†	945.	Aboól Kásem ebn el Akhsheed.	His son.	948.
El Motée al Illah, El Fodl.	The Byzantine arms, under John Zimisces, threaten Bagdad.‡	946 to 974.	Aboo Tummím, or El Möëz le-deen-Illah, Aboo Tum-	Sends Góher el Käëd § with an army to invade Egypt, which he takes. Góher founds a new	952. to 969.	Aboól Hassan, Ali.	His brother.	962
						Kafóor el Akhsheedee.	A slave of El Akhsheed.	967.

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* This Dynasty deduced its origin from Ismael, the seventh Imám of the descendants of Ali.

† Cufic continued in use to the end of the Fowátem Dynasty; and on buildings, Arabic and Cufic were both employed to the time of Sultán El Ghóree, A. D. 1508.

‡ This name is written with the *ghain*, Boghdad.

§ El Kaëd, *i. e.* "the leader," "guide," or "general." He built the walls of the new city with brick, for which Yoosef Saláh-e'deen (Saladin) afterwards substituted stone. The mosk or college of El Ezher is said to have been founded originally by Góher.

Abasséëh.		A. D.	Fowátem in Africa.		A. D.	Akhsheed Dynasty.		A. D.
			méem (Tum-mím) Maad (his son).	city, under the name of Misr El Ḵáherah (Cairo) A. H. 358. In 362 A. H. it becomes the capital of Egypt. El Moéz arrives himself in 360 A. H., and removes the seat of empire to Cairo, leaving Yusef ebn Zeiri, his viceroy, in Africa.		Aboól Fowáris, Aẖmed.	Son of Ali, deposed by Goher.	969 to 970.

Abaséëh.		Began to reign.	Fowátem in Egypt.		Began to reign.
		A. D.			A. D.
E'Táieea billah, Abd el Kereem.	Rise of the Turkmans, 980. Mahmood created Sultán by the Caliph, in 997; overruns, about the year 1000, the whole	974.			

	of the provinces from the Caspian to India, which he also invades. Rise of the Seljuk Dynasty.		El Moëz - - El Azeéz billah, Aboól Nusr, Nizár.	(as above) - - - His son.	969. 975.
El Káder billáh Ahmed.	Peter the Hermit, 995.	991.	El Hákem, be Omr Illah, Aboo Ali, Munsoor (his son).	The prophet of the Druses, aids Derari and Hamzah in founding this new sect. A mosk of his remains at Cairo, with pointed arches, and date 393 A. H. or 1003 A. D.*	996.
El Káiem be Omr Illah, Abdallah.	Alp Aslan, nephew of Togrul, defeats Romanus, Emperor of Constantinople, and takes him prisoner, 1063. Accession of Melek Shah, 1072.	1031.	E'Záher, or E'Dtháher, le Azáz deen Illah.	His son.	1021.
El Moktúddee billáh, Abdallah.	Jerusalem taken, 1076. Division of the Seljuk empire into Persian, Kermani, Syrian, and Room Dynasties, 1092.	1075 to 1094.	Aboo Tummím, El Mostúnser Billah (his son).	Moëz, third successor of Yusef ebn Zeiri, in 1050, defeated by Mostúnser, whose rights to the African throne had been disputed. William I. of England, 1066 to 1087. William II., 1087 to 1100.	1036 to 1094.

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* It is a remarkable fact that he is treated as a prophet in the inscription over a door of his mosk, which contains this date. See Vol. I. p. 234.

Abbaséëh.		A. D.	Fowátem in Egypt.		A. D.
El Mostúzhir billáh, Ahmed.	Expedition of Godefroy de Bouillon, and taking of Jerusalem, 1096–99.	1094.	El Mostálee billah, Aboól Kasém, Ahmed (his son).	Takes Jerusalem from the Turks, 1098. It is taken by the Latins in 1099. Henry I. succeeds in 1100. First Crusade, 1098.	1094.
El Mostúrshid billáh, El Fodl.	Foundation of the Mohades Dynasty in Africa and Spain, 1120.	1118.			
E'Rashéed billáh -	- - - -	1136.	El Amr, be-ahkam Illah, Aboo Ali el Munsoor.	- - - -	1101.
El Moktúffee le-omr-Illah, Mohammed.	Crusade of the Emperor Conrad III. and Louis VII., 1148; Noor e'deen, son of Zenghi, in Syria, 1145–74.	1136.	El Háfuz le deen Illah, Abd el Megeed, Mohammed.	- - - -	1130.
El Mostunged billáh, Yusef.		1160 to 1170.	E'Dtháfer, Illah, Ismáel.	Henry II., 1154.	1149.
			El Fiyéz, le Nusr Illah, Aesa.	His son.	1155.
			El Aádud le deen Illah, Abdallah.	The intrigues of Shawer and Darghan bring about the dissolution of this Dynasty in Egypt. The Franks penetrate to Cairo under Amaury, or Amalric, king of Jerusalem; the city is burnt on their approach, and they are forced to retreat.	1160 to 1171

			Eiyoobéëh, or Aioobite Sultáns of Egypt. Curd Dynasty.		
El Mostúddee be-Noor-Illah.	- - - - -	1170.	El Mélek Yusef, Saláh-e'deen*; or E'Nás̲er Saláh-e'deen, Yoosef ebn Eiyoob. (Saladin.)	Retakes Jerusalem from the Crusaders, in 1187. Crusade of the Emperor Frederick I. (Barbarossa), and Philippe Auguste, and Richard Cœur de Lion, 1189—1191.	1171.
			El Mélek e'deen, or Melek el Azéez, Othmán.	His second son. (Melek Afdal, his eldest son, ruled in Syria.)	1193.
			El Mélek el Munsoor, Mohammed.	His son; a child. In England the large massy column of the Saxon architecture began to be divided into smaller pilasters; and the *arch took a pointed form about* 1200.†	1200.
E'Náser le-déen-Illáh, Ah̲med.	Fourth *Crusade*. Taking of Constantinople by the French and Venetians, from the Greeks, 1204. Fifth Crusade, 1218.	1180 to 1225.	El Mélek‡ el A'del, Sayf-e'deen, Aboo Bukr. (Mélek A'del.)	Brother of Saladin, usurps the throne. Fifth Crusade. The Franks penetrate into Egypt, and take Damietta, but are obliged to abandon it, 1218—1221.	1200.

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* Saláh-e'deen, "the righteousness of religion."

† Having existed in Egypt *at least* 320 years. See Vol. I. p. 231.

‡ The title Mélek, attached to these names, signifies "King."

Abbaséëh in Egypt.		A. D.	Baharite Memlook Kings.		A. D.
				St. Louis dies before Tunis, 1270.	
			Mohammed e' Sáeed, Naser e' deen, Bárakat Illah.	His son.	1277.
			El Aádel, Béder e' deen, Salámish.	His brother.	1279.
			Dowlet el K̲alaoonéëh, e' Salahéëh ; a division of the same Baharite Dynasty.		
			El Munsoór K̲alaóon (a Memlook of E' S̲áleh).	In 1279-80, sends an army into Syria, and recovers Damascus, lost to Egypt since the death of Baybérs. Founds the Hospital of Morostán in Cairo, 1286.	1279.
			El A'shraf Saláh e' deen, Khaleel.	His son. Takes Akkeh (Acre) from the Christians.	1290.
			E' Náṣer Mohammed. Ebn K̲alaoón.	His brother.	1293.
			El Aádel Ketbogha el Munṣóoree.	Syria again overrun by the Tatars, 1295-6.	1294.

			El Munsóor Hesám e' deen Lagéen, el Munsóoree	- - - - -	1296.
			E' Naser* Mohammed Ebn Kalaóon (restored).	An Egyptian army sent against the Tatars, who had obtained possession of all Syria, completely defeated. The Tatars are routed by a second Egyptian army, and driven beyond the Euphrates, 1302-3. Absolute *Gothic* began in England about 1300.	1298.
El Mostúkfee billáh, Soolayman.	His son. Abdicated and was banished to Koos, by Náser Mohammed, who crowned El Wáthek as the new caliph.	1302.	El Medúffer, or el Mozuffer, Rookne' deen, Baybérs, e' Gáshenkéer, el Munsóoree.	- - - - -	1309.
El Wáthek billáh, Ibrahim.	Deposed by Naser at his death.	1341.	E' Náser Mohammed, Ebn Kalaóon (restored again).	Agriculture and the arts encouraged.	1310.
El Hakem be Omr Illah, Ahmed.	Son of Mostúkfee.	1341.	El Munsoor Aboo Bekr.	His son.	1341.
			El Ashraf Kégek.	His brother.	1341.
			E' Náser Shaháb e' deen, Ahmed.	His brother.	1342.

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[*] I have sometimes distinguished the two kinds of s, k, a, h, o, z, t, and other letters in Arabic, but it is unnecessary to do it on every occasion. I hope also to be excused, if I sometimes write names differently, as Yoosef and Yusef, Aboo Bukr and Aboo Bekr, Ismáël and Ismail, &c., or use j for a soft g.

Abbaséëh in Egypt.		A. D.	Baharite Memlook Kings.		A. D.
			E' Sáleh Ismáël.	His brother,	1342.
			El Kámel Shabán.	His brother.	1345.
			El Meduffer (or Mezuffer) Hágee.	His brother.	1345.
			E' Náser Hassan.	His brother.	1348.
			E' Sáleh Saláh e' deen.	- - - - -	1351.
			E' Náser Hassan (restored).	Built the mosk of Sultan Hassan in Cairo.	1354.
El Mautuddid billáh, Aboo Bekr.	His brother.	1352.	El Munsoor Mohammed.	Son of Hágee, the son of Kalaóon.	1361.
			El Ashraf Shabán. (A great grandson of Kalaóon.	The first who ordered the Shereefs, or descendants of the Prophet, to wear a green turban. In 1365 Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, besieges Alexandria and fails.	1363.
El Motawúkkel al Alláh, Mohammed.	His son, deposed in - -	1362.	El Munsooor Ali.	- - - - -	1377.
			E' Sáleh Hágee.	Deposed - - -	1381 to 1382.
El Mautússim Zakaréëh.	Deposed after one month.	1378.			
El Motawúkkel.	Restored, and deposed again after six years.	1378.	*Dowlet el Memaleek el Borgéëh, e' Gerákseh (or Tcherkaséëh) Circassian or Borgite Memlook Kings.*		
El Wáthek billáh, Omer.	- - - - -	1384.	E' Záher Berkóok.	Marches into Syria, and twice repulses the Tatars under Tee-	1382.

				moorlang, or Teemóor (Tamerlane or Timur), in 1393-4.	
El Mautússim Zakaréëh.	Restored in 1387, and reigned till 1390.	1387.	E' Nás̲er Fúrreg.	His son. The governor of Syria having rebelled, Fúrreg marches against him, takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, 1399-1400. The Tatars again invade Syria: Fúrreg marches against them, but is defeated, and returns to Egypt, 1400-1. He recovers Syria, 1405-6.	1399.
El Motawúkkel.	Restored again, and died in 1406.	1390.	El Munsoor Abd el Azeez.	Reigns forty-seven days.	1406.
El Mostain billáh, Aboo 'l Fodl, el Abbas.	His son, deposed by Moáïud Shekh, in 1413, and imprisoned at Alexandria till his death.	1406 to 1413.	E' Náser Fúrreg (restored.)*	- - - - -	1406.
			El Moáïud, Aboo l' Nusr, Shekh.	The para was, until this reign, of a drachm's weight of silver, and Moáïud coined, instead of it, the *moáïudee*, now corrupted into máydee.	1412.
			El Meduffer Ahmed.	- - - - -	1421.
			E' Záher, Aboo 'l Futteh, Tatr.	- - - - -	1421.

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* According to a MS. in my possession of the Noozhet e' Nazereen.

Abbaséëh in Egypt.		A. D.	Borgéëh, or Circassian Memlooks.		A. D.
			E' Sáleh Mohammed.	- - - - -	1421.
			El Ashraf, Bursabái, or Borosbai.	Attacks Cyprus, and taking John III. prisoner, enforces the regular payment of tribute, 1423-4.	1422.
El Mautuddid billáh aboo 'l Fet-h, Daood.	His brother.	1413.	Abd el Azeéz, Aboo 'l Mahásin, Yoosef.	- - - - -	1438.
El Mostukfee billáh, Soolaymán.	His brother.	1442.	E' Záher Gek̲mek.	- - - - -	1438.
El K̲aiem be-omr-Illáh, Hamza.	His brother; deposed by El Ashraf Eenál, in 1455, and exiled to Alexandria.	1452.	El Munsoor Othman.	- - - - -	1453.
			El Ashraf Eenál.	- - - - -	1453.
			El Moáïud Ahmed.	Gives the crown of Cyprus to James, son of John III., on condition of receiving tribute.	1461.
			E' Záher Khooshkudm.	- - - - -	1461.
			E' Záher Bolbai.	- - - - -	1467.
El Mostunged billáh, Aboo 'l Mahásin, Yúsef.	His brother.	1455.	E' Záher Tumr Boghá.	- - - - -	1467.
			El Ashraf Aboo 'l Nusr, K̲áëdbai (or K̲aitbay) e' Záheree.	After a successful war against the Turks, concludes a treaty of peace with them, 1490-1. Fall of Grenada, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and extinction of the Moslem power in Spain, 1492.	1468.

El Motawúkkel (or Metawúkkel) al Allah, Aboo 'l Ez, Abd el Azeéz.	His cousin.	1480.	E' Náser Mohammed*, Aboo 'l Sadát.	Son of Kaitbay, reigned six months.	1496.
El Mostunsik billáh, Yakoob, or Mostunsir billáh.	His son.	1497.	El Ashraf Kansóóh.†	A Memlook of Kaitbay, eleven days.	1496.
			E' Náser Mohammed.	Son of Kaitbay, one year and a half.	1496.
			E' Záher, Aboo Saeed, Kansóóh.‡	- - - - -	1498.
			El Ashraf Ganbalát.	- - - - -	1500.
			El A'del Toman Bai (Bay).	- - - - -	1500.
			El Ashraf Kansóóh el Ghóoree, (or El Ghóree).	Defeated by the Turks under Sultan Selím, near Aleppo, and slain. The Turks advance to Egypt.	1501
El Motawúkkel al Allah, Mohammed	His son, taken to Constantinople by Sultan Selím. After the death of Selim he returned to Egypt, and reigned there till 1543, when he died, in the time of Daood Pasha. In him ended the Caliphate in Egypt. The Sultans of Constantinople thenceforward assumed the title of Caliph.	1517. to 1543.	El Ashraf Toman Bai, or Toman Bay§ (his nephew).	Elected by the Memlooks to succeed El Ghóree; defeated by the Turks near Heliopolis, and in a second battle taken prisoner, and hanged at the Bab Zooayleh, in Cairo, A.D. 1517.	1517.

Sultan Selím abolished the Monarchy, but left the Aristocracy of the Memlooks, on certain conditions; the chief of which were—annual tribute, obedience in matters of faith to the decisions of the Mufti of Constantinople, and the insertion of the name of the Sultan of the Osmanlis in the public prayers and on the coin. But the total subversion of the power of the Memlooks dates, in reality, from the invasion of the French and the subsequent occupation of Egypt by the Turks; and the finishing stroke to their real or nominal power, and to their very existence, has been since put by Mohammed Ali.

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[*] According to the above-mentionod MS.
[†] Id.
[‡] This and El Ashraf are names applied to several of these kings.
[§] Not the same as Bey *or* Bek, governor of a province.

RISE OF THE MOSLEMS, AND THEIR CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs seems to have been as little expected by the generality of their nation, as by the Greeks themselves; to whose mismanagement this event may be attributed, rather than to any well-devised plan of attack on the part of the invaders. The country was defended by several strong garrisons; Pelusium, Memphis, and above all Alexandria, were capable of resisting the most formidable armies versed in all the arts of war; and the forces of Amer were neither numerous nor furnished with the necessary engines for a siege. The rapid rise of the new religion, and of the power of the Moslems, was indeed an extraordinary phenomenon; and one hundred years after the Hégira*, or flight of Mohammed from Mecca, their arms had extended over Syria, Egypt, Persia, Africa, and Spain.

But before we enter upon their career in Egypt, it may be better to take a slight glance at their previous history, beginning with the prophet.

Mohammed, born at Mecca, A. D. 571, was sprung from the tribe of the K̲oraysh, and the illustrious family of Háshem, by whom the office of guardian of the Kábah was inherited as their right. He was son of Abd-allah, and grandson of Abd-el-Motulleb, a wealthy and powerful citizen of Mecca, renowned, as well for probity, as for his courage in delivering his country from the aggressions of the Abyssinians. The education of Mohammed, who lost his father and mother in his infancy, was undertaken by his uncle, Aboo-Táleb; and at the age of 25 he accepted the office of factor to the rich Khadeégeh, whom he afterwards married.

The idolatry of the Kábah, and the discordant theories of heterodox theologians and speculative philosophers, had paved the way for the introduction of a new religion; and Mohammed having converted the principal members of his own family, and gained over to his cause the respectable name of Aboo Bekr, began to set forth the doctrines of a new faith. Opposed at Mecca, and obliged to fly its precincts (A. D. 622), he boldly withstood the attacks of the hostile K̲oraýsh; and succeeding at length in subduing the most formidable of his opponents, he returned a conqueror to that city which had before expelled him from her walls. It is from this *flight* that the Moslems date their era, which corresponds to our year 622 A. D.

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* Hégira, or Hejira.

Ali, the son of Aboo Táleb, had been the first proselyte, and the firmest support, to the new creed. Faithful to his friend, and courageous in the field, his fidelity and valour had more than once ensured success in the most hazardous enterprises; and the capture of Khayber, and the conquest of the Jewish tribes of Arabia, confirmed the power of the Moslems, and ennobled the name of Ali.

A. D. 632. The death of Mohammed and the choice of a successor were the signal of injustice and party prejudice. The violence of Omar, and the intrigues of Aësha, the widow of Mohammed, succeeded in securing the election of Aboo Bekr to the post of Caliph *; and the injured Ali was excluded from those honours which his early fidelity, his services to the cause of Islám, and even the promises of Mohammed, might have claimed as his right. His partisans might also put forth the strong recommendation of his having married Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, by whom he had two sons, Hassan and Hossayn.

The father of Aësha did not long enjoy these honours: his reign lasted only two years, and the aged Aboo Bekr appointed Omar ebn el Khuttáb as his successor. Ali was still excluded; and, upon the assassination of Omar, Othmán was invested with the title of "Prince of the Faithful;" nor was it till the death of the third caliph that the son of Aboo Táleb was elected to that office; and the mildness of his character, and his repugnance at fomenting discord among the tribes, add not a little to the honour of the most valiant of his nation.

Ali did not long enjoy the honour so tardily bestowed upon him. Moáwieh, the son of Aboo Sofeeán, supported by a numerous faction and a powerful army, usurped the title of Caliph; and, being defeated on the plains of the Euphrates, he fled to Kufa, where he fell by the hand of an assassin A. D. 661. His son Hassan nominally succeeded him; but, waiving his claims, he retired to Medina, the burial-place of his grandfather, where he was poisoned by his own wife; and Yezeed succeeded to the throne of his father Moáwieh by the right of inheritance. And though Hossayn, the younger son of Ali, disputed for some time his title to the Caliphate, he at length fell a victim to treachery and the superior power of his rival.

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* Khaleefeh, "vicar," "lieutenant," or "substitute," corrupted into Caliph.

This exclusion of Ali has been the origin of the enmity of the Persian and Turko-Arab votaries of Islám; the former, known by the name of Shiites (Sheéëh)*, maintaining the rights of Ali; the latter, the Soonnees † (Soonnéëh), upholding the priority of the caliphs, and the veracity of their *traditions*. By the Persians Ali is called the Saint of God, and the formula of their coins is La Illáh, il'Alláh, Mohammed Rossool Alláh, oo Ali Wellee Alláh, "There is no deity but God: Mohammed is the prophet of God, and Ali the saint of God."

The derwishes are equally tenacious of the claims of Ali with the Persian Shiites; they look upon him as little inferior to the founder of Islám, and one of their fabulous legends pretends to heavenly authority for the name they have given him of "the Lion of God."

The Persians still nominally maintain the line of succession in the family of the Hashemites, and the twelve Imáms are reckoned as commencing with Ali, Hassan, and Hossayn, to the ninth generation of his descendants.‡

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* شيعة from شيع, "a follower." They call themselves Adléëh, from their claims to a *just* cause.

† Soonnees, or Sunnites, Soonnéëh, Soonéëh سنية.

‡ The twelve Imams, according to the tenets of the Shiïtes, are—1. Ali (or Alee); 2, 3. His two sons, Hassan and Hossayn; 4. Ali, the son of Hossayn; 5. Mohammed, the son of Ali; 6. Gâfer, or Jâfer, the son of Mohammed; 7. Moosa, the *second* son of Gâfer; 8. Ali, the son of Moosa; 9. Mohammed, the son of Ali; 10. Ali, the son of Mohammed; 11. Hassan, the son of Ali; and 12. Mohammed, the son of Ali, who has the title of El Mahdee, or the Guide, and who is believed by them to be still living. Some, however, of the Shiites dispute this succession on the following grounds: Ismaël, who was the eldest son of Gâfer, had been nominated to succeed his father, but having died before him, Gâfer declared his second son Moosa his successor. Ismaël, however, had left children, and those Shiites, who looked upon the Imamate as hereditary, denied the rights of Moosa; and consequently, in reckoning the Imams, they stopped at Ismaël, whom they considered the seventh, and rejected all those whose claims were derived from the younger brother. From Ismaël the Fatemite caliphs pretended to be descended, and the founder of their dynasty assumed the title of El

The invasion of Syria was the first step towards foreign conquest meditated by the Moslems; the possession of that country had been coveted by the Prophet previous to his death; and Aboo Bekr hastened to fulfil the wishes he had expressed.

But the discord that sprang up in Arabia, on the death of Mohammed, impeded the progress of their arms beyond the limits of their own country, and the Moslems had to encounter enemies among their own tribes. It required all the wisdom of Aboo Bekr * to fix the wavering faith of the Koráysh, who threatened to relax into their former idolatry; and the alarming rebellion of an usurper, who assumed the character of a prophet, was with difficulty repressed by the arms of Khâled ebn el Weleed, the lieutenant of the caliph.

The victorious Khâled then marched into Irak; but his successful advance into the provinces of the Tigris was for the present abandoned for the more favourite project of a Syrian campaign. The riches of Damascus, and the eagerness of the Moslems to wrest the holy city of Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels, were a sufficient stimulus for this design; Yezeed and Aboo Obeidah had already advanced into that country; and the acknowledged skill and valour of Khâled pointed him out as the fittest person to assume the supreme command. Every endeavour was made by the Greeks to resist the Saracen invaders; but from the first moment victory declared in favour of the Moslems, and no effort was neglected by Khâled to ensure entire success. Amer † was sent for from Irak: all the other generals were ordered to unite for the conquest of Syria; and in the summer

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Mahdee, which was usually applied to the last of the Imams. A secret association, called Ismaëlian, which was framed by one Abdallah, a native of Khuzistan, received their immediate protection, its mysteries were rendered peculiarly sacred, and lodges were established in the capitals of their dominions, both in Western and Eastern Africa. With these Ismaëlians were connected the Druses, a new sect, founded by Sultan Hákem, third king of the Fatemite dynasty.

* Called E' Sedeék, or E'Sádeek, "the veracious," from his integrity and love of truth.

† I have already observed that the letter o (wow) is written at the end of this name merely to distinguish it from Omar, the orthography of the two being otherwise exactly similar, and that it is never pronounced. Amrou is a name unknown to the Arabs.

of A. D. 634, Damascus was taken by assault. The aged caliph did not live to receive the news of this glorious event, having died the same day; and Omar's accession to the caliphate was rendered auspicious by these welcome tidings. The war continued with unabated fury, and Jerusalem, after a siege of four months, was forced to capitulate. The caliph himself arrived from Arabia to receive the keys of the city. Aleppo, Antioch, and Cæsarea were then speedily taken, and the whole of Syria passed under the yoke of the Moslems.

INVASION OF EGYPT.

Elated with their success, Amer or Āmr ebn el As, with 4000 Arabs, advanced, by permission of the caliph, to the confines of Egypt, which he entered June 6. 638. A. D. Pelusium was immediately invested, and after a siege of thirty days he became master of that important fortress, which had been the barrier of the country on the Syrian side from the earliest period of the Egyptian monarchy. An undefended passage was thence open to him, either by the eastern border of the Delta, or across the low hills of the Arabian desert, to the city of Babylon, which occupied the site of the modern Musr el Ateékeh (Old Cairo), and the extent of the adjacent mounds.* The Roman station † (whose solid walls still contain a Christian village) was so strong a fortress that it delayed the invaders, and defied their attacks for seven months, when a reinforcement of 400,000 men revived their courage, and the scaling ladder supplied the want of more formidable military engines. This is the K̲asr e' Shemma of the Arab historians; a name by which it is still known to the modern Copts.

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* Gibbon supposes the Saracen general did not advance immediately on the capture of Pelusium; but the reason he gives for detention there will not apply to that place as it does to Damietta, the road from Pelusium being beyond the limits of the inundation. He must, however, have halted a long time somewhere on his way to Alexandria; for if he entered Egypt June 6. (A. D. 638), and took Alexandria December 22. (640), the sum of thirty days before Pelusium, seven months before Babylon, twenty-two days' march to Alexandria, and fourteen months' siege of that city, being a total of twenty-two months and twenty-two days, requires an addition of seven months and twenty-four days; which may have been spent partly at Pelusium, partly on the march thence to Babylon, and partly at Memphis.

† See above, vol. i. p. 274.

Religious controversy formed at this time the principal occupation of the Christians of Egypt, and the enmity of the rival sects had led to much injustice and oppression, which naturally excited a thirst for revenge. The Copts, whose hatred of the Greeks is not even yet extinguished, no sooner perceived than they welcomed the moment, which promised to free them from the superior power of their religious adversaries: they thought the victorious Saracens destined eventually to obtain possession of Egypt; and a good opportunity was open to obtain for themselves favourable conditions. John Mekaukes [*] had been appointed governor of Egypt by Heraclius; but profiting by the state of the Greek empire and its wars with Chosroës, king of Persia, who had laid siege to Constantinople, he had appropriated the revenues of the country. He therefore felt little repugnance to a change of masters, provided he could secure the riches he had amassed: and this consideration, added to his hatred of the Greeks, decided him to make terms with the invaders. The payment of tribute to the caliph was gladly agreed to by the Copts, and greeted with equal satisfaction by the lieutenant of Omar. It was stipulated that two Egyptian *deenars* [†] of gold should be paid for every Christian above sixteen years of age, with the exception of old men, women, and monks; and a hospitable entertainment for three days was promised to the Moslems who journeyed through the country. The fall of Memphis was the consequence of this treaty, and the Greeks were at once betrayed and deserted by the population of the country.

But Alexandria presented an almost insurmountable obstacle to the ardour of the invaders: and the canals of the Delta, added to several fortified places along their banks, delayed their arrival before that city for twenty-two days.

Oct. 639. The siege was immediately commenced, and the army of Amer, swelled by a numerous reinforcement of Arabs, and assisted by the revolted natives, invested the well-defended walls of Alexandria. But the garrison was inspired with no less resolution to resist the assailants; the city was well supplied with provisions, and its formidable walls were furnished with every engine of defence. The besiegers and the besieged displayed the most determined heroism. "The Saracens fought with the courage of lions; they repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack the sword, the banner of Amrou (Amer) glittered in the van of the Moslems. On a memorable day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valour: his followers who had entered the citadel were driven back; and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amrou was conducted before the præfect he remembered his dignity and forgot his situation; a lofty demeanour, and resolute language, revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived; he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of their general, and insulted the folly of the infidels."*

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[*] The same who sent presents to Mohammed.

[†] See below, p. 474.

[‡] There were then in Egypt 600,000 Copts.

Though the siege had continued upwards of a year, the ardour of the Arabs was in no degree abated; and the arrival of fresh reinforcements from Syria, the value of the prize before them, and the persevering courage of their general urged them to persist. At length, after an obstinate defence of fourteen months, the besieged agreed to surrender the place; and the opulent Alexandria, second only to Rome itself, and the emporium of the East, fell into the hands of the Arabs.

Dec. 640. The news of this success was immediately sent to the caliph by his victorious general, in terms which, though short, were expressive of his surprise at the size and wealth of this splendid city. "I have taken," says Amer, "the great city of the West. Its size is immense. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing that it contains 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres, or places of amusement, 12,000 shops for the sale of vegetables and food, and 40,000 tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms without treaty or capitulation; and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory."* The wealth was ordered by the caliph to be reserved for the public use, and, contrary to the wishes of Amer, the library of Alexandria was consigned to the flames by the fanaticism of Omar.†

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* Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 51. p. 436.

The ancient renown of Egypt, the peculiar nature of its soil where the most abundant harvests were produced without rain, so necessary in other climes, and the immense wealth found there by the Arabs, naturally excited the curiosity of Omar to learn more respecting so peculiar a country. Amer was enjoined to write a description to the caliph; which was as follows: "Egypt, O commander of the Faithful, is a compound of black earth‡ and green plants, between a pulverised mountain and a red sand. The distance from Syene to the sea is a month's journey for an horseman. Along the valley descends a river, on which the blessing of the most High reposes both in the evening and morning§, and which rises and falls with the revolutions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensation of Providence unlocks the springs and fountains that nourish the earth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through the realm of Egypt: the fields are overspread by the salutary food, and the villagers communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilising mud for the reception of the various seeds: the crowds of husbandmen who blacken the land may be compared to a swarm of industrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the lash of the taskmaster, and the promise of the flowers and fruit of a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit trees, and the cattle, are unequally shared between those who labour and those who possess. According to the vicissitudes of the seasons the face of the country is adorned with a *silver* wave, a verdant *emerald*, or the deep yellow of a *golden* harvest."*

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* Ibid., ix. p. 437.

† See above, vol. i. p. 133.

‡ This colour, according to Plutarch, was the reason of its being called by the Ancient Egyptians Chemmia, *chemi* signifying "*black*" in their language. De Iside et Osir. s. 33.

§ The evening is still the beginning of the day in the East as in old times: — "The evening and the morning were the first day." Gen. i. 5.

Amer did not neglect any opportunity of improving the newly-acquired territory, of which his valour had obtained for him the government. Among his first acts was the erection of a mosk on the spot where he had pitched his tent at the siege of Babylon. It was placed in the centre of the city he founded there under the name of Fostát, and which then became the capital of Egypt. This appellation of Fostát† was retained until the building of Cairo or Musr el Ḵaherah in 973 A.D., from which time the Arab city was called Musr el Atéeḵeh, as at the present day.

It would be endless to relate the numerous abuses stated by Arab writers to have been corrected by the wisdom of Amer, or the benefits conferred on the country by the invasion of the Moslems. Many of them indeed might not stand the test of impartial scrutiny; and credulity revolts at the improbable tale of his having put a stop to the annual sacrifice of a virgin to the Nile, in a country long under the dominion of Rome, and inhabited by a Christian population. The story even goes farther, and pretends that the indignant river, missing the customary sacrifice, withheld its usual supply of water, and that Amer, having applied to the caliph, received a letter from him addressed to the Nile, which being thrown into it, obtained the wished-for inundation.‡ The character of Amer, however, was that of a humane and brave soldier; the opinions he expressed respecting the government of the country were judicious and enlightened; and it had been well for Egypt if successive governors or princes of the country had taken them as their guide.

Upper Egypt was speedily overrun by the arms of the victorious invaders; and though opposed at Behnesa and other strongholds, they speedily obtained possession of the whole country between Memphis and Syene; where, as at Fostát, a mosk bears the name and records the conquest of

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* Gibbon, ix. c. 51. p. 445.

† See above, vol. i. p. 274.

‡ See Savary, vol. i. letter 9.

Amer. The once powerful Thebes, that had withstood the arms of Ptolemy Lathyrus* for three years, was now no longer a city, or capable of resistance; and the feeble population, whose principal abode was around the temple of Medeenet Haboo†, no sooner heard of the approach of the Arabs, than they fled its precincts, and left the church and houses to be plundered by the invaders. They were afterwards overtaken near Esné, and put to death in a promiscuous slaughter; and tradition still records the spot, and the site of their tombs.

According to Arab history, Behnesa offered the strongest opposition; an army of 16,000 men was engaged for several months in besieging its well-defended walls, and the possession of the place cost the besiegers 5000 men‡ (A. H. 21. A. D. 643.) This force is said to have been commanded by Khaled ebn el Weleed, whose tomb is still shown to the traveller in the Great Oasis, where he is said to have been buried; but both statements may be questioned. It is improbable that the conqueror of Syria should have held a post beneath Amer; and Arab historians state him to have been buried at Emessa.

In 644 A. D. the Caliph Omar perished by the hand of an assassin; and Othmán was called to the throne by the voice of the people. Notwithstanding the tried fitness of Amer for the government of Egypt, the jealousy of Othmán deprived him of his post; and Abdallah, once the faithless secretary of Mohammed, was appointed to succeed him, and commence the conquest of Western Africa, assisted by the counsels and valour of Zobayr.

The imprudent removal of Amer from his command in Egypt, by fostering discontent in the country, gave the Greeks an opportunity of making an attempt to recover this valuable possession; and the arrival of a fleet sent by Heraclius was the signal of revolt. Alexandria was once more recovered from the Saracens. But the triumph of the Greeks was of short duration; and the prowess of Amer was again distinguished in retaking this important city A. D. 646. No further attempts were made to dispute the possession of Egypt: the son of As was restored to his government; the spirit of dissatisfaction was quelled; and he was permitted to pass the remainder of his days in the city he had founded on the banks of the Nile.

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* Pausanias calls him Philometor, which name he bore as well as Soter II. Pausan. i. 9.

† See above, p. 167. 269. 287.

‡ This is the account given in an Arab MS. in my possession of Aboo Abdillahi ebn Mohammed el Mukkari. See above, p. 25. 29. Journey to Upper Egypt.

Amer is said at his death to have left 100 k̲antars of gold and 7 of silver, a sum amounting to about 882,740*l.* sterling*; which, considering the immense riches obtained by the Arab conquerors, is not surprising; and it is said that the Caliph Othmán, notwithstanding the sums he lavished in charitable donations, left at his death upwards of eleven millions sterling.

From this time the history of Egypt is deficient in events of interest: it continued to be a province of the Arab empire under a governor appointed by the caliph, undisturbed by the factious wars that sprung up in the reign of Moáwieh and his successors.

THE OMMIADES, OR AMMAWÉËH DYNASTY.

Moáwieh was the first caliph of this dynasty. For a time he shared the caliphate with Ali, who ruled in Arabia, while Egypt and Syria fell to the share of Moáwieh. But in 661 he became sole possessor of the empire; and he was the first who succeeded in making the caliphate hereditary in his family. In the reign of Abd el Melek, his fourth successor, the conquest of Africa, which may be said to date its commencement from the taking of Alexandria, was completed; and this paved the way for the establishment of the Saracens in Spain.

The reign of this prince is also remarkable for the establishment of the first Arab coinage. Macrizi† says, that money was coined by the Caliph Omar, A. H. 18 (A. D. 639), but that Abdallah ben e' Zobáyr, who assumed the title of Caliph at Mecca and Medina in 684 A. D., was the first who struck round *Dérhems*. Other Arab authors affirm that the earliest coinage dates during the caliphate of Abd-el-Melek A. H. 76. (A. D. 696), and that it was commenced under the superintendence of El Hagág (or Hajaj), who had been appointed to the government of Irak in 75, and who there built the city of Wáset, afterwards so famous for its coinage.*

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* The K̲antar is 44 ok̲as, and 1 ok̲a is 400 derhems (drachms), amounting therefore to 1,760,000 derhems of gold, and 123,200 of silver.

† Macrizi wrote on this subject by order of one of the Circassian Memlook kings about 820 A. H. (A. D. 1417).

Besides Persian money, the Moslems had previously used the Greek coins; and an accidental circumstance is said to have led to this change in the currency. The caliphs had always inserted the formula "there is no deity but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God," in their epistles to the Greek emperors; but one of those monarchs taking umbrage at it, threatened, if it was not hereafter omitted, to adopt one on the coins which would be equally offensive to the Moslems. Abd el Melek, upon this, determined to establish his own coinage; and while obviating the intended insult of the Christian emperor, to display the same formula on the money that circulated through his dominions: and in spite of the objections offered by many of his subjects, who were unwilling that the name of Allah should pass through impure hands, his plan was speedily put into execution. The two first coins were the *deenár*† and the *dérhem*, the former of gold, the latter of silver. The oldest deenár hitherto found bears the date 91 A. H. (710 A. D.); the oldest derhem was struck in 76, or, as some read the inscription, 79 A. H. (A. D. 699). Beside the date and above formula, they generally bear a sentence from the Koran, and the derhems occasionally have the name of the caliph and the place where they were coined. Some of the money that circulated during the reigns of the early caliphs of the Ommiade dynasty, was struck from Sassanide dies (besides the Greek coins current also at the same time), and to these the caliphs added their own names; so that we find Sassanide figures and inscriptions with the Arabic (Cufic) name of Omar and other Ommiade monarchs on the same pieces.‡ And to this, I believe, Macrizi alludes, when he says that Omar coined money on the Persian model, and that the first coins gave offence at Medina from having a figure upon them.* It is by supposing the historian had in view this addition of the caliph's own name on the Sassanide dies, that we are enabled to account for his apparent disagreement with other authors respecting the first Arab coinage.† The average weight of the golden deenár was 65 grains troy, and its value in English money of the present day 10*s.* 8*d.*; the silver derhem being about 6*d.*

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* I have a silver derhem with the legend "coined at Damascus in 96" A. H.

† The oldest gold coins have the word Deenr, not Deenár. The change from the name and value of the Roman denarium was singular.

‡ These coins may be seen in the British Museum and other collections.

The events which occurred during the reigns of the successors of Abd el Melek offer considerable interest, especially the conquest of Spain, the first invasion of India by the Moslems, the advance of Abd e' Rahman into France, and the defeat of his army by Charles Martel (A.D. 732); but they are foreign to the history of Egypt. The bare mention of the names of the caliphs would also be tedious, without conveying any information relative to their history: I therefore confine myself solely to matters connected with Egypt, and refer for the general order of their succession to my Chronological Table, given at the beginning of this section.

THE ABBASIDES, OR ABBASÉËH.

Under the Abbasides, Bagdad became the capital of the caliphate.

The career of the accomplished princes of this dynasty might well deserve particular mention; but the state of Egypt offers no peculiar feature, until the usurpation of the Tooloonides and Fatemites wrested it from the dominion of the caliphs.

Ahmed ebn e' Tooloon was governor of the country under the caliph Mohtuddee billah, and having thrown off his allegiance, declared himself independent sovereign of Egypt. On a rock about a mile and a half to the N.E. of Fostat, called Kalat el Kebsh, he founded a mosk, which still bears his name; and on the same elevated spot he built a palace for himself and houses for his courtiers. This afterwards became part of Cairo, and is now enclosed within the walls of the city.* He was the first prince who founded hospitals, and a *morostán*, or madhouse, in Egypt, which I have already had occasion to notice† in speaking of that now existing at Cairo, built by Sultan K̲alaoón.

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* I have seen coins of the time of Saladin with a head, over which was "La illah il' Allah Mohammed rossool Allah." It is in the possession of Mr. Harris of Alexandria.

† See that excellent work, Marsden's Numismata Orientalia.

The dynasty of Tooloón was of short duration, having lasted only thirty-eight years, from 868 to 906; when the caliphs once more obtained possession of Egypt. It was again wrested from them, thirty-six years afterwards, by the Aksheed dynasty of Turks, who were supplanted, in 970, by more powerful competitors‡, the Fatemites, or Fowátem, of Africa.

During the reign of Haroon e' Rasheed, Ibrahim, the son of Agleb, governor of Western Africa, threw off his allegiance to the caliphs, and founded an independent kingdom, of which Cairoan (K̲ayrawan), near Tunis, was the capital. The Aglebite dynasty lasted from the year A.D. 890 till 900, and was succeeded by the Fatemites, who, after possessing the limited kingdom of their predecessors for fifty-nine years, meditated more extensive conquests. Egypt was a prize worthy of their ambition, and El Moëz conceived the design of possessing himself of that rich province, and wresting from an usurper what the caliphs had not the power to regain. Goher el K̲áed was accordingly sent from the Fatemite capital with a powerful army to invade Egypt; and having succeeded in obtaining possession of the country, he founded the city of Cairo§, as already mentioned; and El Moëz, transferring his court to the new city, established the Fatemite dynasty in

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* See above, p. 224. 232.

† See above, p. 236.

‡ Each of the three great parties was distinguished by a particular colour. The Fowátem had green, the Ammawéëh white, and the Abbaséëh black, for their banners. At present those who wear the green turban are the Shereéfs, or descendants of the Prophet; the red is of the Ah̲medéëh, or the followers of the Sayd el Beddowee; the olive-green of the B̄aráhmeh (sing. Boorhámee), followers of Ibrahim e' Desoók̲ee; the black of the Rifaéëh, followers of E' Rifáee: a colour also worn by the Byooméëh, and by the Sadéëh (or Saadéëh), followers of Săd e' deen e' Gibbáwee, and the successors of the Psylli; and the yellow of the followers of Aboo Yoósef el Āfeéfee. The white is indiscriminately worn by all. The Christians have a light or dark blue and black, and the Jews a light brown or stone-coloured shawl.

§ See above, p. 224.

Egypt. The character of El Moëz (or, as he was also called, Aboo Tummím*) has been represented to be that of a warlike and virtuous prince, who studied the welfare of the countries he governed: but it does not appear that any great change took place in the administration of Egypt; and the chief pride of Moëz was in embellishing the new city, and in establishing his dynasty on a footing which might effectually defy the power of the caliphs; whose name was, for the first time, omitted in the public prayers, and replaced by that of the Egyptian sovereign. Many useful works were also undertaken by his orders, to secure to the husbandman the full benefits of the Nile; and the clearing of the old Tanitic branch, deepened and rendered navigable (even to the present day), has obtained for him the credit of having been the creator of that channel. It is still called the canal† or river of Moëz. But the honour of having founded Cairo and established the college of El Ezher is partly shared by his general; and the modern Cairenes in mentioning them forget the name of Moëz, and ascribe their foundation to Góher.

The rule of his son, Azeéz billáh, was such as might have been expected from the mildness of his disposition. But the admission of the Christians and Jews to favour, and to the possession of high offices about the caliphs, and his marriage with a Christian, did not fail to excite the envy and the prejudices of the Moslems; and the disgrace of his wizéer‡, who had joined in the general outcry, was the signal for a popular outbreak. The caliph was forced to yield to the inflexible demands of the people; his wizéer was reinstated; and nothing less than the dismissal of the obnoxious infidels would satisfy his Moslem subjects.§

But if they objected to the too liberal conduct of el Azeez, the extravagant caprices of his son and successor, El Hákem, gave them ample reason to complain. Not only did he set at defiance the precepts of the Koran, but his excesses in private and his tyranny in public rendered him odious to mankind.

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* Properly Tummeém.

† It is also styled "The Golden Canal."

‡ Wizeer in Arabic, Vizeér in Turkish.

§ Rey Dussueil, Resumé de l'Histoire d'Egypte, to which I am indebted for many of the details of this history.

His very administration of justice was tainted with crime: and his mode of punishing the salesmen of Cairo, when, in the character of his own *multizzeb,* he detected false weights, indicated the profligacy and cruelty of his disposition. Nor did his caprices stop here:. he assumed the character of a prophet; the religion of his people was insulted by his pretensions; and, like another Nero, he amused himself by setting fire to his capital, while he encouraged his soldiers to plunder the inhabitants in the midst of their alarm.

During these scenes of crime, an event happened which had nearly cost him his throne. A descendant of Hesham, the son of Abd el Melek, of the Ommiade dynasty, raised the standard of revolt and disputed the rights of El Hákem to the throne.* But after various conflicts he was defeated and taken prisoner, and this success confirmed the power of El Hákem, and gave him an opportunity of indulging his appetite for cruelty. The captive was bound hand and foot, and paraded through the streets of Cairo on a camel; whilst a monkey was made to strike the back of his head with a stone until death relieved him from this tedious torture.

The confusion consequent upon this attempt might have given the Abbaside caliphs an opportunity of recovering Egypt, but the moment was allowed to pass, and K̲ader Billah was satisfied with publishing a manifesto to prove that Moëz did not derive his origin from the daughter of the Prophet, and that El Hákem, his grandson, was a man of mean extraction and an usurper, who merited the contempt of all true Moslems.† But so far from injuring the Egyptian caliph, or conferring a benefit on the people, this vague assertion only inflamed his anger: greater severities were exercised on those he suspected of any ill-will; and the arrival of an adventurer from Persia, who in the garb of a prophet permitted to his followers every kind of licentiousness, gave El Hákem a fresh opportunity of gratifying his caprice. Derári, the son of Ismael, was the name of this impostor. He was well received by the caliph; and to show every readiness on his part to comply with the wishes of his new patron, he scrupled not to ascribe to him the powers of the deity himself; of whom he pretended to be an incarnation. However violent the indignation of the people against these blasphemous pretensions, they were unable to resist the power or attempt the life of their sovereign; but they managed to assassinate Derári, and El Hákem was thus deprived of a devoted coadjutor in his pretended mission.

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* D'Herbelot.

† Rey Dussueil.

It was not long before another still more unprincipled stepped forward to further his views. Hámzah ebn Ahmed* surpassed his predecessor Derári in the extravagance of his doctrines, abolishing as he did all the most sacred rites of Islam, and even of humanity itself. His precepts form the corner-stone of the mysterious religion of a sect, which to the present day acts a conspicuous part in the history of Syria; and the Druses owe their origin to the combined imposture of El Hákem, Derári, and Hámzah.†

Disgusted with his cruelties, his own sister at length resolved to free the country of this monster, and having concerted measures with the captain of the guards, she entrusted the execution of the design to a trusty servant, who on the 17th Showal, A. H. 411, put an end to his odious career.‡

El Hákem had been in the daily habit of riding on an ass to the Mokuttum mountains behind Cairo, under pretence of communing with heaven respecting the object of his mission upon earth; and this solitude was favourable both for the execution of her design and for the prevention of discovery. It was not difficult therefore to keep his death secret for some time: the absence of one of such eccentric habits excited little suspicion; and when the body was discovered, his death could only be attributed to an unknown hand.

A mosk still remains in Cairo built by this insane impostor; and in an inscription over the western door may be observed the singular fact of his being treated as a prophet; which I have already mentioned. §

The reign of Mostúnser Billáh, his successor, commenced with brilliant successes. He defeated Moëz, the third successor of Yusef ebn Zeiri, in 1050, who had disputed his rights to the African throne; and was equally successful against the Abbaside caliph, whose capital, Bagdad, he entered in triumph. But the fugitive K̲aiem found a formidable ally in Togrul Beg, the nephew of Alp Aslan, who reinstated him in his capital; and the Syrians, impatient of the Fatemite yoke, soon after revolting under Mahmood Ez-e' Dowleh, drove the forces of Mostúnser to the confines of Egypt.

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* Or Hamzeh-ben-Ahmed. Ben and Ebn both signify "*son.*"

† See D'Herbelot on Hákem, and above, p. 466. note‡.

‡ Noozhet e' Nazereen.

§ See above, Vol. I. p. 234.

This was not the only misfortune the Egyptians were destined to suffer. The Nile, to which they looked for all the blessings of a plentiful harvest, denied them its annual tribute; the inundation failed them, and a dreadful famine decimated the inhabitants. Supposing that the Abyssinians had stopped, or diverted, the course of the river, Mostúnser sent rich presents to the Emperor, conjuring him to allow the Nile to continue in its accustomed course; and prayers were put up in every mosk to implore the protection of Providence. The famine still continued; and to such a point did this calamity reach, that beasts of burthen, and in some instances even human flesh, were used to appease the hunger of the expiring people. The plague followed; and to complete their misfortunes, the country was invaded by Hassan Náser e' Dówleh, at the head of a body of Turks and Curds.* The treasures of El Mostúnser were expended to bribe them to retire, and their march was marked with devastation from Cairo to the sea. Disheartened by so many calamities, the caliph entrusted all the affairs of his kingdom to e' Gemálee, originally a Memlook of Gemal e' Dowleh, who united great military talents with justice and discretion. He also associated his second son, Mostálee, in the government, A. D. 1094.

After a long reign, he was succeeded by Mostálee, whose career was disturbed by the endeavours of his elder brother to obtain possession of the throne. But the death of his competitor fortunately ended these troubles: and in his fourth year Mostálee had the satisfaction of wresting Jerusalem from the Turks.

At the close of his reign, a new enemy appeared in Syria, who, for many succeeding years, excited the alarms of the kings of Egypt. They were the Crusaders, who in 1098 made their first attempt to dispossess the Moslems of the Holy Land. Having entered Syria from the north, and taken Antioch, they advanced upon Jerusalem, of which they obtained possession the following year, after a siege of forty days. A reinforcement of 20,000 men, under the Wizeer Afdal, arrived from Egypt two days after the capture of the place, and was forced to retire; and the Crusaders proceeded to besiege Ascalon, A. D. 1101. The same year Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, Count of Edessa; who gained a victory over the Egyptian troops, between Jaffa and Rumleh. The latter were commanded by Saad e' Dowleh [*], who was killed in the action.

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* Rey Dussueil.

In the meantime El Amr be-Ahkam-Illah had succeeded to the caliphate of Egypt; and various efforts were made to check the progress of the Crusaders. The son of Afdal was sent into Syria with new levies, assisted by a powerful fleet; but the arms of the Christians were triumphant, and Tripoli fell into their hands. Fifteen years after this (A. D. 1124), they obtained possession of Tyre; the Egyptians were unable to offer effectual resistance, and the military prowess of Zenghī was alone capable of checking their power. In 1130, El Amr dying without male issue, El Háfuẕ succeeded to the vacant throne; .but the intrigues of Afdal curtailed his power, and Egypt became a prey to intestine commotions, which continued during the reign of E' Dthaher, his successor.

An event of some importance marked the close of the reign of Háfuẕ.[†] The doctrines of Christianity had, during the occupation of Egypt by the Romans, penetrated into Ethiopia, and thence spread into Abyssinia. The clergy of that church acknowledged the supremacy of the patriarch of Alexandria; but the Emperor of Abyssinia, wishing to give his prelates the right of electing their own metropolitan, sent an embassy to the caliph, requesting him to obtain the consent of the patriarch. Ignorant of the real tendency of the demand, the caliph urged compliance with the wishes of the Abyssinian; but the patriarch, reminding him of the influence given to Egypt over that distant country, by keeping its church subject to the jurisdiction of Alexandria, found no difficulty in frustrating that design. The request was therefore refused; and though it was afterwards renewed with better success in the reign of Melek Adel, the *mutrân*[*] or Abyssinian metropolitan is still appointed by the patriarch of Egypt.

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[*] Michaud, Bibliothèque des Croisades, p. 7.

[†] Rey Dusseuil.

In 1148 the second crusade arrived in Syria, under the Emperor Conrad of Germany and Lewis VII. of France; and, with this reinforcement, the Christians seemed certain of success, until checked by the arms of Noor e' deen, the son of Zenghi.

The name and power of Egypt were now no longer known in Syria; the reigns of the dissolute E' Dthaher, of the youthful El Fiyúz, and of the unfortunate Aádud, passed away amidst the intrigues of ambitious ministers. Afdal, Abbas, and Talaï, succeeded each other in power; Shawer, originally a slave of Abbas, overthrew the party of the last wizeer, and was in turn dispossessed by Darghan, and obliged to fly to Damascus, where he invoked the assistance of Noor e' deen. The opportunity this afforded him for obtaining an influence in Egypt was not neglected; and Shirkooh was sent to reinstate Shawer. The Egyptian army was defeated, and the minister restored; but no sooner was this done, than he forgot his engagements, and sought to compel Shirkooh to leave the country. Unable to expel him by force of arms, Shawer had recourse to the Crusaders. Aware of the danger to their cause if Noor e' deen once succeeded in obtaining possession of Egypt, they willingly listened to his overtures, and a large force under Amaury[†], king of Jerusalem, entered Egypt. Shirkooh shut himself up in Belbáys; but the Crusaders and Egyptians pressing the siege, he was obliged to come to terms, by which it was agreed he should evacuate the place, and return to Syria. The troops of Shirkooh marched out between the allied armies, the general bringing up the rear with his mace in his hand, as if suspicious of treachery; and upon a Christian officer asking if he was afraid the Egyptians and Franks would break their word, he answered, "They dare not, and if my soldiers had listened to me, I would have cut a passage through their ranks."[‡]

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[*] See above, Vol. I. p. 392.

[†] Or Amalric.

[‡] Michaud, p. 117.

Shirkooh, on returning to Syria, left no effort untried to induce Noor e' deen to obtain possession of Egypt. He represented the fertility of the country, the distracted state of the government, and the readiness of the Abbaside caliphs to give their sanction to the dethronement of the Fatemite usurpers. He was therefore despatched with an army a second time into Egypt; and his young nephew Yusef (Yoosef), afterwards called Saláẖ-e'deen (Saladin), who performed so conspicuous a part in the wars of the Holy Land, was permitted to accompany the expedition. In the mean time Noor e' deen lost no opportunity of attacking the Crusaders in Syria, in order to weaken their power, and draw off their attention from Egypt.

In January, 1167, Shirkooh advanced towards Egypt, but so warily that Shawer did not suspect his design until apprised of it by the Franks*, and Amaury was once more requested to send troops to aid the Egyptians against the invader. The Christians marched along the road of the coast; Shirkooh by the desert, in the direction of Belbáys; but perceiving that both they and the Egyptians were aware of his designs, he avoided the plain, and crossing the hills behind the Mokuttum range, he descended into the valley near Atféëh; and going up it as far as Sharóna, he crossed the Nile, and marched down on the opposite bank to Géezeh. Finding himself opposed to a large force of Egyptians and their formidable Christian allies, Shirkooh had recourse to artifice. He sent a message to Shawer, proposing to join him in destroying the enemies of their common religion. But Shawer perceiving the treacherous object of a scheme, which sought to destroy his allies under the semblance of religious sympathy, and to leave him a prey to the power of Noor e' deen, showed the letter to the Franks, and put the courier to death. Shirkooh however contrived to raise the prejudices of some of the Egyptians against a Moslem minister, who thus associated himself with the enemies of Islám; and the Alexandrians evinced a disposition to revolt.

In the meantime, the Franks and Egyptians, who had constructed a bridge of boats across the Nile, pressed upon his camp, and Shirkooh was obliged once more to fly to Upper Egypt. Overtaken at Babayn, near Oshmoonayn, no resource was left but to fight; and the hostile armies came to a general engagement. Saladin, who was in the centre, feigned to give way; the allies broke their lines in the pursuit; and being pressed by the enemy's wings and the sudden return of the supposed fugitives, were completely defeated. The campaign ended in a truce, by which it was agreed that all parties should return home; and the Alexandrians who had rebelled were admitted to free pardon.

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* Michaud, p. 122.

Disappointed with the abrupt termination of an inglorious campaign, and wishing to obtain a permanent footing in Egypt, the Franks ungenerously sought a quarrel with the caliph the following year, by putting forth unreasonable claims, which he naturally refused to acknowledge. Then, crossing the frontier, they took Belbays, and advanced upon Cairo, to which they laid siege. The caliph now looked to his former enemy for assistance; and a messenger was sent to Noor e' deen with offers of a third part of Egypt[*] if he would expel the invaders. In the meantime Shawer endeavoured to gain time by amusing the Franks with advantageous overtures; and a sum of money was actually paid, as a portion of what they were promised on leaving the country. It was also represented to them that the city, part of which[†] they already saw in flames, would be destroyed by the people rather than submit to the cruelties they had perpetrated at Belbáys. During these purposely protracted negotiations, the army of Noor e' deen arrived, under the command of the same general who had been so lately an enemy, and the Franks withdrew to Belbáys, and thence to Faḳoós, on their return to Syria, A.D. 1169.[‡]

Shirkooh reached Cairo in January, 1169. But the Franks had retired; and the crafty Shawer now only hoped to devise some plan to rid the country of these equally obnoxious strangers. He thought of destroying Shirkooh and the other chiefs at a banquet; but he himself became the victim of a counter-plot, while visiting the tomb of the Imám e' Shaffaee.

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[*] Michaud, p. 130.

[†] Michaud says, part of Old Cairo, p. 130.

[‡] I have erroneously given the year 1171, in Vol. I. p. 225.

Some say that Saladin put an end to the minister in the tent of his uncle, having obtained an order from the caliph to that effect; and Shirkooh was appointed to fill his post. In little more than two months he also died, and his nephew Yusef succeeded to the duties of Wizéer.

He was no sooner settled in this office than he brought his whole family into Egypt, and already contemplated his future prospects. Noor e' deen soon began to feel a secret jealousy of his growing influence; and the caliph, who had considered his youth and inexperience a guarantee against any dangerous consequences, doubted the wisdom of his own choice. These secret jealousies were not all that threatened Saladin. He was assailed by the open attacks of the Franks; till at length his successes against them, and the death of Aadud in 1171, relieved him from apprehension. This tranquillity was of short duration. Noor e' deen, unable to disguise his feelings, resolved on attacking him and wresting Egypt from his grasp. But fortune did not desert Saladin; and death prevented his enemy from executing that project, A. D. 1174.

The powerful Noor e' deen being no more, Saladin had little to fear from his youthful son, Melek S̲áleh*; and shortly afterwards invading his kingdom, he took Damascus, and declared himself independent sovereign of Egypt and Syria. The only enemies who now remained to oppose him were the Franks; but the glorious termination of a long war crowned by the capture of Jerusalem, and the conclusion of an advantageous peace, established his power, and shed a lustre on his reign which far outshone the glories of Zenghi and Noor e' deen.

The Crusaders in the beginning of his reign had made an attack upon Alexandria, but being repulsed with loss, they desisted from all further attempts to invade Egypt. Renaud de Châtillon, however, sent a chivalrous though imprudent expedition from Karak to surprise the coasts of the Red Sea. Having transported some vessels in pieces across the Isthmus, and taken Ela at the end of the Gulf of Ak̲aba, the Christians advanced into Arabia, plundering every place on their way to the very neighbourhood of Medina and Mecca.

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* Melek is "king," but inferior to sultan or "emperor."

Overtaken at length by a superior force under Looloo, they were all cut to pieces or taken prisoners, and Renaud obtained neither advantage nor renown from this adventurous scheme.

It was in the time of Saladin that the third crusade took place, under Frederic I. (Barbarossa) and Philippe Auguste, with Richard Cœur de Lion. This period of Oriental history is indeed replete with interesting events; not the least of which were the hard-contested conflicts of Saladin and Richard of England; but they are too well known, and too full of incident to be introduced in the brief manner required by the limits of this imperfect sketch, and they belong rather to the history of Syria than of Egypt.

The additions made to Cairo by Saladin have been already noticed*: his name is still associated with the Bahr Yusef, and other useful works; and the memory of Yusef Saláh e' déen is cherished with gratitude and respect by the modern Egyptians.

A. D. 1193. He was succeeded by his second son, El·Melek el Azéez, the second sultan† of the Aioobite or Curd dynasty, not without opposition from his elder brother, Melek Afdal. Dying in 1200, and leaving only a young son, his uncle, Melek A′del, the brother of Saladin, became possessed of all the power; and the same year having deposed this child, usurped the throne.

Melek A′del‡ had already played a conspicuous part in the war between Richard and Saladin. The king of England had even offered to give him his sister in marriage, though without consulting the pope or asking her consent; and his prowess in the field had even excited the jealousy of his brother, who at his death left him the distant Karak and the cities of Mesopotamia, in order to remove him as far as possible from Egypt. These precautions proved useless; and Melek Adel obtained the sovereignty of that country, from which Saladin was so anxious to exclude him.

In 1203 a dreadful famine visited Egypt. Abd e' Latéef, who was then in the country, has minutely described the sufferings of the people; and they were destined a few years after to suffer more from an invasion of the Franks than had fallen to their lot in any previous war. The first inroad was in 1211, when a Christian fleet landed a small force near Damietta, which pillaged the country; but in 1218 a more formidable expedition arrived in the same spot, and Damietta was invested both by land and water. The same year Melek Adel died in Syria, his death being, as is supposed, hastened by grief at the successes of the Crusaders. His eldest son, Melek el Kámel, on succeeding to the throne of Egypt, neglected no effort to check the invaders and assist the besieged. Damietta was strongly fortified and defended with obstinate courage; but the Franks, having forced the passage of the river, succeeded in cutting off all hopes of effectual resistance. On the news of this disaster levies *en masse* were made in Cairo and other towns; and an army was collected with which the sultan hoped to raise the siege. But his efforts were in vain: nor was his attempt to divert the course of the Damietta branch, by throwing a dyke across it at Zifteh, more successful; the weight of the water having quickly destroyed this hasty work. At length the garrison, reduced to the greatest streights, was obliged to surrender, and the banners of the cross announced the capture of the place. The Crusaders then advanced towards Cairo, by the east bank of the river, confident of uninterrupted success; until, arrived at the canal of Menzaleh, they found the sultan's army in a strong position on the other side, at the spot where it joins the Nile, now occupied by the city of Manṣóora.* Success had made them negligent of proper precautions; and they were dependent for provisions on the supplies they obtained from the neighbourhood of Damietta. The sultan availed himself of the opportunity thus offered of cutting off their resources, and the rising Nile aided his designs. A canal ran through the island of Mahálleh, and joined the river at some distance to the northward, between the modern Manṣóora and Damietta. Having sent boats in pieces and launched them on this canal, the sultan succeeded in intercepting the provisions of his enemy; and the rise of the Nile having filled all the canals, their army was left without resources in the midst of an inundated place. They were, therefore, compelled to retreat; but on reaching Baramóon they found the country entirely covered with water; and having no means of escape they were obliged to capitulate, and give hostages for the fulfilment of their promise to abandon Damietta, A. D. 1221. It was to the fortunate termination of this campaign that the city of Mansóora, founded by Melek el Kámel, was indebted for its name, which signifies the "victorious."

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* See Vol. I. p. 225.

† Pronounced Solṯán.

‡ Properly Melek el Ādel, or El Melek el Aădel.

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* Michaud, pp. 409. 413. Savary, vol. i. letter 22.

By a strange complication of events, the fifth Crusade was invited by the same sultan of Egypt who had lately suffered so much from the invasion of the Christians; Frederic II. being requested by Melek el Kámel to assist him against his brother, Melek Moëzzem, prince of Damascus. And though the obnoxious Moëzzem died the same year (1228 A. D.), the struggle did not terminate, and another brother, Melek el Ashraf, came forward to support his cause, and act as protector of his son. This alliance of El Kámel and Frederic had for its result the restoration of Jerusalem to the Franks. A. D. 1238. His successor Melek el Adel II., after a short reign, was deposed by his brother, Melek Sáleh, or E' Sáleh Eiyoób, — a name well known in Arab history, from his having been the master of those slaves, who established the Baharite dynasty, and in whom originated the Memlook rule in Egypt.

During his reign the sixth Crusade took place; and in 1249 Louis IX. landed in Egypt. Damietta was once more taken, and the Crusaders advanced to Mansóora, which had now, under the auspices of E' S̱áleh, become a large city. In the mean time the sultan died, and Tarrawán, or Tourán Shah, his son, succeeded to the throne and the command of the army. The war was carried on with unabated vigour; and the sultan adopted the same stratagem which had been marked with such signal success in the reign of Melek el Kámel. Boats were sent by the canal of Mahálleh, which attacked the enemy's fleet in the rear, while others advanced from Mansoóra; and the Franks, finding themselves destitute of provisions, proposed a negotiation. But all terms being refused, they were forced to retreat, closely pursued by the enemy; and the confusion arising from their desperate condition, the privations they were suffering, and the darkness of night, rendered their destruction inevitable.* The Duke d'Artois was killed, and the king being hard pressed by the enemy, was taken prisoner at Miniet-Aboo-Abdallah, and conducted in triumph to Mansóora.

The indiscretion of Tarrawán Shah, the intrigues of the beautiful Sheggeret e' Door, the widow of E' Sáleh, and the restless disposition of the Memlooks, soon after this, brought on a state of things which ended in the total extinction of the Aioobite † dynasty.

These turbulent spirits conspired together against the sultan's life, and availed themselves of a grand entertainment given by him to the principal emirs at Farashoór, to put their plans into execution. Baybérs was the first to strike the blow, and the sultan having fled from his tent, was pursued and put to death.

Sheggeret e' Door was chosen to govern the country as his successor, assisted by one of the chiefs, with the title of Atabek, who was to command the army. The children of the late king were entirely excluded; and being distant in Mesopotamia, they had little prospect of obtaining possession of a throne surrounded by enemies; nor had they the power to support their claims.

A. D. 1250. In the mean time negotiations were set on foot for the release of the king of France, and it was agreed that on the payment of 400,000 pieces of gold, and the evacuation of Damietta, he should be restored to liberty and conducted in safety to the coast. These conditions being fulfilled, he set sail for Acre, and thence returned to France.

The confusion consequent upon the murder of Tarrawán Shah, and the ambitious or mercenary views of the factious Memlooks, was far from being calmed by the election of Sheggeret e' Door; and some affirm that she was compelled to abdicate after three months, in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the Moslems at being ruled by a woman. A descendant of El Kamel, the Melek el Ashraf Moosa, was therefore proclaimed king; which nominal title he enjoyed four years, until dethroned by El Moëz ez-e' deen Ibek. He was a chief of Turcoman extraction, once a Memlook of E' Sáleh, and having been appointed Atabek, usurped the sovereign power, and confirmed his right by marrying the deposed princess.

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* See an interesting account of this defeat in Savary, vol. i. letter 25.

† Aioobite, or Eiyoobite, so called from Eiyoob, the father of Yusef Saláh e' deen, or Saladin.

‡ "The tree of pearl," so called from her great beauty.

Others pretend that El Moëz Ibek was proclaimed sultan on the abdication of Sheggeret e' Door, and that his marriage gained him the throne; though this arrangement becoming soon afterwards displeasing to the Memlooks, who were unwilling to obey one so lately their equal, he was obliged to give place to a member of the family of the Aioobites. El Melek el Ashraf Moosa was therefore proclaimed sultan. But his elevation was only the precursor of his miserable end, and being put to death, after four years, Ibek again became possessed of the throne.

The Turcoman did not long enjoy the power he had usurped. His wife, once so beautiful, and accustomed to exclusive homage, sensitive on the least appearance of neglect, and jealous of her expiring influence, no sooner discovered a rival in the affections of her husband, than she resolved on his destruction, and Ibek was stifled in his bath. A murder perpetrated in the seraglio could not escape detection; its inmates were interested for their own safety in the punishment of its author, and the rival of Sheggeret e' Door did not lose this opportunity of gratifying her revenge. Their *ḵobḵáb*[*] (pattens) were the most formidable weapons they could find; the murderess was assailed on all sides by the enraged women, and the death of the sultan was avenged in this singular manner.[†] Alee, his son, was chosen to succeed him, under the title of El Munsoor noor e'deen.[‡] After a short reign, K̲otoz el Moëzzee usurped the throne. K̲otoz was renowned for his defeat of the Tartars under Holakoo, the grandson of Genghis-Khan, in 1260, by which Syria was restored to Egypt. In the midst of his triumphs he was assassinated by

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[*] Wooden pattens on which the women walk in the hareems of the East.

[†] Rey Dessueil.

[‡] All the caliphs and kings, after the accession of the Abbasides, took certain titles, as may be seen by looking over the list in the Chronological Table.

Baybérs, the same who had previously raised his hand against Tarrawan Shah.

1260. Baybérs, or E' Záher Baybérs el Bendukdáree*, was a Memlook of E' Sáleh. On coming to the throne he had to encounter two formidable enemies, the Franks and Tartars, whose power it was necessary to check, ere he could hope to enjoy tranquillity and ensure the safety of his dominions. Baybérs was equal to the task. His first precaution was to secure Egypt against invasion: with this view, he closed the Damietta mouth of the Nile by means of wooden piles, so as to render it impassable from the sea; and having destroyed Damietta, he built a new town higher up the stream at a distance from the sea, which continues to be its site to the present day.†

He then commenced a series of campaigns against the Christians in Syria, which were crowned with brilliant success: city after city fell into his hands, and he only withdrew from these scenes of triumph to prepare the defences of Egypt against a sudden attack. A report had reached him of the intended return of Louis IX. into the East; his precautions, however, were unnecessary, and intelligence was soon afterwards received that the king of France had landed at Tunis. The siege of that place was vigorously pushed by the Crusaders, and its defence as obstinately maintained by the inhabitants; at length the place was on the point of being surrendered, when Louis died, and the Christians, having made peace with the king of Tunis, set sail for Europe, A. D. 1270.‡ The death of Louis threw a gloom over the spirits of the Franks, and Baybérs continued to obtain signal successes over them in different parts of Syria. At length, in 1277, after penetrating into Asia Minor in pursuit of the

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* See his name in the Chronological Table. His tomb is in Cairo; and his mosk outside the city, near the Birket e' Shekh Kumr, was converted by the French into a bakehouse.

† Michaud observes (p. 481.) that some persons not aware of this have erroneously concluded, from the distance of the town from the coast, that the Delta has advanced far into the sea at this point, whereas it does not occupy the site of the old town.

‡ The occupation of Algeria seems to have suggested to the French the *pious policy* of erecting a monument to St. Louis at Tunis, the hospital for the army at Port Mahon not having succeeded.

Tartars, he was attacked by a severe illness, and had scarcely returned to Syria, when he died.

The reigns of his two sons, Melek e' Saeed and el A'del Salámish, passed without any event worthy of notice; and in 1279 El Munsoor Kalaóon, another Memlook of E' Sáleh, succeeded to the throne. He rendered himself conspicuous by his successes against the Franks in Syria, by his defeat of the Tartars, and by his victorious inroads into Armenia. He also recovered Damascus; and the renown of his name obtained for him the friendship of many potentates, both of Europe and Asia. His glorious career was terminated by the siege of Acre (Akkah), which his son succeeded in taking from the Franks A.D. 1290.

The consequence of this was the cession of Tyre, as well as the few other cities they possessed in Syria; and during the reign of his second son they found themselves obliged to abandon the country altogether. The Knights Hospitallers quitted the Holy Land to establish themselves at Rhodes, and Syria was for ever freed from the invasions of the Crusaders. The name of El Kalaóon is still mentioned with respect by the people of Cairo: the hospital of the morostán, founded by him*, still remains a monument of the benevolence of his disposition; and if cruelties were exercised on the populace of Cairo in the suppression of a tumult, the blame attaches to the irascible disposition of the Memlooks, and the violence of an angry soldiery.

The reign of El Ashraf Saláh e' deen was short, and that of his second son, E' Naser Mohammed, was interrupted by the injustice of Ketbogha, who was regent during his minority, and who usurped the throne. Nor did he recover it till after the death of Lagéen, the successor of the usurper. His return to the throne was marked by the success of his arms in Syria against the Tartars, who were driven beyond the Euphrates; but this did not secure him against intrigue at home, and Baybérs II. was chosen by the chiefs to supplant the absent sultan. His career was of short duration, and Naser Mohammed was again restored, and permitted to enjoy a long uninterrupted reign.

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* It is said to have been completed by his son, Naser Mohammed; but on examining both the inscriptions remaining there, I found that the whole was finished by Sultan Kalaóon in 13 months. See above, Vol I. p. 236.

Of the remaining kings of this dynasty none performed any conspicuous part in the history of Egypt. The only name of note is that of Sultan Hassan, whose splendid mosk, below the citadel of Cairo, is the admiration of every lover of architecture. It bears the date A. H. 764 (A. D. 1363), which seems to show that it was not finished till two years after his death, having been murdered by his Memlooks in A. H. 762 (A. D. 1361). The last but two of this dynasty was the Ashraf Shábán, who first ordered the shereefs, or descendants of the Prophet, to wear the green turban; before which they were distinguished, as many still are in the Hegáz, by leaving a long end, called the *adaba*, of their white turban to hang down their neck and back. During his reign (A. D. 1365) Guy de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, besieged Alexandria; but, failing, was forced to retire. El Munsoor Ali and E' Saleh Hágee close the list of these princes.

The preceding dynasty had been established by the Memlooks of E' S̱aleh Eiyoób, on the downfal of their master's family; and the succession, from being hereditary, became subject to the arbitrary will of their chiefs, whose veto might forbid a son succeeding to the throne of his father. E' S̱áleh was the first who raised a corps of Memlooks, whom he bought of the Tartars; and the same system that had given rise to them continued to maintain and augment their numbers. Each chief strengthened himself by increasing his band of military slaves; and that emir* who could command the largest force, or who by his superior power and most successful intrigue could unite the greatest number of his comrades, disposed of or usurped the throne. The Borgite or Circassian Memlooks rose to power, and held the sceptre, by the same means that had maintained the dynasties of their predecessors: they differed only in name, which they received from the fortified posts they occupied in the country, and the circumstance of the greater part of them being natives of Circassia. " A more unjust and absurd constitution," says Gibbon, " cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves! Yet such has been the state of Egypt above 500 years. The most illustrious sultans of the Baharite and Borghite dynasties were themselves promoted from the Tartar and Circassian bands: and the four-and-twenty beys, or military chiefs, have ever been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants."*

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* Properly emeer, " prince."

It would be tedious to detail all the factious intrigues that marked the reigns of the Circassian or Borghite Memlooks. I shall therefore confine myself to the most conspicuous sultans of this dynasty.†

A. D. 1382. The first, E' Zaher Berk̲óok̲, was remarkable for his defeat of the Tartars under the famous Tamerlane (Teemoor-lang); and having entered into an alliance with Bajazet‡, these two princes compelled the Tartars to leave Syria. Furreg, the son of Berk̲óok̲, inherited none of the military genius and energy of his father; the Tartars in one battle wrested nearly the whole of Syria from his feeble hand, and the opportune interference of Bajazet alone protected him from greater disasters. The misfortunes of the Ottoman prince once more exposed Furreg to the vengeance of the Tartars, from which he was only freed by the timely death of Tamerlane. Syria was recovered; and Furreg was exulting in triumphs, to which, had Tamerlane still lived, he would not have dared to aspire; when he was betrayed into the hands of the Caliph Mostain-billah, and put to death.§ The caliph, in his turn, was destined to a similar treatment at the hands of an Egyptian sultan; and, deposed by el Moáiud Shekh in 1413, he was detained a prisoner at Alexandria to the day of his death. The recollection of El Moáiud is kept up in Egypt by the handsome mosk he built at Cairo; and by the name of the *pa̱ra*, which is still called after him Moáiudee, or Máydee.

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* Gibbon, vol. ii. c. 59.

† See "Delaporte's Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire des Memlouks."

‡ Baiazeed, Býazeed, Baiyezeed, or Beiazéed, surnamed Ilderím, "the lightning."

§ The Noozhet e' Nazeréen mentions his deposition; but according to that history Furreg was restored after the short reign of Munsoor Abd el Azeez, which lasted only forty-seven days.

The reigns of his successors passed over without any event of consequence, until the accession of El Ashraf Bursabái, A. D. 1422. John III., King of Cyprus, having refused to pay the tribute due to the Egyptian kings, Bursabái fitted out an expedition against him, took him prisoner, and exacted the payment of the tribute he had withheld; nor did he grant him his liberty until he had received guarantees for the future maintenance of existing treaties (1423–4.)

After the death of John III., the throne of Cyprus was disputed by his daughter Charlotte, wife of Louis of Savoy, and his natural son James; when the latter being defeated by the Prince of Savoy, fled for refuge and assistance to the Egyptian Court. The Memlook sultans were not blind to their interests; troops were furnished to the fugitive son of Lusignan, and the Venetians having aided him with money, he soon succeeded in defeating his powerful adversary. The regular payment of tribute was the recompence required by the Egyptians; and the Venetians, in reward for their assistance, were constituted by his will inheritors of the island.

In 1460, El Ashraf K̲aitbay succeeded to the throne of Egypt. Those enemies who had disputed the possession of Syria with the caliphs and sultans of Egypt, the Crusaders and the Tartars, were now replaced by a still more formidable enemy; and the courage of K̲aitbay was shaken on contemplating the successes of the victorious Turks, Mohammed II. had taken Constantinople, and had pushed his conquests over all the provinces bordering upon Greece. Nothing seemed capable of resisting the power of his arms: but while meditating further conquests, the Osmanlee conqueror died; and a civil war between Bajazet II. and his brother Zizim ensured the security of Egypt. K̲aitbay having espoused the cause of Zizim, was attacked by Bajazet; but having defeated the Turks in several battles, and penetrated into Asia Minor, he obliged the Ottoman sultan to conclude a peace A.D. 1491.

The following year is memorable in the history of the Moslems from the fall of Grenada, and their expulsion from Spain, A. D. 1492.

A. D. 1496. After the death of K̲aitbay, his son, Naser M̲o̲hammed, succeeded to the throne of Egypt, and after a reign of six months was deposed to make room for El Ashraf K̲ansooh, a Memlook of his father's, who only ruled eleven days. E' Naser Mohammed was then restored to the throne, which he occupied one year and a half, until deposed and put to death by the Memlooks. He was succeeded by E' Zaher K̲ansooh, whose reign, like those of El Ashraf Gambalat and El Adel Toman Bay, passed away unmarked by any event beyond the usual commotions of the turbulent Memlooks.

K̲ansooh el Ghóree [*] was elected to the throne in 1501. From his literary and scientific pursuits, he seemed little suited to command the turbulent emirs, or to engage in the active duties of war; but no sooner was he raised to the rank of sultan, than he proved himself deficient neither in energy nor courage.[†]

The memory of El Ghóree is still cherished, as of the chivalrous though unfortunate defender of the independence of Egypt. The finest bazaar and one of the most elegant mosks of Cairo were erected by him; the aqueduct of Old Cairo was rebuilt of stone by his orders, and many other useful works were executed during the reign of Sultan el Ghóree. Unfortunately his name is conspicuous in the history of the Circassian Memlooks, from his disastrous campaign in Syria against Sultan Selim, and the consequent invasion of Egypt by the Turks. Though there is little doubt that Sultan Selim would eventually have turned his arms against Egypt, the immediate cause of misunderstanding between the Ottoman and Egyptian sultans was the protection given by El Ghóree to the father of Selim, and his interference in the war between the Persians and the Turks. The Egyptian and Ottoman armies met near Aleppo; the battle was long and obstinate, but victory at length declared in favour of Selim. The Memlooks fled from the field, and El Ghóree being unhorsed was trampled to death by his own cavalry. The conqueror did not refuse him the funeral honours due to his courage and his rank; and it is a singular fact that though El Ghoree was buried in Syria, he has more tombs in Egypt than any other prince. One is still shown opposite his mosk at the extremity of the Ghoreeh, one in the cemetery of the Memlook kings, between the mountains and the Bab e' Nusr, and one half way from Cairo to Heliopolis.

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[*] Called by European writers Campson-Gaury.

[†] Towards the latter part of his reign A. H. 921. (A. D. 1516.), he even assisted Khaleel Shah, King of Guzerat (Kugerát) in opposing the Portuguese. Noozhet e' Nazereen.

After the defeat of El Ghoree, Sultan Selim advanced with all speed towards Egypt; and hearing that El Ashráf Tomán Bay had been elected by the Memlooks to the vacant throne, he sent him the following letter:—

"God be praised, we have obtained our wishes: we have defeated the arms of the perverse Ismael Shah*, and have punished the wicked K̲ansoóh who had dared to interfere with the holy pilgrimage. We have now only to rid ourselves of bad neighbours, for, says the Prophet, 'Anger falls on bad neighbours.' We hope that God may assist us to chastise you also, if you do not deprecate our displeasure. And be it known to you, that if you wish to merit our royal clemency, you must come in person to swear fidelity and do homage at our feet, cause our name to be admitted into the prayer of the mosks, and strike money in our name; if not, our arm will strike."

This insolent message of the haughty Turk neither merited nor received a reply. T̲oman Bay† made every preparation for resisting the invader; and having strengthened his advanced posts on the Syrian frontier, he gave the command to Ganbardee, a general of approved valour. The Turks advanced, and, contrary to the expectations of Toman Bay, crossing the desert to the right of the Egyptian army, came down upon the valley near El Khánkah.‡

Toman Bay did not wait for the attack, and having led on his Memlooks, charged the enemy with great gallantry; but after a sharp conflict his troops were routed, and he was obliged to fly to Cairo. Ganbardee now basely deserted his cause; and joining in the pursuit of the fugitive prince, he overtook him in the Delta, and brought him a prisoner to Selim. True to the natural ferocity of his race, Selim treated his captive with insolence and cruelty, for the sole crime of courage in resisting the invasion of an enemy; and the unfortunate Toman Bay was hanged like a common malefactor at the Bab Zooáyleh; a spot selected purposely to offer a marked insult, from its being the place of public execution. Nor were his other prisoners treated with less barbarity; and Selim, with a ferocity unlooked for in one so courageous and accomplished, is said to have been gratified by seeing 30,000 heads struck off in his presence; doubtless on the principle advocated by some (we may hope, few) of the French at a later time in the same city: "Qu'une *terrible exécution militaire* était nécessaire pour étouffer dans le cœur des habitans tous les fermens qui auraient pu par la suite y faire éclore une rébellion."[*]

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* The Shah of Persia.

† These names may be written T̲oman Bay, or Toman Bai; K̲aitbay, or K̲aitbai; Bursabai, or Borosbay, &c.

‡ See Academie des Inscriptions, M. Tercier on the March of Sultan Selim.

Having satisfied his savage appetite, the Turk "allowed the body of Toman Bay to be buried by the side of his father's grave[†];" and finding no pretext for farther persecutions against the conquered Memlooks, he meditated other conquests. With this view he fitted out an expedition against Upper Egypt and Ethiopia, which penetrated into Dar-Mahass[‡], leaving on his return garrisons at Asouan, E'Dayr, Ibréem, the isle of Sai, and other places, to secure possession of the country. The greater part of them consisted of Bosnian soldiers; and some of their descendants are still found at Asouan and E' Dayr. At E' Dayr, the capital of Nubia, the kachefs, who governed the country until the expeditions of Mohammed Ali into Sennár, were descended and derived their rank from the Turkish chiefs of Sultan Selim; and I have known individuals at Asouan who still retain the tradition as well as the distinguishing characteristics of their origin.

1517. Sultan Selim abolished the monarchy, but left the aristocracy of the Memlooks on certain conditions[§]; the chief of which were, annual tribute, obedience in matters of faith to the decisions of the mufti[‖] of Constantinople, and the insertion of the name of the sultan of the Osmanlis in the public prayers and on the coin. And, having settled the

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[*] Marcel, tome ii. p. 91.

[†] Noozhet e' Nazereen.

[§] Burckhardt says the people of Dar-Mahass pretend to be descendants of the Koraysh Arabs of Arabia, the tribe to which Mohammed belonged.

[§] See the articles of this convention in Savary, vol. ii. letter 9.

[‖] Pronounced Moóftee.

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new form of government, founded on the previous basis of that already existing in Egypt, he left it in the hands of a viceroy, with the title of pasha. This officer, whose appointment depended on the pleasure of the Porte, resided at Cairo, and governed the country in the name of the sultan; all matters relative to the levying the tribute and transmitting it to Constantinople being committed to his charge. Under him was the divan*, composed of twenty-four beys, each of whom governed one of the *sanjaks* or provinces into which the whole of Egypt was divided; the principal bey having the post of shekh-beled, or mayor of Cairo; and during the absence of the bey, each province was administered by a kachef or superintendent, under whom were the native shekhs.

The ambition, the conflicting interests, and the jealousy of these different rulers were far from establishing order in the state; and the moment any one aspired to or obtained greater power than his cotemporaries, the rest plotted together for his destruction. The opportune employment of gold was the only means to obtain influence over other parties. Bribery, the possession of numerous slaves, and the success of their master in obtaining for them important offices in the capital or the provinces, ensured to him the ascendency; and the history of the Memlook Beys is, as may be supposed, a tissue of intrigue, treachery, and civil war. The Pasha's power soon became merely nominal, and the most powerful of the beys ruled the country according to his own arbitrary will. The only triumph gained by the Ottoman viceroy consisted in embroiling the different beys, and thus weakening their power; and these consoled themselves for the disgrace of being nominally subject to the Porte, by the consciousness of their own real independence. The odium to which any one would necessarily expose himself by openly asserting that independence, and usurping the sovereignty of the country, sufficed to prevent the most powerful bey from assuming the title of king; and the Pasha was tolerated rather as a useful engine for party purposes, than as the representative of the authority of the Porte.

Matters remained in this state until 1747, when Ibrahim Kehia, at that time shekh-beled, ventured to declare himself independent. Kour Ahmed Pasha, who governed the country in the name of Sultan Mahmood I., had been removed; and circumstances took place during the rule of his successor Regib Mohammed, which induced Ibrahim to usurp the sovereignty of Egypt. The events that led to this step are related in detail by Marcel; and as they are intimately connected with one of the most curious portions of Memlook history, the rise and fall of the famous Ali Bey*, I cannot do better than extract a portion of them from his work.† "The divan of Cairo had taken no umbrage at the arrival of Regib-Pasha: he had been received with honour by the shekh-el-beled himself. The beys treated by him with kindness had sworn in a solemn audience fidelity and obedience to the Ottoman empire, and he had invested them with robes of honour according to custom. In short Regib-Pasha gained the affections of the beys, and the best understanding subsisted between them. He continued to govern Egypt peaceably for seven years, and the beys themselves had asked for the prolongation of his rule; when a firman, or Khot e' Shereéf‡, was secretly sent from Constantinople, enjoining him to attempt every possible means to destroy the beys, and to massacre without delay all those of whom he could make himself master. The Pasha knew that he had excited the suspicions of the divan of Constantinople, which construed his friendly intercourse with the beys into a desire to foment a revolt in Egypt, and thereby render himself independent of the Porte. To execute the order publicly was to run a great risk, and expose himself to a dangerous resistance; to disobey or delay its execution was to expose his own head to the vengeance of the Ottoman divan, and justify the suspicion of his rebellious intentions. After hesitating for some time, and calculating the various chances, Regib-Pasha resolved to employ perfidy towards his friends, the beys. Having posted armed attendants in his palace, he ordered them at a signal to massacre the beys, whilst they were sitting with him at a general council. The fatal blow was partly executed, and three were assassinated; but the others defended themselves courageously, and the Pasha was bitterly reproached for a treason they had so little reason to expect after their mutual friendship. As his justification, Regib-Pasha showed the imperial firman. The Pasha's life was spared; but he was instantly deposed by the divan of Cairo, who sent to Constantinople to ask for another governor to succeed him. Regib-Pasha was transferred to one of the pashalics of Anatolia, and nine years after was made grand vizeer by the Sultan Mustafa Ebn Ahmed*; in which capacity he had an opportunity of showing his benevolence to Ali Bey, to whom he was principally indebted for his life when deposed at Cairo.

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* Divan in Turkish; Diwan, or Deewán, in Arabic.

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* See also Savary, vol. ii. letters 10, 11.

† In Marcel's Notice Biographique sur le Cheykh el Mohdy, vol. ii. p. 17. It is curious also to compare the career of the present ruler of Egypt with that of Ali Bey.

‡ Usually written *Hatti Sherif.* It signifies the "hand-writing of the Sultan," the *noble* being par excellence.

"The rise of this remarkable person, Ali Bey, originated in the following circumstance.

"Ibrahim Kehia, his master, having taken him, as well as Soolayman, in his suite, when, in the office of Emir el Hag†, he conducted the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca in the year 1163 A. H. (1750 A. D.); an event occurred, which recommended them both to the attention of their chief. The caravan was attacked by several tribes of Arabs, and Ali, then Kashef, having put himself at the head of the escort, repulsed the assailants with such courage, that he received the name of Gin Ali, or "Ali the Devil." On his return to Cairo, Ibrahim rewarded Ali and Soolayman, by persuading the divan to name one of them bey, and the other Kashef. The elevation of Ali to the Sanjakate ‡ met with violent opposition from one of the beys, named, like his protector, Ibrahim, but who, being Circassian by birth, was surnamed e' Tcherkassy. Ibrahim Kehia, however, carried his point, and from thence arose that irreconcileable hatred between them, to be extinguished only in the blood of the latter, who was murdered by Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy. * * * *

"In the year 1168 A. H. (A. D. 1754), Sultan Othman ebn Mustafa § had replaced his brother Mahmood upon the throne of Constantinople, and three years after (A. D. 1757) he had been replaced himself by his cousin Mustapha III. During this interval several pashas had succeeded each other in the government of Egypt; and years had passed on; but the mutual hatred and misunderstanding between Ibrahim Kehia and Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy, instead of diminishing, seemed to acquire new vigour and intensity: and they became more embittered by their constant attempts to ensnare and injure each other. At last, in the year A. H. 1172 (A. D. 1758), Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy succeeded in surprising and assassinating his enemy. Ali Bey was sincerely attached to his patron, and swore to avenge his death. Carefully concealing his intentions, he passed five years in making preparations for executing his designs. He bought a great number of Memlooks, ingratiated himself with the Pasha, and courted the favour of the other beys, his colleagues, by presents and good offices. At last, in the year of the Hégira 1177 (A. D. 1763), he obtained the appointment of shekh-el-beled *; and a few months after this, thinking himself sufficiently secure, he put to death the assassin of his master.

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* Named Mustapha III. by our historians.

† Prince or chief of pilgrimage.

‡ Title of dignity of bey.

§ Third of this name.

"It was not without reason that Ali Bey endeavoured to surround himself with faithful and devoted adherents: the terrible vengeance he had just exercised upon Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy put his life and authority in danger. He had consulted his gratitude to Ibrahim Kehia, and his resentment against Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy, more than was prudent; and the consequence was the resentment of all the beys who were the creatures or the partisans of him whom he had sacrificed to his vengeance. He could only find safety in a precipitate flight to Cairo, and from thence to Syria, where he obtained an asylum with the Mohassel, or Motsellem, of Jerusalem †, his old friend. But this asylum could only protect him for two months. The beys, his enemies, had accused him before the great divan of Constantinople, and an imperial firman brought an order to the Mohassel to give up his protégé, and to send him prisoner to the Ottoman Porte. Being informed of this, Ali Bey escaped to Acre, where he made friends with the Shekh Daher, son of Omar, prince of that strong town. Supported by him, and seconded by his friends at Cairo, above all by the ancient partisans of Ibrahim Kehia,

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* Or shekh-beled.

† These two titles signifying governor.

in whose opinion the murder of Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy was far from being a crime, he succeeded in having the orders of the imperial divan revoked, and returned the same year to Cairo to resume the functions of shekh-el-beled.

"After two years, he was again disturbed in the possession of his dignity. Regib-Mohammed-Pasha, when governor of Cairo, had been spared by the generosity of Ali Bey, in the midst of the catastrophe that had deposed him from his pashalic of Egypt; and on becoming grand vizeer to the Ottoman Porte, had in gratitude for his good offices always protected Ali Bey, either in an open manner, or by secret intrigue. The death of this vizeer in the year 1179 A. H. (A. D. 1765) deprived Ali Bey of his greatest support at the court of Constantinople; and his enemies taking advantage of this circumstance, raised new plots against him, and forced him to retire to the Yemen.

"In 1180 A. H. (A. D. 1766), his partisans once more assisted his return; and to assure his future tranquillity, put to death four of the principal beys of Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy's party. The others, intimidated by this measure, attempted nothing more against Ali Bey, who enjoyed a tranquil reign for several years.

"Since the death of the vizeer, his declared protector at the Ottoman Porte, Ali Bey perceived an evident increase in the power and influence of his enemies. In order therefore to protect himself against them, he augmented his Memlooks to the number of 6000, and conferred the title of bey on eighteen of those who composed his household. These beys, his creatures, upon whose support he had every reason to depend, were the following: Radwán Bey, his nephew, Ali Bey Tantáwee, Ismaël Bey, Khaléel Bey, Abd e' Rahman Bey, Hassan Bey, Yusef Bey, Zoolfikar Bey, Ageel Bey, Moostafa Bey, all of whom were Georgians; Ahmed Bey, of Amasia, Latéef Bey, Othman Bey, Circassians; Selim, agha of the janissaries, Soolayman Kachef, at that time kehia or lieutenant-general of the same corps; Murad Bey, and Ibrahim Bey (Circassians, who were destined to succeed Ali Bey after his death, and to dispute the sovereignty of Egypt, until their common defeat by the French army terminated their differences); and, lastly, Mohammed Bey, surnamed *Aboo-dáhab*, "father of gold," who, though most dear to his master, soon proved a monster of ingratitude, and the perfidious instrument of his total ruin.

"Mohammed Bey Aboo-Dáhab, though in the highest favour with Ali Bey, who called him his son, and had given him his own sister in marriage, did not scruple to join in the plots secretly carried on by the partizans of Ibrahim e' Tcherkassy, who were burning with the desire to avenge the death of their chief. Jealousy, too, of Ali Bey's power created him new enemies amongst the other beys. But not daring to attack him openly, they entered into a conspiracy with his ungrateful brother-in-law, whom they easily seduced by considerable sums of money, and by the promise, at the death of Ali Bey, of the high situation of shekh el beled. Mohammed Aboo-Dáhab engaged to assassinate Ali Bey; but not seeing a favourable moment for declaring himself openly, he acted the part of traitor to both parties. He received the presents, and denounced the conspirators to his master. This artifice convinced the bey more than ever of the fidelity of his old slave; and, blinded by this step, he afterwards refused to believe the proofs which were presented to him of his perfidy.

"In the year 1182 A. H. (1768 A. D.), war was declared between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and Ali Bey, as shekh el beled of Egypt, was required to furnish 12,000 men for the army of Constantinople. He hastened to comply with this order; but his enemies took advantage of the opportunity to injure him, and having drawn the pasha of Cairo into their party, sent a letter to Constantinople signed by the pasha and all the beys hostile to Ali Bey, accusing him of raising troops to join the Russians, and of a desire to make himself independent. The answer of the Ottoman Divan was an order to the pasha to send Ali Bey's head; but being promptly informed of the fatal firman by a secret agent whom he kept in his pay at Constantinople, Ali Bey was upon his guard.

"El Tantáwee, upon whose fidelity he could depend, was sent with twelve Memlooks disguised as Arabs, with orders to post himself at some distance from Cairo, on the road by which the Kapigi Bashi, the bearer of the sultan's orders, was to pass. The ambuscade had complete success. After three days' waiting, the Kapigi Bashi appeared, with a suite of only four men. They were killed and buried in the sand, and the imperial firman was put into the hands of Ali Bey. Having assembled a general divan of beys, he showed them the firman; and having persuaded them that in striking at his head the Ottoman court aimed at the destruction of the whole corps, he advised them to defend their lives, their rights, and their power; adding that Egypt having been formerly governed by other Memlook dynasties, belonged to them, and that this was a favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke, which the wicked policy of the sultan imposed upon that fine kingdom. The members of the divan were carried away by these arguments; the eighteen beys of his creation strongly supported him, and those even who had signed his accusation did not dare to oppose the general assent. The divan immediately ordered the pasha to quit the Egyptian territory in two days under pain of death, and Egypt was declared independent.

"The Shekh el Móhdy was sent to Acre to make these resolutions known to Shekh Daher, and with an express mission to persuade him to join in the bold enterprise. The secretary-general of the divan succeeded in his embassy. He persuaded the prince of Acre to assist Ali Bey with all his forces, united to those of his seven sōns, and his sons-in-law; and in Syria, as well as Egypt, preparations were made for war. To the 12,000 which had been raised, were joined, not only the 6000 Memlooks of Ali Bey, but all those who composed the household of the hostile beys; who were too weak to refuse their co-operation. The pasha of Damascus, who had received orders from Constantinople to hasten with 20,000 men to prevent the junction of the Syrian and Egyptian troops, was beaten by Shekh Daher, with only 10,000 men, between Mount Lebanon and the Lake of Tiberias (Tabareëh), A. D. 1769. This defeat seemed to terminate the war with the Turks. They sent no more troops, and appeared to have entirely forgotten that a portion of Syria and all Egypt had proclaimed their independence.

"Encouraged by this calm, which he attributed to the feebleness of his enemies, Ali Bey occupied himself with the administration of the interior of his new kingdom, reformed abuses, re-established order in the capital, diminished the taxes, and called to the head of the finances the old friend and protector of the family of Shékh el Mohdy, the Copt, Maalem Michaïl Ferhat, to replace the Jew, Yusef ben Levi, whose head had paid the forfeit of his crimes. A wise administration protected external commerce, and the communications of the interior. Tribes of the Bedouin brigands were suppressed, and confined to their deserts; and the tranquillity which Egypt enjoyed, procured Ali Bey the sirname of Booloo Kapan (destroyer of storms).

"Whilst thus entirely employed for the happiness of his subjects, his arms gained possession of new provinces. Mohammed Bey Aboo-Dáhab, his favourite, had been sent with 20,000 men to conquer the Yemen; and Ismael Bey, with 8000, was ordered to occupy all the eastern side of the Red Sea. In six months the Yemen was conquered. The Sheréef of Mecca, a descendant of the Prophet, was dethroned, and replaced by the Emir Abdallah of the same family; and the new Sheréef showed his gratitude to Ali Bey by investing him with the title of Sultan, King of Egypt, and Sovereign of the two Seas. Seeing himself thus firmly seated in his sovereignty, with an appearance of legal sanction, Ali Bey wished to prove his independence by having coin of his own struck at Cairo. The money of the year 1185 A. H. bears his name, with this remarkable circumstance, that the apparent date is that of 1171, the time of the accession of Mustapha III. to the throne of Constantinople, whilst the real period was only recalled by the cyphers 85, abridged from 1185, placed at the top, immediately under the name of Ali.

"This same year, A. D. 1774, Ali Bey conceived a great plan, which led to his destruction. He confided 30,000 men to Mohammed Bey Aboo-Dahab, with orders to go and conquer all that portion of Syria which still belonged to the Ottoman Government, and endangered the safety of his friend and ally the prince of Acre. He also looked upon Syria as naturally dependent upon Egypt, having always belonged to it, when under independent princes, as the Tooloonides, the Aioobites, and the different dynasties of Memlooks, his predecessors.

"Ali Bey at the same time sought assistance in an alliance with the natural enemies of Constantinople.

"The Italian merchant, Rosetti, having treated for him with the Venetians, obtained for him their friendship and co-operation; and an Armenian, named Yagop *, was commissioned to sound Count Alexis Orloff, commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the Mediterranean and Black Sea, upon the possibility of a treaty with Catherine II. A favourable answer was returned to these overtures; but the negociations were considerably protracted, on account of the distance between the two parties. In the meantime success attended the arms of Ali Bey in Syria. Mohammed Bey Aboo Dahab, his lieutenant, assisted by Chekh Daher his ally, had taken Damascus, and other important places; but the victorious general, forgetting his duty, resolved to keep these conquests for himself, and even to take Egypt itself from Ali Bey. He was also secretly encouraged by the Divan of Constantinople, who made him the most brilliant promises.

"From that time Aboo-Dahab ceased to advance upon the Ottoman territory, and returning back, he collected all the garrisons left in the conquered towns, and, thus reinforced, marched towards Egypt. But, not daring to go directly to Cairo, he crossed the desert into Upper Egypt; and, taking the town of Osioot, forced the Beys of the Sāeed to join him. Then, declaring his intentions to dethrone Ali Bey, he advanced upon the capital; and in the beginning of the year 1186 A. H. (1772 A. D.) appeared with considerable forces on the left bank of the Nile opposite Old Cairo.

"Ali Bey now repented having turned a deaf ear to those faithful friends, who had so long warned him of the ingratitude and perfidious designs of Mohammed Aboo-Dahab. Having assembled in haste 3000 men, he gave them to Ismaël Bey, with orders to dispute the passage of the river. But Ismael Bey, alarmed at the superiority of the enemy opposed to him, and seduced by the promises and menaces of Aboo dahab, abandoned Ali Bey's cause, and joined the rebel he was sent to attack. This deprived Ali Bey of his last resource; and, on receiving the sad news of his treachery,

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* James, Yakoob in Arabic.

Ali Bey retired to the citadel of Cairo, with his treasures, his harem, and his friends, determined to defend himself to the last extremity. But three days after, fearing to be surrounded by the troops of Aboo-Dahab, he listened to the advice of Shekh Aḫmed (fourth son of Shekh Daher); which was to give up Egypt and seek an asylum with the prince of Acre, his father. The same night, April 12th, 1772, before the troops of Aboo-Dahab had taken possession of the city, Ali Bey left the citadel, and crossed the desert to the frontier of Syria. The small force that accompanied him, did not consist of 600 men; his treasure hardly amounted to 800,000 *mahbóobs*, or about 240,000*l*. In eight days he arrived at Acre, where he was welcomed by the friendship of a faithful ally.

"At the same time a Russian squadron appeared before Acre; and Ali Bey, having entered into a negociation with the Russians, they supplied him with artillery, ammunition, and a corps of 3000 Albanians. This force, added to the troops of Shekh Daher, enabled him to reopen the campaign, and, having taken the principal towns on the sea-coast of Syria, he received at Jaffa a communication from the Janissaries and principal inhabitants of Cairo, representing their city tired of the vexations of Aboo-Dahab, and ready to open the gates to its former master. The forces of Ali Bey, including a corps of 3500 Moghrebins, whose services he had bought, and those of Shekh Daher, amounted to about 8000 men. On the fourth of April, 1773, this small army arrived in the neighbourhood of Salahéëh; and two days afterwards Ali Bey was attacked by the advanced guard of Aboo-Dahab, amounting to 12,000 men. In spite of the inferiority of numbers, Ali Bey gained the victory. The whole army of Aboo-Dahab soon afterwards advanced to the attack. Victory again seemed to declare in his favour; but the Moghrebins, having deserted to the enemy, his army was defeated; and the sad news was carried to Ali Bey, who at that time was ill in his tent. In vain his friends tried to persuade him to fly; he expressed his determination to remain; preferring death to an inglorious flight. Soon afterwards fifty men, headed by Aboo-Dahab's kéhia, came up, and attacked him in his tent. After a valiant resistance, Ali Bey and the ten Memlooks, who had remained with him, were overwhelmed by numbers, and Ali Bey was taken prisoner and conducted to the presence of Aboo-Dahab. Wounded and in chains, he was thence carried to Cairo, where his death was hastened by poison.

"Some of the partisans of Ali Bey fled to Acre. Murad and Ibrahim eagerly joined the victor; and Aboo-Dahab was declared shekh el beled of Cairo. Aboo-Dahab then entered Syria; and, having pillaged Acre and other towns, sought to revenge himself upon the partisans of Ali Bey. But, while in the midst of victory, his career of ambition was suddenly stopped, and he was found dead in his tent. The Egyptian army, under Murad Bey, removed the body of Aboo-Dahab, and placed it in the same tomb with that of Ali Bey."

The three candidates for power were now Ismaël, Ibrahim, and Murad. But in spite of the pretensions of the two latter, Ismaël Bey succeeded Aboo-Dahab as shekh el beled. Their jealousy, however, prevented his enjoying peaceable possession of his office, and he was obliged to fly to Constantinople, and leave the Egyptian capital in the hands of his rivals. Urged by his remonstrances, and the hopes of once more wresting the country from the grasp of the Memlooks, the Porte resolved on sending an expedition under the famous Hassan Captan-Pasha: 25,000 men were landed at Alexandria in 1786, and the Memlooks being defeated, the Turks took possession of Cairo, drove Murad and Ibrahim into Upper Egypt, and reinstated Ismaël Bey in his post of shekh el beled (1787). But a new war between the Porte and Russia required the recal of Hassan Pasha from Egypt, and Ismaël was left once more alone to cope with the united force of Murad and Ibrahim.

To secure Cairo against sudden attack, he built a fort at a projecting point of the mountains below Toora, which he connected with the river by means of a wall strengthened with towers, and furnished with embrasures and loopholes; the greater part of which remains to this day. But, in the midst of his career, he was carried off by the great plague of 1790, which from the death of the shekh el beled has received the distinguishing appellation of the "plague of Ismaël Bey."

The two hostile chiefs once more became sole masters of

Egypt; Ibrahim succeeded to the post of shekh el beled, and the obnoxious Turks and partisans of the late governor were driven into Upper Egypt. The possession of power led to the same jealousy which distinguished the career of all the Memlooks, until the fear of a common enemy once more united Ibrahim and his colleague; and the arrival of the French, July 2. 1798, called them both forth for the defence of the country.

When the news was taken to Murad, he exclaimed with a sneer, " What next ! the French make war upon us ! they are the people of whom we buy our cloth; we had better send the *seïs* (grooms) to drive them away with their sticks; by Allah if they come near us, we will cut them up like cucumbers !" When, however, the intelligence arrived of the capture of Alexandria, he could not disguise his alarm, though he pretended to attribute it to the cowardice of the Osmanlis; and a skirmish between the Memlooks and French at Rahmanéëh and the affair of Shebrekháyt taught him no longer to despise his enemy. The battle of Embábeh, called by the French "of the Pyramids," at once decided the fate of Egypt; and though the Memlooks fought with the most desperate courage, their far inferior numbers, and the superior discipline of European infantry, left them no chance of success.

They had made an entrenched camp at Embábeh, a village nearly opposite Bouláḵ, with the view of protecting the capital, by preventing the approach of the enemy, both by the bank and by the river. The French having arrived at night, took up a position in the plain to the westward of Embábeh and Geezeh; and awaited the attack. As day-light broke upon the camp and the distant pyramids, Buonaparte exhorted his troops by his well-known speech: " Soldats, du haut de ces monumens quarante siècles vous contemplent;" and the Memlook cavalry commenced the onset with tremendous fury. Charge after charge was resisted and repulsed by the firm squares of the French, and after useless efforts and immense loss, the scattered forces of Murad Bey retreated from the field. Geezeh and the Isle of Roda were immediately invested; Ibrahim Bey, who had taken no other part in the battle than in harassing the French flotilla by his gun-boats, and showing a corps de reserve on the E. bank, fled into the desert; and Cairo, next morning (July 21.), capitulated, on condition that the town should be saved the horrors of pillage, and that the French should respect the lives and privileges of the inhabitants.

The history of Egypt, during the occupation of the French, is too well known to need more than a very brief notice. The object of this invasion of Egypt was to thwart the prospects of the English in India, as is thus clearly stated by Napoleon: "Le principal but de l'expedition des Français d'Orient était d'abaisser la puissance Anglaise. C'est du Nil que devait partir l'armée qui allait donner de nouvelles destinées aux Indes. L'Egypte devait remplacer Saint Domingue et les Antilles, et concilier la liberté des Noirs avec les intérêts de nos manufactures. La conquête de cette province entrainait la perte de tous les établissements Anglais en Amérique, et dans la presqu'ile du Gange. Les Français une fois maîtres des ports d'Italie, de Corfou, de Malte, et d'Alexandrie, la Méditerranée devenait un lac Français."*

The success of the French in taking the capital of Egypt seemed to augur favourably for the success of their expedition, but their bright prospects were soon clouded over by the destruction of their fleet at Aboukir† (1798). This effectually prevented the success of their aggressions in Syria; and after a fruitless attempt upon Acre, where the garrison was aided by the powerful co-operation of the British ships under Sir Sydney Smith, the French army was compelled to withdraw into Egypt, with immense loss.‡ The effects of Nelson's victory at Aboukir are thus noticed by Napoleon §: "La perte de la bataille d'Aboukir eut une grande influence sur les affaires d'Egypte, et même sur celles du monde; la flotte Française sauvée, l'expedition de Syrie n'éprouvait point d'obstacles, l'artillerie de siége se transportait sûrement et facilement au-delà du désert, et Saint Jean d'Acre n'arrêtait point l'armée Française. La flotte Française détruite, le Divan s'enhardit à declarer la guerre à la France. L'armée perdit un grand appui; sa position en Egypte changea totalement, et Napoléon dut renoncer à l'espoir d'asseoir à jamais la puissance Française dans l'Occident par les résultats de l'expedition d'Egypte."

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* Clot Bey, tome i. p. 39.

† Abookeer. See above, Vol. I. p. 171.

‡ Count Forbin Janson points out a surgeon, called Royer, as the man who poisoned the wounded at Jaffa, p. 289. This subject has been often discussed.

§ Napoléon, Mémoires, tome ii. in Clot Bey, tome i. p. 40.

The victory over a Turkish army, which had just landed at Aboukir, was a slight reparation for these reverses; the position of the French in Egypt was insecure, and Napoleon, thinking that the state of affairs in France required or invited his return, left the command of the army to General Kleber, and embarked for Frejus, where he arrived on the 14th of September, 1799. On the 24th of July, 1800, a treaty, called of El Arísh, was entered into by the French and Turks, by which it was agreed that the former should leave the country within three months, ships being furnished by the Porte for their safe transport to France with arms and baggage. But these negotiations were broken off by the refusal of the British admiral, Lord Keith, to ratify the terms; and Sir Sydney Smith, with the honourable feelings that marked his career, "instantly sent off an express with it to Cairo, as he knew General Kleber was to evacuate that city immediately on the faith of the treaty; thus preferring the maintenance of his own and the nation's honour to a temporary advantage."* According to a French version, Kleber addressed his army on the occasion in these words: "Soldats, on ne répond à une telle insolence que par la victoire; préparez vous à combattre;" but this is not the only speech which bears the stamp of an afterthought in the military annals of France; though the well-known courage of so brave a nation ought to place it above the necessity of a vain boast.

Kleber now prepared to strengthen French influence in Egypt. The resources of that rich country afforded him great advantages; and the defeat of the Turkish army at Heliopolis, the joyful news of the victory of Marengo, and the conclusion of a treaty with the Memlooks, tended to encourage the hopes of the army. But the discontent of the Cairenes proved that the French had made little progress in the affections of the inhabitants of the country they had conquered; all their professions of respect for Islám were unavailing; and the severities exercised against the revolted capital in no degree tended to reconcile the Egyptians to French rule.

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* See Sir Robert Wilson's History.

The rebellion was crushed; but the fanaticism of the ulemas still kept up the hatred of the people against the Christian invaders, and the unfortunate Kleber fell by the hand of an assassin.* Ignorance had prompted this wretch to the crime, by supposing that the greatest injury he could do them was to murder their chief; fanaticism had made him believe it a meritorious action; and his cruel execution had neither the effect of making him repent, nor of striking others with any feeling but horror at the cruelty of a Christian people.

Menou succeeded Kleber in the command of the army; and the French still clung to the hope of keeping possession of Egypt, till at length the English resolved on their expulsion. With this view an expedition was sent under Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Lord Keith. After various delays the fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay on the 1st of March, 1801; and notwithstanding every disadvantage of landing in face of a vigilant enemy, the troops succeeded in overcoming all opposition, and directed their march towards Alexandria. On the 13th the English defeated the French under Menou, and on the 21st they gained the memorable victory of Alexandria, though with the loss of their gallant general, Abercrombie. The French lines, extending over the ancient walls of Alexandria, covered that city. The English were posted near the Roman camp on the sea-shore, which covered their right, and here the brunt of the battle took place, and here Abercrombie fell.

After this victory Menou was confined to Alexandria; and in order to impede his communication with Cairo and to protect the left of the British army, a cut was made through the narrow strip of land, about four miles to the eastward of Alexandria, by which the sea water was admitted into the bed of the Lake Mareotis. This expedient was suggested by the accidental discovery of a letter in the pocket of General Roiz, who was killed in the action of the 21st, written to him by Menou, expressing his fears that it might occur to the English; and it was not without great reluctance that the general was prevailed upon to have recourse to so disastrous a measure.

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* Some French writers have had the folly as well as bad taste to accuse the English of being privy to this assassination; proving how little they regarded truth when their prejudices sought gratification in an ungenerous assertion.

Having made every necessary disposition in the vicinity of Alexandria, General Hutchinson, who had succeeded to the command of the army, resolved to advance upon Cairo. The Turkish forces, under the Grand-Vizeer, marched at the same time along the east bank, and after repulsing the French at El Khánka, effected a junction with the British army, which was augmented by the arrival of the sepoys* from India under General Baird. General Belliard, who commanded in Cairo, having made a slight show of resistance, capitulated on the 27th of June, on condition of the garrison being sent to France.† Alexandria was blockaded by General Coote, and on the 2d of September 1801, after a short bombardment, the garrison laid down their arms on receiving the same promise of being sent to France.

Egypt was now once more restored to the dominion of the Porte; but the English general, desirous of doing justice to the Memlooks, who had so gallantly borne the brunt of the war, insisted on their rights being respected, under the promise of the regular payment of tribute to the Porte, and the acknowledgment of the due authority of the Pasha as viceroy of the country. The aged Ibrahim Bey was accordingly reinstated in his post of shekh-beled: but treachery lurked in the designs of the Osmanlis; the principal beys were detained as prisoners when on a visit of ceremony to the Vizeer; and the Captan-Pasha having tempted others on board some boats, under pretence of conveying them in safety on board a corvette‡, which was to take them to the British commander in Alexandria, had the baseness to fire upon them, while under the supposed protection of his hospitality. Osman Bey Tamboorgee and many other chiefs were killed, and those who escaped death were obliged to swear to the terms dictated by the assassin of their comrades. The indignation of the English, upon this, knew no bounds; the faith of the nation had been pledged for the safety of the Memlooks, and General Hutchinson was so incensed that he had nearly permitted the army to give way to their feelings, by avenging this insult to humanity and their honour.

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* This is the same word as the Turkish spáhee.

† The Cairenes say that an intercepted order from Menou, enjoining him to hold out, was altered by the English into the advice to capitulate.

‡ Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 6.

Matters having been at length arranged, and the forces withdrawn, Mohammed Khosrof* was appointed pasha of Egypt. From that time ensued a series of dissensions between the Turks and Memlooks, of battles with various success, and of political intrigues, equally disgraceful to both parties.

Yusef Bey† having been sent against the Memlooks, accompanied by Mohammed Ali (who has since played so distinguished a part in the history of Egypt), was defeated near Damanhoor, with the loss of several thousand men. Mohammed Ali commanded a corps of Albanians‡ on this occasion; and the general, in order to excuse his own incapacity to the viceroy, represented him as the cause of the disaster. Mohammed Khosrof, already disposed to dread his restless character, welcomed the opportunity thus offered of checking his ambition. He therefore ordered him to appear at the palace that night, and account for his conduct. His answer, that he would present himself next morning with his soldiers, to receive their pay, plainly showed the disposition, and the power he already possessed; and Khosrof, in order to thwart his designs and punish his audacity, ordered Táhér Pasha to attend with a large body of Albanians at the interview. The threat of Mohammed Ali was not put forth without a well-grounded confidence in the good-will of the troops, and the certainty of success. The soldiers looked upon him as the defender of their rights, in demanding their pay, which had long been due to them; and the order for attacking Mohammed Ali was the signal for dispossessing Khosrof of his viceregal power. Khosrof escaped to Damietta, whence he was brought back a prisoner to Cairo: and Táhér Pasha was chosen by the army as his successor, 1803. His reign was short. Having invited the Memlooks into Cairo, he was assassinated by the Turks, and two days terminated the authority of Táhér Pasha.

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* Often written Khosrow, and Khosrov.

† Surnamed "El Owr," from having "one eye."

‡ This has perhaps led to the extraordinary mistake of his being an Albanian.

In the meantime intrigues were set on foot by all parties; the principal actors in which were Mohammed Ali, the two rival Memlook chiefs, Osman Bey Bardeésee and Mohammed Bey el Elfee: the aged Ibrahim Bey possessing a mere shadow of authority, and unable to control or profit by their dissensions.

On learning the state of affairs in Egypt, the Porte sent Ali-Gez̧éïrlee Pasha to restore order in the country. But the mutinous spirit of the Memlooks and Albanians, irritated by his manner and the duplicity of his conduct, soon put an end to his authority and his life.

The struggle for power was now between the two rival beys, el Bardeésee and el Elfee; but the former having gained over the powerful assistance of the Albanians and Mohammed Ali, compelled his adversary to fly into Upper Egypt. Conscious of their strength, those who had enabled him to gain this ascendency were not long in seeking to profit by it; and his refusal to give the Albanians the pay they demanded was the signal for his dismissal from the capital. Mohammed Ali upon this restored the captive Khosrof: but the turbulent Albanians could ill bear the rule of one whom they had injured, and who had no claims on their affection. Khosrof was permitted to leave the country, and retire to Constantinople; where he lately filled the important office of Grand-Vizeer, at a moment when Mohammed Ali, his old enemy, was engaged in bidding the same defiance to the authority of the sultan which had doomed him to the loss of the Egyptian pashalic.

Though Mohammed Ali possessed more influence at this moment than any other chief, the time for putting in practice his ulterior projects had not yet arrived: and the elevation of Khoorshid Pasha to the government of Egypt was zealously promoted by his co-operation. Mohammed Ali was appointed k̲aimak̲am (k̲áïm-mak̲ám *), or second in the govern-

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* Or k̲aiem-mak̲ám, *locum-tenens.*

ment; and in this position he had ample opportunities of paving the way for his future designs. The soldiery were little inclined to submit to any authority: their supposed or real grievances enabled Mohammed Ali to profit by their discontent; and in the many commotions which took place in Cairo, it always appeared to the shekhs and ulemas, as well as all peaceable inhabitants, that he was the person to whom they owed their safety. Alternately taking advantage of the turbulent character of the Albanians, when the viceroy's power was obnoxious, and checking their excesses when the inhabitants of the city required protection, he furthered his own views by weakening the one and gaining the good-will of the other; and his unflinching courage in punishing all outrages, while it commanded the respect of every class, increased his influence over the affections as well as fears of the soldiers themselves. The Porte even acknowledged his services in appeasing the mutinous spirit of the army, and preserving order in the capital: and as a reward for his conduct, which was the first great step in his career, he was honoured with the dignity of pasha. The indiscreet endeavour of Khoorshid Pasha to rid himself of the Albanians precipitated his downfal; and in July 1804, these military brigands having pillaged the city, he was formally deposed by the shekhs; who published this proclamation:— "According to the ancient usages of Islám, the people have the right of deposing princes, if they are unjust and oppressive, tyrants being rebels to the law, which is alone paramount."

In the meantime the Porte, hoping to rid Egypt of one who was gaining too much power in the country, appointed Mohammed Ali to the pashalic of Gidda (Juddeh) in Arabia. Bowing to the sovereign will of his master, and acknowledging the honour thus conferred upon him, he, with suitable pliancy, professed the utmost readiness to depart for his post; but care was taken that the army should make such opportune demonstrations of their resolution to detain him in Egypt, that while he was enabled to remain he should not incur the blame of disobeying the orders of the Porte. It was useless to oppose the will of the army; and on the fourteenth of Saffer, A. H. 1220 (in May A. D. 1805), he was called upon to assume the office of pasha, by the unanimous voice of the Albanians and of the people. The Porte then, in July 1805, appointed him governor of the country *ad interim*. But repenting of this step, and wishing to make one more effort to remove him from Egypt, the Captan-Pasha was sent to Alexandria, with orders to announce to Mahommed Ali his nomination to the pashalic of Salonica, as a due reward for the important services he had rendered to his sovereign and the empire. He professed immediate compliance with the orders of his master, and expressed the greatest anxiety to repair to the new post conferred upon him. But here, again, the arbitrary wishes of the army interfered, to prevent his leaving Egypt. Even the shekhs of Cairo entreated him to remain; and a representation was sent to the Porte to request that he might be confirmed in the government of Egypt, being the only man capable of maintaining order and restraining the irregularities of the turbulent.

Of this, indeed, he had given convincing proofs on many occasions, during the troubles that had so long afflicted the country; and even afterwards, at a time when the Albanians were trying to excite their leaders to dispute his authority, Hassan Pasha, Sáhil Agha, and other influential chiefs checked their discontent by assuring them that, however arbitrary and unjustifiable his usurpation of the supreme power might be, there was no one among them with the same capacities*, or the same power of preserving order in the country.

The possession of Cairo was not abandoned by Koorshid to his successful competitor without resistance; and the capture of the citadel is still recorded by the construction of a small fort on the isolated rock behind it; being the spot where the batteries of Mohammed Ali were raised, that obtained the surrender of the place. Koorshid made his escape after, as the Cairenes affirm, destroying his harem, with all its inmates; and Mohammed Ali was left without a competitor for the viceregal power. Aware that his enemies were fully capable of enlightening the Porte respecting the state of Egypt, his influence with the troops, and the power he had acquired, Mohammed Ali knew that something more persuasive than mere words was necessary to excuse his noncompliance with the orders of the sultan. He had, therefore, recourse to the powerful arguments of money; advocates were obtained in the divan by well-applied presents; and the Porte, availing itself of his disposition to court the royal favour by a liberal donation, proposed to nominate him to the pashalic of Egypt, on the payment of 300,000*l.*, independent of the established tribute. April 1. 1806.

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* The expression in Arabic, *batnoo wása*, is curiously analogous to the word *capacity;* but the former would seem to place the seat of intellect much lower down than the head.

Having followed Mohammed Ali through a portion of his career, to the successful accomplishment of his views; I return to notice, in an equally brief manner, the early part of his life.

He was born at Cávala, a small town of Roumelia*, opposite Thasos, in 1769; the same year that gave birth to the two most illustrious persons of the present era, Napoleon and Wellington.

His father was of a class of persons called Rékhber, answering in some measure to a yeoman or farmer; who followed the double occupation of tilling his lands, and deriving a part of his livelihood from the sea. A military life was the only one that suited the active disposition of his son; and Mohammed Ali having entered the service of the *shórbagee* or governor of Cávala, received the rank of Bóolook-Báshi†, or subaltern, under the chief of the guard‡, (Agha-t-el bab, "officer of the door") at the palace. Of his active and courageous character, he frequently gave proofs during the commencement of his career at Cávala, as well as in after times, when brought by events into a wider field of action; and his hastily manning a boat in pursuit of some pirates, who had plundered the neighbourhood of his native town, resembled in boldness his putting to sea in a frigate, and cruising between Alexandria and the coast of Asia Minor, when intelligence had come to Egypt of Lord Cochrane's having threatened Egypt with the Greek fleet.

On the death of his commanding officer, he was appointed to succeed him as Agha-t-el Bab, and married his widow. She had two children, the present Ibrahim Pasha (the adopted son of Mohammed Ali), and his young sister Taféedah Hánem, widow of Moharrem Bey; who is buried, as I have already observed, in the family tomb of Mohammed Ali. From this time he continued to hold the same office in the governor's household; and though he may have entered into speculations in trade, like many Turkish soldiers, he never quitted the military profession. His native town not appearing to offer sufficient scope for his active mind, about ten years after his marriage he went to Constantinople, taking with him about eighty chosen soldiers, and offered his services to Hossayn Pasha. Whether this anecdote be true or no I cannot affirm; it has been mentioned to me by a Turk who was at Constantinople at the time, and who declares that he saw him there; adding, moreover, that on Mohammed Ali's representing to the minister that he and his soldiers were without occupation, and wanted employment, their services were rejected. Upon this they went to Gálata, and embarking on board a vessel which happened to be sailing at the time, left the capital, and afterwards returned to Cávala.

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* Therefore not an Albanian.

† Or Bóoluk-Báshee, that is "head," or "commander of a few," or "of a guard," (of infantry).

‡ I have been told that his name was Osman Agha, others say Ibrahim.

This town being required to furnish a contingent of 300 men for the army of the Vizeer, then levying to oppose the French in Egypt, Mohammed Ali was sent with them*, and soon afterwards obtained the rank of Bin-bashi.† His conduct on several occasions, when engaged with the French, merited and obtained the approbation of the commander-in-chief, particularly at the battle of Aboukir; and when attached with a corps of Turks to a part of the British army, he attracted the notice of several of our officers by his courage and activity in the field.

At the period of the evacuation of Egypt by the French, he had attained the rank of Sari-shisneh‡, and his courage having gained for him the admiration, as his manners the affection of the army, he soon felt himself possessed of an instrument for increasing his influence in the country, of which he was not slow in taking advantage. The discontent of the troops, in consequence of long arrears of pay, had already begun to manifest itself, when the threatening message of Khosrof Pasha to Mohammed Ali, was the signal for open rebellion. They looked upon him to be the defender of their rights; and since he had displayed great anxiety for their welfare, they were ready to protect him from the anger of the viceroy; and (as I have previously stated) the rest of the army, when called upon to quell the mutiny, and seize the rebellious chief, was too much interested in his safety not to join in his defence. Thus strengthened in the affections of the army, his career became more and more successful, till he attained the great object of his ambition, the Pashalic of Egypt, in 1806.

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* Some say he became as second in command with Moharrem Bey, the son of the governor Cávala; but, from what I can learn, Moharrem Bey arrived some time afterwards. The Bey came twice to Egypt, and was, till lately, governor of Alexandria. He married the sister of Ibrahim Pasha.

† Literally "Chief of a Thousand," or Major.

‡ Or Saree-shíshneh, Brigadier-general.

We have already seen with what unwillingness the Porte acceded to the request of the friends of Mohammed Ali and of the people of Cairo, to appoint him to the Pashalic, and how large a sum was required from him to obtain the acquiescence of the Sultan and the Divân. He was at length nominated to this important post, and on the 4th of November of the same year, his formal investiture took place. Two months had scarcely elapsed, when he was gratified by the intelligence of the death of both his great rivals in power, the Memlook chiefs, Mohammed Bey el Elfee, and Osman Bey Bardéesee.

In the beginning of his career, the latter had taken part with him, until driven from Cairo by the discontented Albanians; but Mohammed el Elfee had always been his enemy, and had not only tried to persuade the Porte, through the Captan-Pasha, to unite with him in expelling Mohammed Ali from Egypt, but had gone to England for the purpose of inducing the British government to cooperate with the Memlooks in wresting it from his grasp. El Elfee returned to Egypt with the hopes that England might at length be prevailed upon to send a body of troops to his aid, and thus restore the Memlook authority in the country, without the humiliating necessity of courting an alliance with his rival Osman. The animosity of these two chiefs was indeed the great security of Mohammed Ali, who, too, lost no opportunity of fomenting their mutual distrust; and the hatred of Osman against El Elfee was still further increased by the report of his welcome reception in England.

The Memlooks of El Elfee, though not altogether confident of receiving assistance, kept themselves ready to join the English in the event of their invading Egypt, which their hostile attitude towards Constantinople gave them additional reason to expect; but so much time was allowed to pass before any active measures were taken, that in the spring of 1807 (March 20th), when the British troops, under General Fraser, landed and took possession of Alexandria, they learned that El Elfee had died, and that the Memlooks, left without the prime mover of all their plans, could not be brought to co-operate with them.

Thus deserted by the very persons for whom they had come to Egypt, and being unsupported by the strong body of cavalry they expected to find ready to join them, they were at a loss how to act, and found the very object of the expedition completely frustrated. Their numbers too, little more than 5000 men, were insufficient to make any impression on the country, much less to keep possession of any portion of it in the face of numerous enemies. In order, however, to strengthen their position at Alexandria, and to secure their supplies, a detachment, consisting of the 31st regiment, and the Chasseurs Britanniques, was sent to take possession of Rosetta. The town was taken, almost without resistance, and the soldiers, trusting too much to their supposed security, dispersed themselves through the streets; when "a single Turk, armed with no other weapon than a pistol, began an attack on the stragglers from a window, of whom he killed more than a dozen," before the house "could be broken open and the assailant dislodged."* Encouraged by his boldness, and recovering from their panic, some other Turks followed his example; and Ali Bey, the governor of Rosetta, having cut off all hopes of flight by sending the boats to the opposite bank, urged the rest to join in the attack. The small detachment of British, unable to maintain their ground, were compelled to retire from the town, after losing their commander, Major-General Wauchope, with 188 killed and wounded. They thence retreated to Aboukir and Alexandria.

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* Legh's Egypt, p. 49.

A second attempt to obtain possession of Rosetta was made soon after this, in the beginning of April, and another corps, consisting of about 2500 men, was detached under Brigadier-General Stewart to effect this object. In the meantime troops were sent from Cairo to protect the place; and Mohammed Ali, though alarmed at the taking of Alexandria, which was at that time, like all other Turkish seaports, under the jurisdiction of the Captan-Pasha, prepared to oppose the invaders. The smallness of their force, the hopes of preventing a junction with the Memlooks, and the urgent advice of the French Consul, M. Drovetti, stimulated him to immediate action. He therefore detached all his disposable forces towards Rosetta; and General Stewart had scarcely taken up his position upon the heights of Aboo-mandoór and along the southern face of the town, when he was attacked by large bodies of cavalry from without; and in an attempt to dislodge the Turks from a post they had occupied in his rear, at El Hamed, the detachment sent on that service was repulsed, and being cut off from the main body was cut to pieces or taken prisoners. And finding that re-enforcements continued to arrive by the river from Cairo, General Stewart, with his small force, destitute of cavalry *, and threatened with want of provisions, was obliged to retreat upon Etko, whence they retired without farther molestation upon Aboukir and Alexandria. But the loss in this second attempt † was very severe, amounting to no less than 916 in killed, wounded, and missing, of whom 543 were taken prisoners. And such was the savage nature of a Turkish triumph, that the same boats conveyed the captives, and the heads of their slaughtered comrades.

The inutility of keeping possession of Alexandria, when the Memlooks, for whom the expedition had been undertaken, made no efforts to aid or join the British army, the difficulty of supplying the troops and town with provision, and the

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* He had only a detachment of the 20th Light Dragoons. See Gentleman's Magazine for 1807.

† One of the field pieces taken on this occasion is still seen at the citadel of Cairo.

cessation of hostilities against the Ottoman empire, induced General Frazer to evacuate Egypt, on condition that the prisoners should be restored *; and the British army left the country the following September, after having occupied Alexandria about six months.

Had Mohammed Bey el Elfee been living, the affair would doubtless have terminated in the deposal of Mohammed Ali and the restoration of the Memlooks; but it may be questioned if the unstable power of those factious spirits would have been beneficial to Egypt, or have advanced her in civilisation; and such was the system on which this corps was formed, and so precarious the tenure on which the power of every chief was held, that nothing could be calculated upon with certainty, even during the lifetime of a single individual. Ambition and intrigue were the moving principles, by which the whole mechanism was turned; no love of country was there to inspire men, who were both foreigners and slaves, to noble and patriotic actions; and any one might obtain power by the accidental caprice of his patron, or by treachery to his benefactor.

The British army having evacuated Alexandria, Mohammed Ali found himself more firmly seated in power than ever. The triumph he had gained over an enemy who had attempted to interfere in a province of the Ottoman Empire, obtained for him fresh support at Constantinople; and many of the Memlooks thought it a favourable opportunity of courting his friendship. The attempted invasion of the country by the English, and the necessity of putting the sea-coast into a better state of defence, gave him an opportunity of ridding himself of the unwelcome interference of the Captan-Pasha; which, had it continued, would have stood greatly in the way of those projects he afterwards devised. Alexandria was fortified, and garrisoned by his own troops; and thus strengthened at home, his thoughts were free to occupy themselves on more distant projects. But ere that could be done it was necessary to crush the remaining power of the Memlooks. With this view a large force was sent into Upper Egypt; and, after

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* One of them, the late Osman Effendee, was retained by his master K̲áder A'gha, and afterwards liberated through the interposition of Burckhardt.

various encounters, a truce was agreed upon between the Pasha and the Beys, who were even admitted to the capital.

The deliverance of the Holy Land of Arabia from the Wahábees, who had taken possession of Mecca and Medina*, was the object of Mohammed Ali's most ardent wishes. The Divan at Constantinople had honoured him by entrusting the management of this war to his sole direction (not without the secret wish of weakening his power, at the same time that their most formidable religious enemies were destroyed), and all good *Soonnees* looked to him as the Defender of the Faith.

The sect of Wahábees was founded in the middle of the last century by Shekh Mohammed Abd-el-Waháb, aided by the arms of Mohammed ben Sāóod, who protected him from persecution, and took advantage of the new religion to extend his own power.†

This sect, the reformers of Islám, condemning the superfluous rites and traditions of the Soonnees, endeavoured to restore the religion to its original purity. The Koran was pronounced to be the sole guide of every true believer; all respect paid to reputed saints, the sanctity of a shekh's tomb, and the repetition of the *Fátha* ‡ for the deceased, were looked upon as remnants of idolatry: the tomb was not permitted to assume the sanctity of the mosk, and the dome was an abomination to the Wahábee. The luxury of dress, the silk robes, and many superfluities in which the other Moslems delighted, were deemed unbecoming by these rigid sectaries, and the use of tobacco was denounced as the resource of the idle, unsanctioned of course by the Koran, or by ancient usage among the early followers of the Prophet.

In the course of a few years, this sect had spread so rapidly through the interior of Arabia, that not contented with propagating their doctrines, they commenced a direct attack on the rest of the Moslem world. Unable to persuade them to renounce opinions they had imbibed from their youth, and inherited from their ancestors, the Wahábees exchanged force for arguments, and with the enthusiasm of a rival sect, hoped to persecute them to conviction. Abd el Azeez, the son of Mohammed ben Sāóod *, succeeded his father as their chief in 1765.

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* Medeeneh, or Medeénet e' Nebbee, "the City of the Prophet."

† See Mengin, vol. ii. Appendix, for a detailed account of the Wahábees; and vol. i. p. 378.; and Burckhardt's Bedouins and Wahábys, p. 274. &c.

‡ Fat-ha, the *opening*, or introductory prayer of the Koran.

In April 1801, his son Sāóod pillaged the tomb of Hossayn the son of Ali, at Kérbela, which was held in particular veneration by the Persians; but this insult to the sect of the Shiites was not allowed to remain unavenged, and a devoted hand succeeded two years after in assassinating the Wahábee chief, while at prayers in a mosk at Draéëh. Sāóod succeeded him in the command, and pushed the conquests of the new sect throughout Arabia to the confines of Persia. In 1810 they pillaged the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, whose wealth they pronounced inconsistent with the purposes of religion, and interrupted the pilgrimage, which they considered to be improperly performed. The Arabs, profiting by this state of things, pillaged the country and infested the roads; so that there was no longer any safety for the devout pilgrim, or the industrious merchant; and as their elastic conscience did not interfere with their religious scruples, they naturally joined the party whose successes promised them the best prospect of plunder. Nor did the virtuous propensities of this austerely religious sect prevent their welcoming the aid of these marauding allies; and with the fury of sectaries they considered themselves too good, and their opponents too bad, to hesitate about the means employed for their purpose.

Proud of their successes, and confident of their increasing strength, they even extended their conquests to Bagdad, and into Syria, and dared to attack the ships of British merchants in the Persian gulf. This insult, however, was severely punished; some men-of-war were despatched up the Persian gulf to dislodge them from their strongholds upon the coast, and Captain Sadler was afterwards sent from India to offer to the Turks, in the name of the government, any assistance they might require against the common enemy.

Some years after the war was over, when the Wahábee chiefs were detained in Cairo as hostages, I had several opportunities of being in their society; having been introduced

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* Or Son of Sáóod, محمد بن سعود, not Souhoud, as sometimes written.

to them by a Cairene, who was a convert to their tenets.* At dinner I found their customs to be very similar to those of other Orientals. After every one, on rising from the table, had washed, and seated himself in the divan, servants brought perfumes which they burnt before him, and as the smoke rose he wafted it towards his dress and beard with his hand; and on another occasion, there was the addition of rose water, which was sprinkled over each guest as he sat. This love of perfume is common to the Arabians; but I never met with any whose dress is so strongly scented as the Wahábees. The women of course were not seen: and their custom of concealing their features is still more severe than that of the Cairenes, having their whole face and head covered with a long black veil. Coffee was brought, strongly flavoured with cloves, *hab-ẖán*, and other spices, but no pipes; though I found that one who was seated next to me did not refuse mine when I presented it, according to Oriental custom; and after smoking it for a few moments, he returned it in the usual way.

The conversation turned chiefly on horses, which are known as with us by their names; and their pedigrees † were described, as the qualities of their sires and dams, with Arab enthusiasm. This I found to be a favourite topic at all times; and every one seemed to delight in talking of some well-known *koháyl*, and relating the various proofs of its prowess, as well as the praises of its owner. Politics were of course excluded; and the Turkish effendee, who lived with them to superintend their conduct, was a sufficient check to free discussion. They did not, however, disguise their dislike of the English; and it amused me exceedingly to hear the unrestrained truth of their opinions before one whom they little suspected of being an European, or interested in the subject.

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* Among them was a descendant of the founder of the sect, "Shekh Abd e' Rahmán, the son of Abdallah, the son of Shekh Mohammed, the son of Abd el Waháb." This was a memorandum given me by him with another of "the prince Abdallah, son of Săóod, son of Abd el Azeez, son of Mohammed, son of Saóod (or ben Săóod)."

† This was of course to us as strangers, for, as Burckhardt observes, "the Bedouins never refer to any among themselves; for they know the whole genealogy of their horses, as they do that of their owners," and only give the pedigree of a horse when about to sell it, or when describing it to a foreigner. Burckhardt, i. 252.

Our attacks on their strongholds in the Persian gulf were related by an eye-witness. They were of course represented as uncalled for; but the Europeans were pronounced to be *afareét,* and the astonishment they felt at our quickness during these operations was curiously described.

The increasing power of this sect having at length called for vigorous efforts on the part of the Turks, Mohammed Ali made grand preparations for delivering Arabia from their grasp. It was an object worthy of his ambition. The honour of avenging the insults offered to the established religion by these heretics, of enabling the pilgrims to visit the holy cities without interruption, and of being looked up to as the champion of Islám, were sufficient to call forth all the energies of his mind, all the resources of which he was master. He thought of nothing but the accomplishment of this grand design, the glory it promised him, and the means necessary for ensuring success. The only impediment was the fear of leaving Egypt exposed to the intrigues of the Memlooks. They, on the other hand, looked with eager anxiety for the opportunity which the absence of the Turks would afford them, of regaining their power, and of destroying the man whose talents had defeated all their plans.

The prospect of so soon avenging their cause, and seeing their enemy in their power, rendered them incautious; and with the imprudence of too sanguine hopes, they had divulged their secret plots for his destruction. Their intentions soon became known; and one of the friends, or at least well-wishers, of the Pasha, having demanded an interview, related to him their project, and warned him of his danger. The advice was not thrown away; but the Pasha, pretending to disregard it as utterly false, and an unjust accusation arising out of some malicious feeling, treated his informant with contempt.

Having thus showed his apparent disbelief, in order to blind even his informant, and prevent the Memlooks being warned of his intentions, Mohammed Ali determined to be beforehand with them, and laid his plans for their destruction. The expedition for Arabia was ordered to be hastened by every possible means; and the investiture of his son Toossoom Pasha with the command of the army was set forth as the prelude to its immediate departure. The day fixed for this important ceremony was the 1st of March, 1811. All the principal officers attended at the citadel on the occasion*, and the Memlooks were invited to be present. As the beys presented themselves in the divan, where the Pasha was seated with the Turkish chiefs, they were received with the usual tokens of Eastern civility; and the ceremony being over, they mounted their horses to retire from the citadel. On reaching the gates, they were surprised to find them closed, and no one there to open them: the suspicion of treachery immediately flashed across their minds, and a volley of musketry from above revealed the horror of their position. Some galloped back towards the divan, hoping to cut their way to the Pasha, some to another gate. But the Pasha had foreseen and prepared for their return; as they approached the closed doors, a well-directed fire from every side overwhelmed them; men and horses fell under a shower of balls, and no courage could avail against an enemy protected behind walls. The open space before the palace was strewed with slain; and those who attempted to fly from the scene of slaughter were picked off by the Albanians wherever they turned.

One more fortunate than his companions, Emín Bey, remembering that a mound of rubbish thrown from above had accumulated to a considerable height at one part of the wall†, forced his horse to take the parapet at that spot, and alighting unhurt, fled to the tents of some soldiers in the plain of Bussateen; where throwing himself on their protection, he was allowed to remain concealed, until an opportunity offered for escaping to the sea-side, and thence to Constantinople.

The wounded were speedily despatched; and as soon as the work of death was over, the Albanians, who had been the chief actors in this cruel drama, pressed forward to receive the reward of their obedience. But the excitement they were under had nearly proved fatal to the Pasha himself. Their naturally ferocious tempers, roused by this scene of bloodshed, were ready to sacrifice any one who had the least appearance of being obnoxious to them; and as Mohammed Ali stood by their favourite chieftain, Hassan Pasha, a tumultuous cry in the

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* Some say it was to celebrate the festival of the Bairám.

† The spot is still shown, though the construction of a new wall and the alterations below have altered its appearance.

Arnaut language proposed the death of the viceroy. They were checked by the generous interposition of the Albanian Pasha; and his disinterested conduct on this occasion, when his assent might have given an opening too tempting for most men to withstand, is one of the many instances of his magnanimity.* "What," asked Mohammed Ali, "do they say?" for though ignorant of the language, their manner was sufficient to excite his observation. The Arnaut made an excuse for their violence without interpreting their words; and the attention of all was easily turned to the grateful results of the duty they had been engaged in.

The houses of the Memlooks were now given up to plunder: orders were issued to exterminate all who could be found in the city; and punishment was denounced against any one known to harbour them or facilitate their escape. The Pasha was glad to despatch the most turbulent from the citadel on this welcome errand; and the prospect of plunder added greatly to their eagerness on the occasion. The houses of the beys and other Memlook chiefs were immediately assailed; and few had time to conceal any thing in the secret recesses, with which the houses of Cairo are furnished for this purpose.† The consternation of the city was excessive; all the shops were shut, the houses barricadoed, and the streets deserted. It appeared like a place taken by an invading enemy. The licentious soldiery committed the most barbarous excesses, several hundred houses were sacked, and many of the innocent suffered from their rapacity, on the plea of being friends of the proscribed Memlooks. At length, on the second day a cessation of the persecution was proclaimed; Mohammed Ali himself went through the city to stop the tumultuous license of the troops; and those who had escaped the general massacre were permitted to retire, or remain unmolested. It is said that about 440 ‡ with their chief Ibrahim Bey perished in the citadel; Emín Bey being the only one who escaped: and in the city and country it is supposed that no less than 1200 were sacrificed.*

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* Hassan Pasha was afterwards killed in Candia, whither he was sent during the Greek war.

† A closet, or a passage in the ceilings, under the floors or other places, are common in all old houses of Cairo, and in some of the Memlook houses money has been found that had escaped the plunderers.

‡ For details of this massacre see Mengin, i. p. 363. and Giov. Finati, i. p. 101.

That this dreadful massacre was necessary for the tranquillity of Egypt, that the Memlooks were plotting against the Pasha, and would have caught him in some snare had he not been the first to entrap them, that this kind of treachery was compatible with the customs of the Turks, and that the order to destroy them had been sent from Constantinople, have been put forth in extenuation of the conduct of Mohammed Ali on this occasion. It is true that we ought not to judge the Turks by the standard of our European customs; and while we give Mohammed Ali credit for the civilised notions he has since imbibed, or the humane intentions he has since proved himself to possess, we should remember that he is a Turk, and acted according to usages sanctioned by his countrymen. But this does not make the act less reprehensible in itself; and if he deserves any credit for being unlike an Osmanlee on one occasion, he cannot escape censure for adopting their worst customs on another.

That the Memlooks, like the Janissaries of Constantinople, or the Prætorian guards of Rome, were a constant "plague," whose removal alone could restore the state to a healthy condition, is perfectly true; and they have been justly represented as the most corrupt, the most perfidious, and the most vicious of men, whose "government was unnatural and oppressive, and whose habits and customs were degrading to mankind." Their system was one of rapine and arbitrary oppression; and Savary calls the Beys "the twenty-four tyrants, who devour the riches of the country."† But though these weeds required eradicating, though they clogged all the energies of Egypt, though Arabia could not be freed from the aggression of a formidable enemy without the removal of the Memlooks, and every lover of civilisation and order saw the necessity of the measure, the manner in which it was done cannot possibly find an excuse; and nothing but an open attack can be justified by expediency or by any reason.

On other occasions Mohammed Ali has done much to show that he possesses most excellent qualities; he is not habitually cruel nor inhuman, and he has had the generosity to pardon an attempt upon his life: we therefore regret the more to see this blot upon the character of one so superior to his race, who has subsequently felt a pride and a pleasure in imitating the customs of civilised Europe.

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* I have been told 360 in the citadel and 440 in all. In the above are probably included armed followers.

† Savary, vol. ii. letter 2.

What excites our surprise is, that the Memlooks, versed in and accustomed to all the artifices of treachery, as they had ever been, should have fallen into a similar trap, which Mohammed Ali himself had shortly before avoided, when invited by Khoorshid to the citadel to receive the pelisse and title of Pasha; and it is probable that, like a chess-player too intent on his own game, they overlooked the intended move of their adversary, from being too sure of their own success.

The destruction of the principal Memlooks left Mohammed Ali free to prosecute the war he contemplated; and in the autumn of 1811, the army was sent to Arabia. The young Toossoom, his son, took the command, assisted by the ablest of his father's generals; but he received a severe check from the valour of the Wahábees: the dreadful slaughter at the defiles of Saffra and Gedeida is mentioned to this day with horror, and so great was the panic that the Turks fled to the sea-coast, leaving their camp to be plundered by the astonished victors. The principal fault seems to have been on the part of the Albanians, some of whom deserted their general and returned to Egypt.

The campaign of 1812 opened under more favourable auspices; Medina was retaken, and the keys of the "City of the Prophet" were sent to Constantinople. The capture of Mecca and Táifa soon followed. The joyful news was carried to the sultan by Ismaël Pasha, the then youngest son of Mohammed Ali. Toossoom was created a pasha of three tails, and his father received the distinguishing title of Khan, with various rich presents. At length, in the autumn of 1813, Mohammed Ali went in person to take the command, and instil fresh courage into the army. The Wahábees received a fresh check, and the aspect of affairs seemed to promise ultimate success. The Arabs, their allies, soon perceived the effect produced by the arrival of Mohammed Ali; and when emissaries were sent by him to endeavour by bribery to urge them to defection, one of the most powerful shekhs joined the Turks, and his example was in the course of time followed by others, until the Wahábees became confined to their own resources.

The Pilgrimage having already been set free, the joy of the Moslems of the West was unbounded; and Mohammed Ali availed himself of the opportunity of joining the *Hag*, to perform his devotions at the Kaaba, and visit the tomb of the Prophet. His arrival in Arabia was marked by a violent measure, in the seizure of Ghíleb, the sheréef of Mecca, the reason of which has been variously described. The character of the man was so bad, that the Pasha has incurred little censure for having confiscated his property, and sent him a prisoner out of Arabia, and it is supposed that a treasonable correspondence with the enemy led to this summary punishment.

In the mean time, the authority of the Pasha was assailed in Egypt. The Porte, thinking that his absence offered a favourable opportunity for depriving him of his pashalic, secretly appointed Lateef Pasha, one of his officers, who had carried the keys of Medina to Constantinople, to the government of Egypt. But the feeble efforts of this puppet of the Porte were immediately crushed, and Mohammed Bey-Laz Oghloo, who had been left in Egypt as *kehia*, as soon as he perceived his intentions, seized him, and without waiting for instructions from Mohammed Ali, ordered his head to be struck off. The first intimation of the rebellion given to Mohammed Ali informed him of its suppression; his summary mode of punishing this silly and ungrateful young man was highly commended, and the fidelity of the minister was ever remembered with gratitude by his master.

The Porte visited the affront with its displeasure, and pronounced Mohammed Laz *firmánlee* ("an outlaw"), whose life any one was henceforth justified in taking; but this had only the effect of cementing the friendship of the viceroy for his *kehia*, which was never diminished to the hour of his death. The removal of Mohammed Laz from the office of *kehia*, and the appointment of the Albanian, Mahmood Bey, to that post, which took place some years after, was not the result of any displeasure on the part of the Pasha against his faithful minister, but of an intrigue on the part of the Porte, which endeavoured in vain to sow the seeds of discord between them. It happened in the following manner:—An application to Mohammed Ali for some purpose having been proposed by the Sultan, a member of the divan observed that it had better be addressed to Mohammed Kehia, who was the real governor of Egypt; upon which the Pasha, to show the futility of the remark, removed him from his post. He failed not, however, to give his minister the full assurance of his unaltered friendship, or to consult him in private, and profit by his advice; and he afterwards employed him in the important duty of superintending the formation of his disciplined army, which I shall have occasion to notice presently.

The above-mentioned attempt of Lateef Pasha took place at the close of 1813. In the summer of 1815 a treaty was made between the Turks and Abdallah, the son of Sāóod[*], who had succeeded his father as prince of the Wahábees in the spring of 1814, and Mohammed Ali left Arabia and returned to Egypt. On his arrival at Cairo, he prepared to put into execution a project he had long since in view of organising a disciplined force; and in August 1815, he engaged some Europeans to instruct a body of men, who were drilled daily at Boolák. This measure excited from the beginning great discontent, and at length a general mutiny ensued. Their anger was at first confined to the instructors; but the cry of indignation at being subjected to the discipline of infidels having been raised, they rushed in a body to search for the author of this insult: and had it not been for the interference of Abdin Bey, the brother of Hassan Pasha, Mohammed Ali would have been exposed to imminent danger in this moment of excitement. The greatest scene of confusion took place in Cairo; and for two days the place was exposed to the unrestrained excesses of the soldiery. At length the authority of their officers, the proclamation inviting them to return to their duty under the promise of abandoning the project of European discipline, and the offer of compensation for all property destroyed[†], restored order in the city. The Frank quarter, though assailed by the Albanians, was found sufficiently strong to defend itself against all their attempts, and the Pasha is said to have supplied the Europeans with arms for their defence.

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[*] Had Sāóod lived, this treaty would never have been made.

[†] See Mengin, vol. ii. pp. 50—53.

At the close of 1815, ill health obliged Toossoom Pasha to quit the Hegáz, and return to Egypt; but cause of complaint having been found against the Wahábees as faithless to the terms of the treaty, Ibrahim Pasha was sent in September 1816, with orders to continue the war. The formidable force he commanded afforded every prospect of terminating the contest, and of fulfilling the threat of Mohammed, to leave not a stone upon another at Draéëh *, and to send Abdallah ben † Sāóod a prisoner to Constantinople; but a gloom was thrown over these bright prospects by the death of Toossoom Pasha. Mohammed Ali was inconsolable for his loss; and on no occasion was the grief of the people of Cairo more sincerely shown than on the death of this amiable young man, who had made himself beloved by all classes, and whose affable manners had secured the good-will of many an Arab chief during the war of the Hegáz. He died of the plague in 1816, at Berembál, his favourite resort near Rosetta, leaving one son, Abbas Pasha, now governor of Cairo.

Ibrahim opened a vigorous campaign against the Wahábees in 1817. Repeated defeats, and the defection of several Arab tribes, had exhausted their strength: and after a severe struggle, which cost the Turks an immense sacrifice of treasure and of life, the city of Draéëh (Drahéëh) surrendered to Ibrahim, September 11. 1818. Abdallah, the son of Sāóod, was made prisoner; and having been sent to Constantinople, was there beheaded in 1819, after having been exposed to the gaze of the people and every insult; and the other chiefs were taken to Egypt, to be kept as hostages for the future tranquillity of Arabia.

In the year 1820, an expedition was sent into Ethiopia under Ismaël Pasha, with orders to annex the kingdoms and provinces of Dongola, Dar-Shégiëh, Bérber, Shénd, Sennár, Kordofán, and the intermediate districts, to the Turkish empire. Nubia, between the first and second cataract, had been previously overcome by Ibrahim Pasha, when driving before

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* See Mengin, vol. ii. p. 67.

† Ben, or Ebn, "son."

him the Memlooks, who had passed through it, on their way south in 1811. The present expedition had for its pretext the pursuit of those enemies of the Pasha, who had taken refuge with the Mek of Shéndy, and were said to threaten the tranquillity of Egypt. But the real motive of the expedition originated in far deeper views. The turbulent spirit of the Albanians and Turks precluded the possibility of introducing Mohammed Ali's favourite project of European tactics: the removal of all the most obnoxious spirits was the only means of overcoming their opposition; and the conquest of those countries promised increase of wealth, power, and renown. His intention was to send a large force into Upper Ethiopia, and bring from thence a body of Blacks, to be disciplined, and formed into *Nizám*, or regular troops, in some out-of-the-way place unobserved by the Turks; who too could not object to this system being adopted towards foreigners, and could foresee in it no danger to their own importance.

For this purpose* he employed Colonel Sève (now Soolayman Pasha), formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney, a French officer of great military talents, who had fled from France at the time of the Restoration of 1815.† And having established a military school at Asouan in 1820, under the direction of Mohammed Bey Laz, sent 500 of his Memlooks‡ to be drilled and taught the duties of officers. At the same time the Blacks were forwarded from Ethiopia to this depôt, and drilled for soldiers; and Mohammed Bey (if I remember correctly) told me that the project was to have 80,000 of them as infantry, with Turkish artillery and cavalry; some irregular Arab horsemen; and a few Albanians and Turks as a corps de reserve, to supply the divisions in Arabia and Sennar.

Being at Asouan two years afterwards, I witnessed their arrival in great numbers, and I have heard that about 30,000 were sent to Egypt. They were all vaccinated, and treated with great care by a French medical man, M. Dussap, who had charge of the hospital. But a *mal de pays*, and diseases of a peculiar kind unknown in Egypt, were fatal to them, and they were carried off so rapidly, that in 1832 one regiment of guards alone remained. It was therefore found necessary to adopt a plan, not intended at first, of supplying their place by native Egyptians. Another military college was therefore established in 1822 at Farshoot. This was unfortunate both for the viceroy and the people; as it drained the population of a thinly-peopled country, and diminished the number of hands required for the cultivation of the soil; which were doomed to be still farther reduced a few years after by the establishment of numerous manufactories.

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* See Planat's Histoire de la Régénération, and Mengin.

† When he first arrived in Egypt, the Pasha, wishing to disguise his intentions of employing him in this manner, sent him, with Hassan Pasha, to look for coal at Gebel e' Zayt on the Red Sea.

‡ This word signifies "one in possession of another," and is applied to white slaves. The name Ghooz, "warriors," is used to designate the Memlooks (Memaléek), who held Egypt up to and after the time of the French.

The introduction of the cotton plant gave the first impulse to Mohammed Ali's scheme of making Egypt a manufacturing country; the impracticability of which, the experience of many years, the immense expenses he has incurred, the drain on the population (which has decreased in 40 years from 2,500,000 to 1,800,000 souls), the destruction of machinery by the sand, and universal opinion, have sufficiently demonstrated. The culture of the cotton, which is of very good quality, is certainly beneficial to the revenues of Egypt, as are the indigo, and many other kinds of produce introduced or increased by Mohammed Ali; and had he been satisfied with the manufacture of common stuffs, as in former times, for ordinary purposes, which did not require expensive machinery, he would have found it more profitable in the end. The export of the raw produce was obviously more beneficial to the country, and the Pasha, contented with that, would have been a gainer in money and disposable hands. The traveller might also have had reason to rejoice in the preservation of many monuments destroyed to build the government manufactories. But the Turks are short-sighted in their calculations. They see other people make and export manufactures. They find that labour is cheaper in their country (particularly when half-paid), and the expense of building manufactories trifling; they therefore conclude that they have only the outlay of purchasing machinery, and the pay of a few Europeans to teach its use, until their own people can supply their place, and enable them to make at a much cheaper rate what they have hitherto bought from abroad. All other calculations are disregarded or unknown; and even when the truth appears, there is a difficulty in abandoning a favourite project, for which great efforts have been made. Ibrahim Pasha appears to see this, and his turn is entirely agricultural. It is indeed a pity that Mohammed Ali should have so easily listened to the advice of needy European adventurers, who have often imposed on his kind and confiding disposition, and who, by flattery, and the promise of gain, have persuaded him to adopt measures suggested only to suit their own purposes.

Indigo, cotton, and sugar-cane have been for many years cultivated in the valley of the Nile. The first of these is of very excellent quality in Upper Ethiopia, where the latter plant also grows; and a coarse sugar from the cane was made long ago in Upper Egypt. But the indigo, as it now is, was brought from Nabloos in Syria, in 1824, and the Indian cotton was introduced by Maho Bey, assisted by M. Jumel, about 1819, and first grown at Heliopolis. It was thence called Maho cotton. A sugar refining manufactory was established at Reramoon, in Upper Egypt, by Mr. Brine, an Englishman, in 1818; and the coarse sugar of the peasants, being sent there to be refined, was found to be very good both in sweetness and appearance. But it is not my intention to enter into any description of the manufactures of the Pasha. Suffice it to say, that they were introduced about this period of his career; and if his expectations of deriving from them great advantage to the country have not been realised, they serve to show his views upon this subject.

Ismaël Pasha having overrun the whole of Ethiopia, lost his life in 1821, through his indiscretion in the province of Shéndy*, in the manner already described.† Ample vengeance was taken on the unfortunate people by Mohammed Bey Defterdár, the son-in-law of Mohammed Ali, who, with true Turkish ferocity, despatched to Cairo several sacks full of ears, and carried off the men, women, and children into captivity. Melek Nimr himself, the murderer of the young Pasha, escaped into Abyssinia. Ibrahim Pasha, who had returned victorious from Arabia, was sent to prosecute the war, and extend the Turkish conquests in Ethiopia; and thoughts were entertained of advancing to Dar-Foor on one side, and to Abyssinia on the other. The authority of the Sultan of Dar-Foor * once extended over Kordofan; and Mesellem, who ruled Kordofan at the time of the Turkish invasion of that country, had been once his slave.

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* Or Shendee.

† See above, Vol. I. p. 198.

The valour of Mesellem was distinguished on that occasion, and with a body of horsemen, clad in complete coats of mail, he charged so gallantly into the midst of the Turkish troops that the artillerymen were cut down at their guns, and the fate of the day appeared to be decided, when a ball striking him in the forehead his gallant career was checked, and victory declared in favour of the Os̱manlis. †

The Sultan of Dar-Foor, learning the intentions of Mohammed Ali, sent him a letter, setting forth the injustice of the threatened invasion, and at the same time promising that if the Turks dared to enter his kingdom, no one should return alive ‡; the whole written in a style resembling the inscription of "Silco, King of the Nubatæ, and all the Ethiopians," in the temple of Kalábshee. The war against Dar-Foor was not undertaken; and that against Abyssinia (notwithstanding the tempting hopes of obtaining much gold as well as booty) was postponed *sine die*, in consequence of a hint from England, that she would not willingly see the only Christian kingdom of Africa invaded by a Moslem army.

The Memlooks, after having a second time suffered from treachery, by trusting to the promises "of Ibrahim Bey §, at a conference at E´né," had fled to the isle of Argo, where (according to Burckhardt) they "mustered about 300 white Memlooks, and as many armed slaves;" and afterwards retreating southwards, took refuge with the Mek of Shéndy. But hearing of the approach of the Turks, and probably fearing to be betrayed by the natives of the countries they had passed through, whose hatred their cruelties had excited, they fled from the valley of the Nile, and crossing over to the westward, they passed through Dar-Foor; and at last found their way through Africa to the sea-coast of the Mediterranean. On reaching Tripoli, their numbers were reduced to 14 or 15, some of whom terminated their wanderings and their life in obscurity at Constantinople; the remnant "of upwards of 4000, against whom Mohammed Ali had begun his contest for the possession of Egypt."

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* Or Darfur, properly Dar-Foor. † Or Ozmanlis, written Othmanlee.

‡ I regret exceedingly having lost the copy I had of this letter, which I was inconsiderate enough to lend to one of the employés of the Pasha, who never returned it.

§ Now Ibrahim Pasha.

Some few who had remained in Egypt were employed by the Pasha. Osman Bey*, and a few more, obtained the rank of governors of provinces; and those who had the means of living independently were permitted to establish themselves at Cairo. One who is still living there, Soolayman Agha, has the rank of *wellee*, or civil governor of the city under the old régime, now merely an honorary distinction; and is a pensioner of the government. At the time of the massacre of the Memloóks he was already a friend of Mohammed Ali's, and as soon as order had been restored in Cairo, the Pasha made diligent search for Soolayman Agha, hoping to find he had escaped the indiscriminate slaughter of his comrades.

A confidential messenger conducted him to Mohammed Ali. He was overjoyed to see him, and his first question was respecting his escape. "I disguised myself as a woman," said the Memlook. "How!—With that voice and that beard? I am sure I should have discovered you." "I think not," was the reply; and the conversation then turned to other matters.

A few days after this, a stranger, dressed in the usual veil and black *hábbarah* of the Cairene women, appeared before the Pasha, complaining of ill-treatment from her husband. He pronounced judgment in the case, and orders were given that the injured wife should be relieved from her husband's injustice; when the complainant, throwing up the veil and disclosing the face of a man, asked the Pasha if he acknowledged himself deceived by the voice and appearance of Soolayman Agha. This incident has been ever since the cause of great merriment to the Pasha and his Memlook friend; and the amiable character of the latter has not only gained for him the esteem of Mohammed Ali, but is universally acknowledged in Cairo, both by natives and Europeans.

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* He was governor of the Fýoóm in 1823, 1824, and was afterwards, in 1828, transferred to Shéndy, were he died.

After establishing the Turkish conquests in Ethiopia, Ibrahim Pasha returned to Egypt; and events soon called him to a new field.

In the meantime the army of regulars was organised on a grand scale, and the new troops had become instructed in the details of European discipline. Some were sent to Arabia, a few to Sennár, and a large force was in readiness for other more important operations. But while the first corps was on its march to Nubia, a rising of the peasants took place in Upper Egypt under one Shekh Ahmed, who, in the summer of 1823, raised the standard of rebellion in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and attacked the Turkish posts stationed in those districts. It was speedily crushed by Ahmed Pasha, Táher, governor of Upper Egypt, who charged them in front with 1200 cavalry, while a regiment of regulars, marching back from Nubia, assailed them in the rear; and the impotence of the peasants being thus fully proved, no further attempts were made to dispute the authority of the Pasha.

The generosity of Mohammed Ali was not less conspicuous on this occasion than his power; for, as soon as the rebellion was crushed, orders were immediately sent from Cairo to desist from further punishment of the offenders, and a perfect amnesty was proclaimed. The leader, Shekh Ahmed himself, was not excluded from the general pardon; and that man, though he had done so much to incur the anger of the Turks, was allowed to pass the rest of his days unmolested in his own village, in the neighbourhood of Esné.

Next year the Hegaz was once more in revolt, but it was much less formidable than before, and the advantage of a disciplined force was fully proved by the success of the Turks on this occasion.

The Porte had scarcely crushed the formidable rebellion of Ali Pasha of Yanina, in 1822, when it saw itself threatened by the independence of Greece. In vain did the Turks attempt to subdue the revolted nation; no sooner was vengeance taken on one part, than an insurrection broke out with greater vigour in another; and the unjustifiable ravages committed by the Captan-Pasha in 1822, particularly at Scio, when the most flourishing island possessed by the Turks was destroyed without the shadow of reason, only excited the Greeks to make stronger efforts for their emancipation.

During this period the arms of Mohammed Ali were employed in Ethiopia, and his regular army was still in embryo. At length the moment arrived when he felt himself sufficiently strong to attempt the subjugation of the revolted Greeks; and he sent to request permission of the Sultan to undertake the war of the Morea, which he promised to terminate at his own cost, and solely with his own troops; provided he might withhold the tribute from Egypt during that time, for the expenses of the war. The apparently disinterested offer of finishing it with his own troops was welcomed by the Porte; and the Sultan rejoiced in a proposition which promised to destroy an enemy, while it tended to weaken the resources of a too-powerful vassal; and the assent of His Highness was returned in the form of a command to Mohammed Ali to put an end to the Greek insurrection.

It is generally supposed that the order emanated solely from the Porte; but the fact of Mohammed Ali's having proposed it was known to me between two and three months before any order came from Constantinople, in the following manner:—Happening to be acquainted with a Turk in the Pasha's confidence, and conversing with him on his probable intentions, I remarked that many in Cairo talked loudly of his kind reception of the Greeks, and supposed that he was likely to join them in their rebellion against the Porte. He then told me, that, so far were they from being right in their surmises, the Pasha had sent to make the above proposition to the Sultan; and in less than three months he added, "You will see the permission arrive as an order from the Porte to send an army into Greece." The result proved the truth of what he said; and accordingly, in 1824, a fleet and army were sent, under Ibrahim Pasha, to the Morea.

The suites of this campaign, the intervention of the European powers in July, and the battle of Navarino, October 20, 1827, are well known. Candia not having been included in the independence of Greece, was permitted to be retained by the Porte, and Mohammed Ali, who had overthrown the revolted Greeks there, was afterwards allowed the complimentary distinction of appointing a pasha to that island, in lieu of obtaining the pashalic of Syria, which he had solicited.

The Egyptian troops having been taken back to Egypt, and his Greek projects having failed, Mohammed Ali turned his thoughts to obtaining possession of Syria by force: this and the Morea, as one of his courtiers observed to me, "being two doors that lead to the same place" — Constantinople. For I need scarcely observe now, what I had so often mentioned to English travellers whom I met in Egypt, while the war was going on in the Morea, respecting the ultimate object of the Greek war; though few would then believe that he had either the intention to attempt so ambitious a project, or the means to oppose the (reputed) power of the Porte. That Mohammed Ali, at the time his army was in Greece, considered the Morea his own, and hoped to make it a stepping-stone to his future projects, is evident from his subsequent conduct; and this is strongly confirmed by a remark he made to two English travellers who visited Egypt, soon after he despatched the expedition which captured Missolonghi. He had inquired if they thought the force he had sent sufficient to reduce the place; and on their observing that the capture of Missolonghi would be of great importance in opening a passage for the Turks into the Morea, he answered with warmth, as he rose on his divan, "The Turks into the Morea! No! the Morea is mine; not a single Turk shall enter it; it belongs to me."

There is little doubt that Sultan Mahmood, by his incessant animosity against Mohammed Ali, and his repeated attempts to destroy him, paved the way, in a great degree, for the success of his ambition; that the supineness of European nations, in not preventing a collision between the Sultan and the Pasha, led to the present unsettled state of Syria, and that their subsequent interference was misplaced; but this subject is too long for discussion at the present moment, and does not, of course, come within the scope of this brief notice. Nor is it necessary to enter into the details of the Syrian war, which are well known to every reader. Suffice it to say, that Mohammed Ali having been refused the pashalic of Acre, for which he had applied to the Porte, determined on finding some pretext for entering Syria. He had long before, as early as 1823, sent an officer of rank* on a mission to Acre, with the ostensible object of reconciling the Porte and Abdallah Pasha, who had defied its authority, and whose pardon was only to be purchased at 36,000 purses, or 252,000 pounds. That officer took with him large sums of money, in the hopes of obtaining access to the fortress, and forming a party in the town. But Abdallah was too cautious to admit the embassy. They were received with an appearance of welcome; tents were provided them, and they were treated with every demonstration of friendship during their stay. The real object of the mission therefore failed, and they returned to Egypt.

A few years afterwards Mohammed Ali found a new plea for interference in Syria. He complained of Abdallah's decoying the Egyptian peasants into his territory, and refusing to give up those who, being guilty of crimes, had fled thither to escape punishment: the excuse of his intending again to bid defiance to the authority of the sultan was also put forth; and Mohammed Ali, assuming the right of recalling him to his duty, sent an army across the frontier, under Ibrahim Pasha, in November 1831. As soon as the Porte received intelligence of this event, an order was despatched to Mohammed Ali to recal his troops. The grievance of decoying the Egyptian peasants was then urged as a reason for continuing the attack; and in the meanwhile the war was prosecuted with the greatest alacrity. A repetition of the same orders from the Porte was again disregarded; Acre was besieged, and, after six months, was taken by assault (27th May, 1832).

The people of Syria were by no means averse to this aggression. They rejoiced in the prospect of living under the government of Mohammed Ali, of seeing their country protected by the establishment of a vigorous police, and of being freed from the arbitrary rule of the Pasha of Acre. They even delighted in recording the cowardice he had shown during the siege, and in rendering justice to the valour of his lieutenant who had defended the place. Abdallah was taken prisoner and sent to Egypt; and the Egyptians garrisoned this strong fortress, which, having been rendered famous by its resistance to the arms of Napoleon, seemed in its capture to reflect so much honour on the newly-formed army. Deputations were also sent from other parts of Syria, and from Anatolia, to assure Mohammed Ali that his advance into the interior would be welcome, and praying for the success of his arms against the Sultan, whose anti-Moslem innovations had excited the alarms and hatred of the Faithful.

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* If I remember right Soolayman Agha Selikdár, or minister of war.

The events which occurred immediately before the war of Syria, the animosity of the Sultan and Mohammed Ali, and the progress of the Egyptian arms, have been very well detailed* by a writer in the "Times;" and I cannot do better than quote this part of his account of Mohammed Ali's career.

"For a long time there had been a hidden antagonism between the Sultan Mahmood and the viceroy; but until this last refusal of the pashalic of Acre, Mohammed Ali had continued obedient to the orders which he received from Constantinople. It was not so after this refusal, and he began under various pretexts to take no part in the war against the Russians, which followed the battle of Navarino. This war, as is known, brought 20,000 Russians to Adrianople, and it was terminated in September, 1829, by the treaty of that name, which imposed upon the Porte an enormous war tribute, and stipulated the emancipation of Greece. From this time it became evident that, sooner or later, a conflict would break out between the Sultan and his powerful vassal; and the latter prepared himself. He augmented and organised his army. His marine, destroyed at Navarino, had hitherto been composed of vessels purchased in Europe. M. Cerisy, a French engineer, now erected for him a first-rate arsenal at Alexandria. Commenced at the end of 1829, the first ship of 110 guns, built on the shores of Egypt, was launched on the 3d of January, 1831, and in four years a fleet of thirty sail was launched from this arsenal; and thus this arm of war was equal to the public service, and to the ulterior projects of the viceroy of Egypt.

"Before I proceed further, I must say a few words of his antagonist. Mahmood was born in 1785; he was proclaimed Sultan at Constantinople in 1808, that is to say, three years after Mohammed Ali was invested with the government of Egypt. There is a certain analogy, and there are some very great contrasts in the lives of these two men. Both laboured to reform their country, and to organize armies after the European system; the one destroyed the Memlooks in 1811; the other, the Janissaries in 1828. Both were brave, and both had an iron will. And yet, what a difference in their destiny! Under the Sultan Mahmood, Turkey, almost always defeated, fell into tatters; Egypt, on the contrary, conquered Arabia, Nubia, Sennaar, and Kordofan, and this was the prelude to new conquests in Syria and Asia Minor. It is not difficult to understand that an invincible jealousy devoured the Sultan. While his vassal made preparations to augment his power, the Sultan meditated how to diminish or restrain it. Syria being the point of contact between the territories of the sovereign and the vassal, it was natural that the war between them should break out in that province.

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* In a "Fragment," published in the "Times" of July 29. and August 5. 1841.

"Before we enter on the details of this war, let us glance at the then state of the province. In all times, that province had rebelled against a unity of power, and never had the warlike tribes of its mountain and the pillaging hordes of its deserts been accustomed to a regular government; and in the course of this century there had been, so to speak, a redoubling of anarchy in that unfortunate country. Abdallah, for twelve years Pasha of Acre, had braved the Porte by repeated revolts; twice besieged in this city, twice the Turkish troops sent against him proved unable to reduce him. The Pasha himself made war against his neighbour pashas, or against the mountain tribes whom he most pitilessly plundered.

"The three pashalics, Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli, were in the same state of anarchy; and, if we give credit to the work of MM. Cadalvene and Berrault, published in 1840, this province, which, when it fell into the hands of the Turks had 6,000,000 inhabitants, had but one fourth of that number when it was conquered by the viceroy in 1832. At this latter epoch, Turkey only recruited one regiment there, and received thence only 1,500,000 francs: such was Syria when the war broke out. The Pasha of Acre, secretly jealous of the prosperity of his neighbour of Egypt, leagued himself to the Porte, which wished to be supported by him against the viceroy. The latter pretended that his neighbour received into St. Jean d'Acre malefactors from Egypt, and even some who had conspired against their Pasha's life; and he himself declared war, and in October, 1831, his son, Ibrahim, opened the campaign. On the 27th of November, Ibrahim was under the walls of St. Jean d'Acre. Abdallah awaited him there, with immense stores, ammunition, and 3000 devoted defenders. The siege commenced immediately, but Ibrahim was unable to direct it in person, from the necessity of his subjecting the province. The siege was badly directed, and was tedious, although the viceroy was master of the sea; and it was not until six months after, that is to say, on the 27th of May, 1832, that the city was taken. Besides 512 men, who perished in the assault of the 27th, the Egyptians had already lost 4000 men before the place. Abdallah, made prisoner after this heroic defence, was sent to the viceroy, who received him nobly, and sent him to Constantinople in 1833. The soldiers of Ibrahim were received as liberators, or nearly so, throughout the pashalic of Acre, and the Emir Bechir*, prince of Lebanon, had joined them even from the commencement of the siege.

"It was Syria uniting itself with Egypt. During the long siege of Acre the Porte bestirred itself. At the end of 1831 it had summoned the viceroy to evacuate Syria: for his sole reply he recounted the services he had rendered in Egypt, where he had restored order; in Arabia; in Greece, where he had lost his fleet; and he demanded, as his recompense, the two pashalics of Acre and Damascus. Upon this reply, the Porte ordered levies of troops, and their concentration at Aleppo; and Hossayn, the destroyer of the Janissaries, was, on the 14th of March, 1832, named commander of the whole army destined to act against the Egyptians. At the commencement of the Beiram, a great religious solemnity of the Turks, the Porte published the *teudjehal*, or list of the promotion and confirmation of all the pashas of the empire, that being the season for dismissals, promotions, and appointments. This document, published in March, named no pasha for Egypt.

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* Emeér Besheér.

"Mohammed Ali, therefore, was neither dismissed nor confirmed in his government; it was a menace. The viceroy replied to this significant omission by redoubling the vigour of the siege of Acre; and the first engagement between his troops and those of the Sultan took place soon after, on the coast of Tripoli. The Porte then determined to strike a grand blow. At the end of April, 1832, the official declaration of war against Mohammed Ali was preceded by a religious anathema; Mohammed Ali and his son were proclaimed traitors, and put out of the pale of Mussulman law; and Hossayn, generalissimo of the Turkish army, was named pasha of Egypt. The shereef of Mecca replied to this anathema by another, and in his turn hurled a *fetwa* in favour of the viceroy against the Sultan Mahmood, and put him out of the pale of Mussulman law, as the enemy of the doctrines of pure Islamism.* Such were the religious preludes to the serious struggle in Syria between the troops of the viceroy and those of the Sultan. After the taking of Acre and the submission of Abdallah, Ibrahim pushed forward. On the 15th of June Damascus opened its gates to him. On the 8th of July 20,000 Turks awaited the Egyptians at Homs. Ibrahim, with but 16,000 men, attacked them, completely beat them, and took 12 guns and 3000 men. The 17th of July Aleppo was occupied by Ibrahim: this city of 200,000 souls had been reduced to 75,000. The 30th of July, at the battle of Beylau, in the north of Syria, the Turks were again routed, and lost 25 guns. All Syria was then conquered, the district of Adana occupied, and a Turkish army of 70,000 men destroyed in two battles!"

In the meantime the Grand-Vizeer was sent with an army in all haste into Asia Minor; and the Egyptians, leaving a detachment to keep the strong passes of A'dana, the key of Anatolia, advanced to meet the Turkish generalissimo at Kónieh. Ibrahim was again victorious, and the Grand-Vizeer was taken prisoner. Nothing now stood in the way of his advance to the capital; and had it not been for the intervention of Europe, Constantinople would have fallen into his hands, and Ibrahim would have dictated terms to the Sultan in his own palace. Russia stepped forward to defend the capital with an army, and the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi provided for the future protection of the Sultan against the attacks of his vassal. A treaty was also made with Mohammed Ali, on condition of recalling his army from Asia Minor. It was called the treaty of Kutáieh. By this it was agreed that Mohammed Ali should retain possession of Syria, paying tribute for it as well as for Egypt; and after considerable diplomatic discussion the passes of Mount Taurus, or of Adana, were ceded to the Egyptians, the 14th of May, 1833.

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* This interference of the Shereef of Mecca had been resorted to before by Ali Bey. See above, p. 507.

Mohammed Ali's long projected plan of uniting all the provinces formerly belonging to the caliphate under his government was now nearly fulfilled. Bagdad alone remained; and the Sultan's injudicious attack of his vassal when, in 1839, he sent another army to be crushed at Nezib by the too powerful Mohammed Ali, opened the way for this addition to his possessions. But this, as well as his independence, were measures from which he wisely abstained; knowing full well that it would excite the animosity of Europe to see another pashalic wrested from the Sultan, and that Egypt, once declared independent, would be exposed to an attack from any European power which might covet its possession. Requiring the protection of the Porte, Mohammed Ali, though he threatened it, never really intended to make himself independent. He was virtually so from his position, and from the inability of the Sultan to dictate any terms to which he felt unwilling to accede; and it may be doubted whether his expulsion from Syria has been beneficial to that country, to the Sultan, or to Europe. Every one foresaw the anarchy and confusion which would prevail on its return to Turkish misrule: the firmness of Mohammed Ali had rendered the roads and the whole country as safe as Egypt, or any part of Europe; and if some discontent was shown on account of the strict police, the disarmament of the mountaineers, and even some abuses inseparable from any Turkish system however improved, there is little doubt that they have had no reason to rejoice in the change from the Egyptian to the Osmanli rule; and few of the Syrians would not welcome the return of the authority of Mohammed Ali. But it is not my object to enter into the question of Eastern policy.

Nor need I describe the admirable plan of operation, by which we were so eminently successful, in our attacks on the strongholds of Syria; suffice it to say, our intervention superseded the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, our real object being not so much to restore Syria to the Porte as to deprive Russia of the exclusive protectorate of Turkey. And while the settlement of the differences between the Sultan and Mohammed Ali was the only means of attaining that object, it had the effect of exposing more clearly the designs of France in her interested friendship for Mohammed Ali. Had he depended less on hopes of assistance from his friend, he would have still ruled over part of Syria; and we might suppose that his desertion by France would have made him distrustful for the future. But he owes much to French assistance, and he could scarcely expect France to go to war with all Europe for his cause. Moreover the French have had the *adreſse* to persuade him that, had it not been for France, Egypt itself would have been attacked; that England has still the wish, and even the intention, of invading Egypt; and he has been complimented with the assurance of his having shown greater talent than Napoleon, by retaining possession of his own country when deprived of foreign conquests, in the face of an European coalition. We are, therefore, not surprised that French influence is still paramount in Egypt; and some even now consider the Eastern question open to future projects.

In the meantime Mohammed Ali, mortified by the rapid overthrow of his power in Syria, for which England will never be forgiven, contents himself with the feeling that he has gained this great object—the hereditary possession of a country, where his family are guaranteed by Europe in the right of succession. That he is, and always has been, ambitious, and that, if not prevented by Russia, he would have dictated his own terms at the Turkish capital, are certain; but there is no reason to believe that he ever harboured the intention of usurping the throne of Constantinople; and no one who knows the jealousy with which the Turks view the rights of their royal house can suppose he aspired to the title of Sultan.

If it be allowable to speculate on the probable result of his march to Constantinople, we may suppose that Sultan Mahmood would have been deposed, and Turkey might have been ruled by the fiat, if not in the name, of Mohammed Ali. No one will deny the injustice of such a step, even though the Turkish empire might have revived under this energetic vizeer, who is perhaps the only man capable of restoring the withered condition of that sapless tree; the idea of regenerating Turkey has long been the favourite hope of Mohammed Ali; and it is worthy of remark that many years ago he proposed to go to Constantinople as Grand-Vizeer *, with the promise of releasing the authority of Sultan Mahmood from the irksome insolence of the Janissaries.

England may be blamed, not so much for an interference, which was unlikely to have any result, as far as regarded the Porte, beyond the disorganization of part of the Turkish Empire, as for her supineness in not interfering to prevent the first aggressions of Mohammed Ali. It was late when he had taken Syria, had made a treaty with the Sultan, and had received a sort of sanction from England by the appointment of a diplomatic agent at his *court;* and her duty was, from the beginning, to have "bound over" the Sultan and the Pasha "to keep the peace towards each other," and to have established friendly relations with both, in order to unite in one common bond the various portions of the empire, in whose integrity she expressed so deep an interest. England might have checked, or perhaps directed to a proper object, the energies of Mohammed Ali; but she neglected to pay attention to his rising power, though it was fostered by the aid of an European nation, whose views on Egypt ought to have made her watchful.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER OF MOHAMMED ALI.

I now proceed to make a few remarks respecting the character and personal appearance of Mohammed Ali; and as many of the observations of Clot Bey appear to be very just, I extract the following from his work: "His stature is low, not exceeding 5 feet 2 (French); he is strongly made; and he is of a particularly sanguine, nervous temperament. In his youth his hair and beard were light-coloured; his forehead is prominent and open; the curve of his eyebrows very marked, his eyes of a light chestnut-colour, deeply seated in their orbits, his nose of moderate size, a little flat at the end, his mouth small, his moustaches curled upwards, his beard white and not thick, and his complexion slightly tanned. The *ensemble* of these features forms a very agreeable expression; and being lively and varied, with a look of scrutiny, it presents a mixture of acuteness, nobleness, and amiability.

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* Since writing the above he has been appointed Honorary Grand-Vizeer; a strong hint to the powers of Europe that they are not to interfere in the affairs of Turkey.

"Mohammed Ali has a very pretty small hand and foot. He is well made; and his step, which is very decided, has a certain military precision and regularity. In walking, he turns his feet out, and rolls his body a little, though holding himself very erect. He often crosses his hands behind his back; and, what is very remarkable (from being unusual with the Turks), he is fond of walking about the room. His turban or cap are generally inclined towards the left side. Without wearing any decoration, or costumes richly embroidered with gold, he is very particular about his dress; and he has the easy and distinguishing manners of a man of rank. The viceroy is very quick, ready to receive impressions, and impatient if obliged to conceal his feelings. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * They are acute; * * * he has been found to be inconsolable on the loss of his children; and much affected at the death of his companions in arms. * * * * * It is with reluctance that he is prevailed upon to punish, and generally speaking, he pardons and forgets, even the greatest faults."

This is the more worthy of remark, as most persons have represented him cruel and vindictive; probably in consequence of his massacre of the Memlooks. But it is evident that, though impatient of opposition, like all Orientals, he is decidedly averse to punishments; and considering the persons who surround him, and the corruption of which so many are constantly guilty; there is perhaps no man, or no government that would show so much indulgence. This has been sufficiently proved by his pardon of an attempted assassination, and in numerous cases; a fresh instance of which was given a short time ago, when some one advised him to take off the head of a grandee, whose crimes had rendered him particularly odious. Numerous persons of consequence were present who joined in the condemnation of the accused; and Mohammed Ali looking round the room with a smile said, "I cannot cut off heads on every occasion; and indeed if I were to distribute full punishment to all who deserve it, I should have to cut off half the heads here."

It is this aversion to capital punishment that has led him to establish the state prison of Abookir; where, after suffering according to their offences, the culprits are supposed to have gone through a state of purgatory, and are allowed once more the opportunity of retrieving their lost character by good conduct in a fresh employment.

Mohammed Ali is of a remarkably amiable disposition, and much more ready to forgive on the promises of future good behaviour than hasty in punishment; and with all his knowledge of human nature no man is, perhaps, more often worked upon by an appeal to his feelings. It is true that he is ambitious, that he is too much pleased by flattery, and that he is, like many states and statesmen, fond of money; these are his faults; and his ambition has not always listened to right; but considering him as a Turk, as an Oriental even, and as one whose education has been that of a Turkish camp, it is wonderful to find in him so many excellent qualities. As a private individual, his character stands very high; and few are more amiable and kind in private life than Mohammed Ali. Nor can we refuse him considerable praise for his conduct respecting our overland communication with India, which is more than any European state would have shown under similar circumstances.

"Mohammed Ali," continues Clot Bey, "is fond of glory. He thinks very much, not only of the reputation his name acquires during his lifetime, but of that which he will leave behind him. He has the newspapers translated into Turkish; and is not insensible to the calumnies that are so often directed against him. His activity is beyond all that can be said. He not only occupies himself all day; but reposes a few hours only in the night, during which time his sleep is very light. At four in the morning he is up. He receives every day the reports of his ministers; and dictates answers; he then reviews his troops, and visits whatever works are going on. * * * * * He calculates with great ease; and, as is well known, he only learned to read at the age of forty-five. He then studied history: those of Alexander and Napoleon seem to have given him the greatest satisfaction. He knows no foreign language; but his powers of perception are so great, that in conversing with Europeans, he frequently guesses from their manner what they say, before it has been interpreted. He takes great pleasure in conversing with Europeans and men of information; and gladly discusses with them the most abstruse questions."

. . . . "He has always shown the greatest tolerance towards all religions; and in spite of the prejudices of the people, has raised Christians to the rank of bey, which was unheard of amongst Moslems. He is simple in his mode of life, and enjoys the most innocent amusements. He is fond of chess and draughts; which he plays well. . . . . . His courage is well known. I may add, that it is sometimes pushed to rashness, not only in battle, but in the ordinary circumstances of life: which is a marked peculiarity of his character. Fear seems to be unknown to him; and last year, notwithstanding his age, he undertook the journey to Fazoglou, 600 leagues from Cairo, and whilst going on this long perilous route he was neither dismayed by the sinking of his boat, by being obliged to swim for his life, nor by the fatigues of riding dromedaries across the desert."*

In contemplating the private character, and political career of Mohammed Ali, it is evident that, as an individual, he possesses many excellent qualities, and is kind, indulgent, and humane; while in his public capacity he may be censured for ambition, for taking too much money from the people, and for neglecting to relieve them from the state of misery to which they have been reduced by his expensive projects.

On the other hand, it may be said, that, considering all he has done, which originated solely in his own energies, his endeavours to civilise the country have been highly praiseworthy; and when we compare him to others of his nation, his superiority stands forth in a still more remarkable light. He has done much; but it is certain that all may be presented under different lights, according to the views of his enemies or his friends; and this has led to the great discrepancy in the character given of this extraordinary man. It may be said that the various establishments set on foot in Egypt, the dykes, canals, and other public works, are as much for the benefit of the government, as for that of the people; this is true, but what other Turk has done it? and what native would have made the attempt? and may not this be said of all great works in any country? at the same time, how many prejudices of the people has he not had to encounter? and how gradual must be the steps in the commencement of civilisation? For these, then, he deserves full credit; and the point for which he merits censure, is his having done little to ameliorate the condition of the people, though indebted so much for his greatness to the money wrung from their labours. It is certainly impossible to introduce a thorough reform in a short time; but he might do something to benefit the people, and improve their miserable condition, (for miserable it is even to them, without any silly comparison with that of Europeans), and it is a pity that the value of that principle has not suggested itself to his feelings, which recommended a prince to "shear his sheep, and not to fleece them."

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* Clot Bey, tome i. p. 60—63.

FAMILY OF MOHAMMED ALI.

Ibrahim Pasha, as before stated, is step-son of Mohammed Ali; being the son of his first wife, the widow of his predecessor as A̠gha-t-el-bab of Moharrem Bey's father, the governor of Cavala. He is said to have been born at Cavala in 1789. He differs very much both in appearance and in character from Mohammed Ali. He is very little taller than the viceroy, but his appearance is much less prepossessing or *distingué*, and his manners are rough and forbidding. His beard, now white, was formerly of a dark colour; his nose is long, his eyes grey, and his face, which is marked with the small-pox, is long, with a serious expression.* As a military man he possesses some talents, though inferior to Mohammed Ali; he has given frequent proofs of courage: but his early career was marked by cruelty, and his natural inclinations have only been tempered by the example and advice of his step-father, aided by the wise counsels of his amiable mother. She was remarkable for the natural mildness of her disposition, as well as for an accomplishment most rare among Turkish women of being able to write; and many good traits are recorded of her humane and generous disposition.

Ibrahim Pasha is averse to the employment of Europeans, except when their services are absolutely required; he is no friend to innovations or experiments for doubtful improvements; and is therefore little disposed to employ the numerous adventurers who flock to Egypt, and have so often imposed on the easy disposition of Mohammed Ali. He has, however, sufficient good sense and patience to listen to any advice given by competent persons; and displays to them a frankness of manner, which is due to men of talent in his service. He is a *bon vivant,* and is unfortunately too much inclined to commit excesses in drinking. Nor is he free from many of the worst vices of the Turks. He is not a bigot in religion, and he has wisely refused to believe the pretended conversion of Europeans to Islám; observing that "those who will not serve one master, will not be faithful to another; and that a man does not become a renegade except for some interested motive." He is fond of agriculture, to which he gladly turns his attention, as being preferable to the vexations of an ambitious and expensive war; and it is probable that if he were to succeed to the government of Egypt, he would avoid many of the schemes which Mohammed Ali has found by experience to be more injurious than beneficial to the country. His late sister Tafeedah † Hanem, younger than himself, was daughter of his father by the same mother; adopted also by Mohammed Ali; and married to Moharrem Bey.

The first son of the viceroy was Toossoom, who was left at Cavala with his mother, and followed his father to Egypt, with his brother Ismaël, after he had become Pasha of that country.

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* See Clot Bey, p. 64.

† Or Taféedeh.

Núzleh Hánem, the eldest daughter of Mohammed Ali, the widow of Mohammed Bey Defterdar, is still alive. Her name was originally Khadeégeh, and she is his daughter by his first wife. About two years after Mohammed Ali had succeeded to the pashalic of Egypt, his wife, who had been left at Cavala, went thence to Constantinople with her children, where Sultan Selim gave her an abode in the palace of Yoosef Pasha near Scodár (Scutari), called Baylerbay. Having remained there one year, she repaired to Egypt. Ismaël was then a child in arms. At her death, a white slave, Shemsee Safa Hanem, was liberated by Mohammed Ali, and became the principal person of his harem, with some of the rights, though without the title of wife. The privileges, accompanying this liberation and choice, consist in receiving a *Furweh samoór*, or sable dress, from the Kehia-t-el Haréem (Governess of the Harem), and in being called Hánem, "Lady *," by all the slaves of the household, who kiss her hand, and receive from her a Térha or embroidered veil.

She is still living, and resides in the K̲asr e' Neel, between Boolak̲ and K̲asr Dubarra.

There is also a Hánem, who is mother of Saïd Pasha; and another who has a daughter still unmarried, called Zayneb, living in the citadel. The other children of Mohammed Ali are born of slaves. These persons who have had children enjoy the privilege of not being sold or married off, and, after the death of the Pasha, inherit a portion of his property according to law. They are then at liberty to marry whom they please. But if their child dies before the decease of the father, they may be married off to any person he chooses; though they are never sold, after having given birth to a child.

Mohammed Ali's younger children are Saïd † Pasha, Hossayn Bey, Alim Bey, and Iskender Bey, the latter so called from having been born at Alexandria. They have all the title of Bey when young.

Ibrahim, Toossoom, and Ismaël were made pashas by Mohammed Ali, as well as Abbas, his grandson, and some other members of his family; he having the privilege of creating pashas of two tails. Pashas of three tails (*tôg*) can only be made by the Sultan himself. Saïd received the rank of Pasha from the Sultan, when at Constantinople. He is the viceroy's favourite son. Mohammed Ali has had altogether about 17 children. The youngest but one, named after his father Mohammed Ali Bey, died a few years ago at Cairo, after an illness of three days. He was his favourite child, and his excessive grief on that occasion showed his great fondness for him, and his own affectionate disposition.

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* Hanem in Turkish, sit or sitteh in Arabic.

† Or Săeed سعيد.

Ibrahim Pasha has some children, the eldest of whom are Ahmed Bey, "born in 1825, Ismaël Bey, born in 1830, and Mustapha Bey in 1832." * Abbas Pasha is son of Toossoom, but Ismaël Pasha left no family. The mother of Abbas Pasha died in the spring of 1823.

The other members of Mohammed Ali's family are "his nephews, Hossayn Bey, Ahmed Pasha, Ibrahim Pasha the younger, Ismaël Bey, and some younger ones." †

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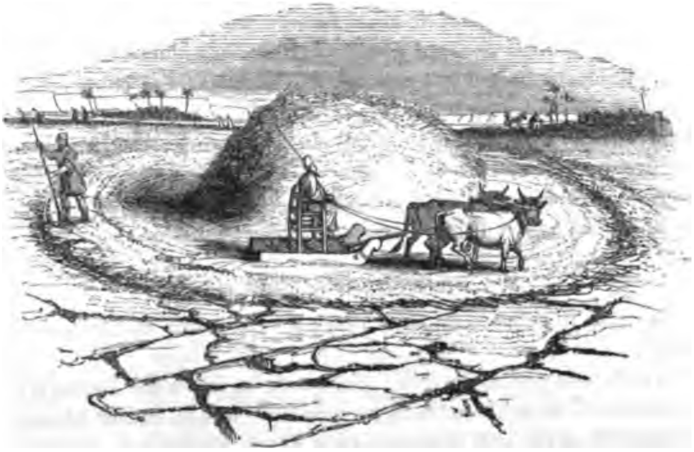
* Clot Bey, p. 68.

† Ibid. p. 69.



The Nórek, a machine used by the modern Egyptians for threshing corn.

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

C.

In introducing this imperfect Vocabulary, I must observe that it is only intended for a person travelling in Egypt, to which the dialect I have followed particularly belongs. I have kept in view, as much as possible, the English pronunciation, guiding my mode of spelling by the sound of a word, rather than by its Arabic orthography, and have consequently so far transgressed, that I have now and then introduced a *p*, which letter does not exist in Arabic, but which nevertheless comes near to the pronunciation in certain words. I have also thought it better to double some of the consonants, in order to point out more clearly that greater stress is to be put on those letters, rather than follow the orthography of the Arabic, where one only was used. *He*, *his*, *him*, at the end of words, should properly be written with an *h*, but I have merely expressed it, as pronounced, with *oo*. For the verbs, I have preferred the second singular of the imperative, which in Arabic gives their general form better than either the present or perfect tense, and is preferable for a beginner to the *músder* or infinitive. Those in Italics are either derived from, have been the origin of, or bear analogy to, an European or other foreign word.

I may also observe that I have sometimes introduced words used only by the Arabs (of the desert), and some of the common expressions of the people, in order that these (when of frequent occurrence) might not be unknown to a traveller; but in general the first or first and second words are the most used. The four kinds of Arabic are the *ammee*, vulgar or jargon; *dárig*, common parlance; *lóghawee*, literal; and *náhwee*, grammatical.

PRONUNCIATION.

The a, as in father; ay, as in may; ā very broad, and frequently nasal.

E, as in end; ee, as in seek; eĕh, nearly as *ia*, in the Italian *mia*.

Ai and ei, as in German, or as y in my; but ai, rather broader. A single e, at the end of words, as in Doge, stroke, &c.

I, as in is. J, as in English, but for it I have almost always used g. Indeed in Lower Egypt the g (gim), which *should* be soft, like our j, is made hard, and pronounced as if followed by a short i, like the Italian word *Ghiaccio;* but whatever letter it precedes or follows, it should properly be pronounced soft. For the ghain, however, I am obliged to use gh, a *hard* guttural sound.

H, as our h; and h̲ with a dot, a very hard aspirate.

K, as in kill.

For the k̲af, or gaf, I have used k̲ with a dot, or line, below it. Its sound is very nearly that of a hard g, almost guttural, and much harder than our C, in cough. Indeed it is frequently pronounced so like a g that I have sometimes used that letter for it.

Kh, as the German ch and Greek χ, but more guttural.

O, as in on, unless followed by w.

O, as in go; ô, rather broader; oo as in moon; ow as in cow.

R, is always to be distinctly pronounced, as well as the h in ah̲; this h̲ is frequently as hard as ch in loch.

S, and Sh, as in English; but s̲, a hard and rather guttural sound.

T, as in English; and with a line, t̲, very hard, almost as if preceded by u.

U, as in bud; qu, as in English, *when followed by another vowel:* as quiyis, or queiïs, pretty.

Y, as in *yes* at the commencement, and as in *my* in the middle of syllables. Before words beginning with t, th, g, d, dth, r, z, s, sh, and n, the l of the article el is ellipsed, and the e alone pronounced; thus, *el shemál* reads *e' shemál*, the left, or with the consonant doubled, *esh-shemál; e' ras*, or *er-rás*, the head. The doubled consonant indeed is nearer the pronunciation.

Words within a parenthesis are either uncommonly used, as khobs, kísra for "bread," or are intended, when similar to the one before, to show the pronunciation, as mak̲ásheh (magasheh), a "broom;" though the two words are often only separated by a comma.

I ought to observe that the difference of letters, as the two *f̲'s*, and others, are not always marked, but those only which I have thought of most importance, and in some words only here and there, to show their orthography.

ENGLISH AND ARABIC VOCABULARY.

A.

Able	k̲áder.
About	howalaýn.
Above	fōk, or foke.
Absurdity	mus'khera.
Abundance	zeeádeh.
Abuse, *v.*	ish'tem.
Abuse, *s.*	sheteémeh.
Abuṣive language	*id.*
By accident; *see* By force	ghusbinánee (*i. e.* in spite of myself).
Accounts, or reckoning	hesáb.
Add up	eg'mā.
Adore	ábed.
Advantage, profit	fýda, or fáideh, nef'fā.
Afraid	kheif.
I am afraid	ana kheif, a-kháf.
After	bād.

Afterwards	bā'dén, bād-zálik.
Again	kummun, kummun nóba, tánee.
Age	om'r.
His age	om'roo.
Agent	wekeél.
Long ago	zemán.
Agree, *v.*	ittif'fuk̲.
We agreed together	itteffuk̲'na wéeabād.
Air	how'a, or how'eh.
Alabaster	*mar'mor*, boorfeér.
Alive	hei, sáh̲eh (awake).
All, collectively	gimleh, gemméeān.
All	kool, koolloo, *pl.* koolloohom.
All together	koolloo weeabad, kolloohom sow'a.
At all	wásel.
Allow, *v.*	khal'lee.
Almond	lōz, or loze.
Aloe	subbára.
Alphabet	ab'ged.
Also	lákher, gazálik, aíd̲un.
Alter	ghéier.
Altitude	ertifáh.
Alum	sheb.
Always	déiman, or dýman.
Amber	kah̲rámán.
America	*Yénk̲ee doóneca* (Turkish, i. e. the New World).
Amuse, *v.*	itwun'nes.
Anchor	mur'seh, hélb.
Ancient	k̲adeém, *antéek̲a.*
The ancients	e' nas el k̲adeēm.
And	oo.
Et cætera	oo ghayr zālika.
Angel	malák, *pl.* maléüikeh.
Anger	k̲ahr, gh̲udb, zemk, homk̲.
To be angry	ez'muk̲, ugh'dub, inham'mek̲.
Angle	zow'yeh.
Animal	hýwán.
Ankle	kholkhál.
Annoy, *v.*	iz'āl.
Annoyed	zālán.
Another	wahed tánee, wáhed ghaȳroo.
Answer	gowáb (jowáb).
Answer, *v.*	rood, or roodd.
You are answerable for	el'zemak.
Ant	nem'el, or neml.
Antimony	koh̲l (used for the eyes).
Ape	k̲ird, *pl.* k̲oróod (goróod).

Apostle	rossoól.
Apparel	lips (libs), bedoóm, howáig.
It appears	bain, or býin.
Appetite	nefs.
Apple	teffāh.
Love apple (*tomata*)	bedingán k̲óta.
Custard apple	kish'teh.
Apricot (fresh or dry)	mish'mish.
—— dried sheet of,	kumredéen (kumreddéen).
Arabic	A'rabee.
In Arabic	bil A'rabee.
Arab (*i. e.* of the desert)	Beddowee, *pl.* Ārab[*] (Shekh el Arab, an Arab chief).
Arch, bridge	k̲antara.
Architect	mehéndez.
The ark of Noah	sefeénet saýdna Noóeh.
Arm (of man)	drah.
Arms (weapons)	silláh̲, soolláh̲.
Arrange, *v.*	sullah, súl-lah.
Arrangement	tusléēh̲.
Art, skill	sun'nā.
Artichoke	khar-shóof.
As	zay.
Be, *or* I am, ashamed	astaýhee, akhtíshee.
Ashes	roomád.
Ass	hōmár.
Ask, *v.*	essāl, saal.
Ask for, *v.*	étloob.
Assist, *v.*	sād, saad.
At	fee, and.
Avaricious	tummā'.
Awake, *v. a.*	sáheh.
——, *v. n.*	as'her.
Awl	mukh'ruz.
Awning (of a boat, &c.)	eah'eh, *tentah* (*Ital*).
Axe, or hatchet	bal'ta.
Pickaxe.	fás, *toóree* (*Coptic*).

B.

Back	dáhr, k̲uffā'.
Bad (see Good)	rádee, wáhesh, mooshtéieb.
A bag	kees, or keese.
Bald	ak̲'ra.
Ball	kō'ra.
Balsam	*belisán.*
Banana	mōz (moze).
Bank of a river	gerf.
Barber	mezaýin, mezaýn.
Bark, *v.*	hábháb.

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[*] Beddowee and Arab have the same meaning; one is singular, the other plural: thus, "that is an Arab," "da Beddowee;" "those are Arabs," "dôl Ārab."

Barley	shayéer.
Barrel	burmeél.
Basket	muk̲'taf, k̲óffah.
—— (of palm sticks)	k̲áffass.
Wicker ——	me-shénneh.
Bason	tusht, or tisht.
Bat (bird)	watwát, *pl.* watawéet.
Bath	hammám.
Bathe, *v.*	istahámma.
Battle	harb, shemmata.
Bead	kharras, hab.
Beads, string of, carried by the Moslems	sib'ha.
Beans	fool.
Bear, support, *v.*	is'ned; (raise) er'fā [see Carry].
Bear, put up with, *v.*	istah'mel.
A bear	dib'-h.
Beard	dagn, dak̲n.
His beard	dak̲noo.
Beat, *v.*	id'rob (whence our *drub*).
A beating	derb, hal'k̲a, kut'leh.
Beau, dandy	shellebee.
Beauty	queiása, k̲oueiása.
Beautiful	quéi-is.
Because	seb'bub, beseb'bub.
Become	ib'k̲a (ib'ga).
Bed	fersh, fursh.
Bedstead	sereér.
Bee	dabóor (dabboór).
Hive-bee	náhl, náh-l.
Beef	lahm buk̲kar, lahm khishn.
Beetle	gōrán or jōrán, khónfus.
Before (time)	k̲ub'lee.
Before (place)	k̲od-dám.
Beg, *v.*	ish-hat.
Beggar	shahát.
The beginning	el owel, el as'sel, asl, el ebtidáh.
Behind	warra, min k̲uffáh.
Believe, *v.*	sed'dek̲.
I do not believe	ana-ma aseddek̲'shee, or lem aseddek̲.
Bell	gilgil, nak̲óos.
Belly	bat̲n, or bot̲n.
This belongs to me	deh betáee, *f.* dee betātee (betah̲tee), very vulgar.
Below; (*see* Under)	tah̲-t.
A bench	mus'taba.
Bend, *v.*	et'nee, inten'nee.
Bent	métnee, māóog.
Berry.	hab.
Besides	ghayr, kheláf.
——, except	illa.

The best	el ah̲'-san.
Better	ah̲'-san, a-kháyr.
You had better do so	ah̲'san támel keddee.
A bet	ráhaneh.
Betray, *v.*	khoon.
Between	bayn.
Beyond	bad, warra (*i. e.* behind).
Bible	towrát.
Big	kebéer.
Bill, account.	hesáb.
Bird, small	asfóor.
——, large	tayr.
Bit, piece	het'teh.
—— of a horse	legám.
Bite, *v.*	odd, or āód.
Bitter	morr.
Black	as'wed, *f.* sóda or sō'deh; az'rek̲ (properly blue).
Blade	silláh̲.
Blanket	herám, buttanéēh.
Blind	amián.
Blood	dum.
Blow, *v.*	um'fookh.
A blow	*derb*; on the face, *kuff* (English, *cuff*).
Blue (*see* Colours)	az'rek̲, kōh̲'lee.
Light blue	genzáree, scanderánee.
Sky-blue	semmáwee.
Blunt	bard (*i. e.* cold).
A wild boar	h̲alóof.
A board	lōh̲.
Boat	seféeneh, k̲yáseh, *felóokah*.
Boat, ship	merkeb.
Boatman	*nóotee*, marákebee, týfeh.
Body	gessed, bed'dan.
Boil, *v.*	ighlee.
Boiled (water)	mugh'lee.
—— (meat)	maslook̲.
Bone	ādm, ādthm.
Book	ketáb, *pl.* koóttub.
Boot	gez'ma.
Border	harf, terf (turf).
—— of cloth, selvage	keenár.
Born	mowloód.
Borne, raised	merfoóā.
Borrow	sellef.
Both	el ethnéen, wáhed oo e'tánee, dee oo dee (this and that).
Bottle	k̲ezás, k̲ezáz (*i. e.* glass).
——, square	morub'ba.
——, earthen, for water	k̲oolleh, dórak, *bardak*.

Bottom, of a box, &c.	k̲ar (gar).
Bow	k̲ōs (k̲ōz).
Bow and arrows	k̲ōs̲ oo nisháb.
Bowl	k̲us̲′sāh.
Box	sendóok, *pl.* senadéek.
Small box	el′beh, as elbet e′neshōk, a snuff-box.
Boy	*wellet* or *wullud* (whence *valet*).
Brain	mōkh.
Brandy	ar′rakay, árakee.
Brass	náháss-ásfer, espedráyg.
Brave	geddā.
Bread	esh (khobs, kĭ′sra).
Roll of bread	rak̲éef esh.
Breadth	ȯrd.
——, extent	wússā.
Break, *v.*	ek′ser.
Broken	maksóor; (cut, as a rope), mukt̲oóā.
Breakfast	fotoór.
Breast	súdr, sídr.
Breath	neffes, nef′fess.
Bribe	berteél.
Brick	k̲áleb, toob áh̲-mar.
Crude brick	toob ny.
Bride	haroóseh.
Bridge	k̲an′tara.
Bright	menówer.
—— shining	lámā—*it is*, yílmā.
——, light colour	maftóoh̲.
Bring, *v.*	āāt, geéb.
Broad	āréed.
—— extensive	wása.
Broom	me-k̲ásheh (pronounced magásheh).
Brother	akh.
His brother	akhóo; *my* — akhóoia (ya).
Brother-in-law	neséeb.
Brush	foor′sheh.
Buckle	ebzéem, bezeém.
Buffalo	gamóos.
Buffoon	*Sóotaree.*
Bug	*buk̲* (Engl. *bug*).
Build	eb′nee.
A building	benái, binálieh.
Bull	*tōr* or *tōre* (*taurus*).
Burden, or load of camels	hem′leh.
Buried	madfoón.
Burn, *v.*	ah̲′rek̲, k̲eed.
Burnt	mahroók̲.
Bury, *v.*	id′fen.
Business	shoghl.
Busy	mashghoól.
But, *adv.*	láken, lákín, likán.
Butter	semn, més-lee.
——, fresh	zib′deh.
Buy, *v.*	ish′teree.
By, *pr.*	be (by kindness, bil māróof).

C.

Cabbage	kroómb.
Cabin	mákat (maqqát).
——, inner	khaz′neh.
Cable, rope	h̲ábl (whence *cable?*).
Cairo	M̄us̲r, Mus̲r el K̲áberah, Mis̲r.
Cake	káhk (whence *cake?*).
Calamity	dur′rer, azéëh.
Calculate, *v.*	ah̲′seb.
Calico (originally Calcutta)	buf′teh.
Caliph	Khaléefeh.
Call, *v.*	en′dā, *kellem*, nádem.
It is called	es′moo, ikóolahoo.
What is it called?	es′moo ā́y? esh es′moo?
What is his name?	esh es′moo?
A calm	ghaléenee.
Camel; (see *Ship*)	*gem′mel*, *pl.* gemál.
——, female	nák̲a (nák̲eh).
——, young male	k̲aóot (gaóot).
——, young female	buk′kara.
Camp	*or′dee* (whence *horde?*).
Camphor	*kafóor.*
I can	ana ak̲′der.
I cannot	ma-ak̲dér-shee.
Candle	shem′mā.
——, wax	shemma skanderánee.
Candlestick	shemmadán.
Cannon	mad′feh.
Cap, red	tarbóosh.
——, white	tak̲éea (takéëh).
Capacious	wása.
Caravan	k̲af′leh.
Care	igtehád.
Take care	ō′-ā.
Take care of	ah̲′fuz, istah̲′rus.
I don't care	ana málee.
—— about it (him)	ana málee oo maloo.
Carpenter	negár (nujjár).
Carpet	segádeh.
——, large	keléem, boossát.
Carrion	fateés, fatéese.
Carry, lift, *v.*	sheel, ayn; *raise*, érfa.
Carry away, *v.*	sheel, wod′dee.
Cart, carriage	arabéeh, áraba.
Cartridge	rem′ieh, tāméereh.
Case (etui)	zerf, bayt, élbeh, hōk̲.
Cat	k̲ott̲ (*gott̲*, f. *gott̲a*): bissáys; biss.

Catch, v.	el'haḵ.
—— in the hand	el'ḵoof.
Cattle	bahéem, booḵár.
Cauliflower	karnabeét.
The cause	e'sebbub.
A cave	maghára.
Ceiling	suḵf.
The centre	el woost (middle).
Cerastes snake	héi bil ḵōróon.
Certainly	māloóm, maloómak, helbét we laboób.
Chain	sil'sileh, *pl.* selásil.
Chair, stool	ḵoor'see, *pl.* karásee.
Chamber	ō̄'da, *pl.* ō'ad.
Chance, good fortune	bukht, nuséeb, *rizḵ* (*risk*, *risque*).
Charcoal	faẖ'm.
Charity	has'aneh, sow-áb, lilláh.
A charm	hegáb.
Chase, *v.*	istád.
Chase, *s.*	sayd.
Cheap	ra-kheés.
Cheat, *v.*	ghushm, ghush-im, ghish.
Cheek	khud.
Cheese	gibn.
Cherrystick pipe	shébook keráys.
Child, boy	wulled.
Children	welád.
Choke, strangle, *v.*	itkhinniḵ.
Choose, *v.*	nuḵ'ḵee (nug'gee).
Christian	*nusránee**, *pl.* Nassára.
Church	kanéeseh.
Cinnamon	ḵeer'feh (*i. e.* bark).
Circle	déira, dýreh.
Cistern	hōd, hōde.
Citadel	ḵálā
City, capital	medéeneh.
Civet	*zubbet*, zubbedéh.
Civility	māróof.
Clean, *v.*	nadduf.
—— as a pipe	sel'lik.
Clean	nadeéf.
Clear	réi-iḵ, rýeḵ.
Clever	sháter.
Cleverness	shutára.
Cloak	bórnoos.
Close, near	gharéi-ib, gharý-ib.
Close, *v.*	iḵ'fel.
Closet	khaz'neh.
Cloth	gooh.
Clouds	ghaym, saháb.
Clover	bersim', burséem.
Coals	fahm hag'gar.
A live coal	bus'sa, bussa-t-nar, gumr.
Coarse, rough	khishn.
Coast	bur, shet.
Cobweb	ankabóot.

Cock	deek (Engl. *dick*, bird).
Cock-roach	sursár.
Coffee	ḵah'-weh.
Raw coffee	bonn, bon.
Coffee-pot	búkrag, ténnekeh (*see* Cup).
Coins	gid'dat, or giddud.
Cold	bard.
The cold	el berd, e' suḵḵā (sug'ā).
Collect, *v.*	lim.
College	mad'-resee.
Colour	lôn, lone, *pl.* elwán.
	shikl, *pl.* ashkál.
Colours	elwán, ashkál.
black	as'wed, az'reḵ; *f.* sōda zer'ḵa.
white	ab'iad, *f.* baýda.
red	aẖ'mar, *f.* ẖam'ra.
scarlet	wer'dee.
dark-red	aẖ'mar dóodéh.
purple-blue	óodee.
purple	men'oweésh.
primrose	bum'ba.
peach	khókh-ee.
—of ashes	roomádee.
green	ákhder, *f.* khádra.
dark blue	az'reḵ, *f.* zer'ḵa, kō'ẖlee.
light blue	genzáree, skanderánee.
sky-blue	semmáwee.
brown	as'mar, *f.* sam'ra.
light brown	kamınóonee.
yellow	as'fer, *f.* saf'fra.
orange	*portoḵánee*.
spotted	menuḵ'rush (menug'rusẖ), munḵoósh.
dark colour	ghámuk.
light	muftóoẖ.
Comb	misht.
Come, *v.*	ig'gee.
Come up, *v.*	et'lā fōk (fōke).
I am (he is) coming	ána (hooa) géi.
Come here	tāāl hennee, tāāl gei, tāāl.
I came	ána gayt.
Common, low	wátee.
Compass	*boos'leh*, bayt-ébree.
Compasses	bee-kár
Complain, *v.*	ish'-kee.
—— of, *v.*	ishtek'ee.
Composed of	mitruk'kib min.
Consequently, since	behay's in.
Consult, *v.*	show'er (show'wer).
Constantinople	Stambóol, Istambóol.
Continent, land, shore	búr (burr).

* "He shall be called a Nazarene."

Continue, *v.*	istamír, ber′dak.
Convent	dayr.
Conversation	hadéet.
Cook	tabbákh.
Cook, *v.*	et′bookh.
Cooked meat	tabeékh.
Cooked, drest	mestow′ee.
The cool	e' tarow′eh, taraw′eh.
Coop, for poultry	kaf′fass.
Copper	nahass.
A copy	noos′kha, nooskheh.
Cord (see Rope)	hábl, hab′bel.
Cork, of a bottle	ghuttā ḵezáss.
Corn	ghulleh.
Indian corn or mayz	Doóra Shámee.
Corn, or wheat	ḵumh (gumh).
Cornelian	haggar haḵeéḵ.
Corner	roók-n.
Corner, projecting, of a mountain	ḵoor′neh.
It costs	es′-wa.
Cotton	*ḵóton.*
Cotton stuff	ḵotnéëh.
Cover, *v.*	ghutteé.
Cover	ghuttā.
Cough	*kōẖh*, seẖl.
Count, *v.*	ed, áẖ-seb.
A country	belled, *eḵloém.*
The country	el khulla, el khal′a.
A couple	gōz, ethnéen (two)
A couple and a half	gōz oo ferd.
Cousin	ebn am, *f.* bint am.
——on mother's side	ebn khal.
Cow	buḵḵar, buḵḵara, *pl.* booḵar (boogár) (Lat. Vacca.)
Coward	khowáf, khowwáf.
Cream	kish′teh.
Creator	el kháluḵ.
Creation	khulḵ.
A crack, fissure	shuk (shug).
Cracked	máshkóok.
Crocodile	temsáẖ, *pl.* temaséeẖ.
Crooked	māóog.
Cross	seléeb.
Cross, out of humour	zemḵán, zālán.
Crow	ghoráb.
Cruel	moẖ′zee, hásee.
Cruelty	azéëh, azāb.
Cultivate, *v.*	ez′rā, *i. e.* sow.
Cunning, artful	sáẖab ẖay′leh, sáẖab dubar′ra.
Cup	soltanéëh.
—glass	*koba*, koobái, koobaíeh.
Coffee-cup	fingán.
Coffee-cup stand	zerf.
Cure, *v.*	téieb, tý-eb.

To be cured	itéeb.
It is cured	táb.
Curious, wonderful	agéeb, gharéeb (strange).
Curtain	setárah.
Custom-house	diwán [*douane*].
Cushion	mekhud′deh.
Cut, *v.*	eḵ′tā.
Cut with scissors, *v.*	ḵoós.
Cut, *part. p.*	muḵ-toóā, meḵuttā.
Cut out, as clothes, *v.*	fussel.
The cutting out	e' tufséel.

D.

Dagger	sekéen, *khánger.*
—large	gembéëh, *yatagán* (Turk.).
Damp, *a.*	táree.
—— *s.*	taráwa, rotóobeh.
Dance, *v.*	er′kus.
Danger	khôf (*i. e.* fear).
Dark	gbámuḵ.
Dates	bel′laẖ.
Date tree, palm	nakhl.
Daughter	bint.
Day	yôm, *pl.* iyám, náẖr.
to-day	el yôm, e' naẖr dee.
every day	kool yôm, koollyô′m.
in days of old	áiam e'zemán, semán.
a day's journey from hence	saffer yôm min hen′nee
from the day (or time), I came	min náẖr ma gáyt, min yôm in gayt.
in those days	(fee or) fil aiam dôl.
now in these days	el-yôm, fee haza el waḵt.
Sunday	el had, naẖr el had.
Monday	el ethnéen.
Tuesday	e'thelát.
Wednesday	el e′rbā
Thursday	el khamées.
Friday	e' goómā.
Saturday	e' sebt (see Morning).
Dead, *s.*	mýit, méi-it, *pl.* myétéen.
Dead, died, *a.*	mat.
Deaf	at′trush.
Deal plank	lōẖ *béndooḵee* (*i. e.* Venetian).
A great deal	keteér ḵow′ee.
Dear	ghálee, azéez.
Dear, in price	ghálee.
My dear	ya ẖabéebee.
to a woman	ya ẖabéebtee, ya aýnee, ya aynáy, ya aýóonee, *i. e.* my eye, my two eyes; ya róẖee, my soul.

Death	môt.
Debt	dayn.
Deceitful	mukkár.
Deep	ghareek, ghowéet.
The Deluge	e' toofán.
Deny, *v.*	in'kir, unkóor.
Derived from	mooshtúk min.
Descend, *v.*	in'zel.
Descent	nesóol.
The desert	el burréëh, e'gebál (*i.e.* the mountains).
Destiny	neséeb.
The Devil	e' *Shaytán*, el *Eblées*.
Dew	nedda.
Diamond	fuss, *almás* (Turk.).
Dictionary	kamóos.
Die, *v.*	moot.
He is dying	bemóot.
He died	mat, itwuf'fa.
Different	beshka, beshkeh.
Difficult	saāb, war, tekéel, kásee
Dig	fāāt, ef'āt.
Diligence	eg'tehád.
Dinner	ghúdda.
Directly	kawám;—*in answer to a call*, háder.
Dirty	wus'sukh.
Disgust (to sight or taste)	kur'ruf (gurruf).
I am disgusted with it	ana ákruf mín oo.
Disposition	tubbā.
Dispute, *v.*	hanuk, it-hánuk.
A great distance	méshwár kebeer, bayít.
Divide, *v.*	ek'sum.
Divided	maksoóm.
Do	ámel (efāāl sow'wee).
I have nothing to do with it	ana máleesh dáwa boo.
I cannot do without it	ma astag'nash (astaknash) an'oo.
Doctor	hakím, or hakéem.
Dog	kelb.
Dollar (coin)	réeal-fránza.
A Dome	koobbeh (*al koobbeh*, *alcoba*, *alcove*).
Door	bab (*see* Gate).
Dot	nook'teh.
Double, *v.*	et'nee.
Dove	yemám.
Ringdove	kim'ree.
Draw, *v.*	sow'er; ik'tub, *i. e.* write.
Draw out (as teeth)	ek'la (eg'la).
Drawing	tassowéer, sóora, ketábeh.
Drawers	lebáss.
—— chest of	beshtukh'ta (Turk.).
Dress	libs (*lips*).
Dress, *v.*	el'bes.
Drink, *v.*	ish'rob.
Drive, *v.*	sook (soog).
Dromedarist, courier	haggán.
Dromedary	heg'gin.
Drop, *v.*	nukked.
A drop	nookteh.
Drown, *v.*	egh'-ruk, ghérrek.
A Druggist	attár.
Dry	ná-shef.
Dry, *v. a.*	in'-shef.
— *v. n.*	nésh-ef.
Duck, goose	wiz.
Dumb	ekh'-rus.
Dust	trob, trab.
Duty	wágeb.
it is my (his) duty	wágebaláy.
Dwell, *v.*	is'koon.
Dye, *v.*	es'-boogh.
Dye, dyer	sabágh, sabbágh.

E.

Each	kóol-e-wáhed (every one).
Eagle	akáb, okáb.
Ear	widn.
Early	bed'ree, bed'ree.
Earth	ard.
East	sherk.
Easy	sáhil, sah'leh.
Eat, *v.*	kool, ákool.
Edge	harf.
——of a sword, &c.	had.
Egg	bayd.
Egyptian	Mus'ree, belledee, *i. e.* of the country.
Egypt	Musr, ard Musr, Misr.
Upper Egypt	e' Sā'eed.
Elbow	kóoā.
Elephant	feel.
Nothing else, there is nothing else.	ma feesh hágee gháyroo; lem fée ha shay gháyr-ha.
Emerald	zoomóorrud.
Empty	fargh.
Empty, *v.*	fer'regh.
The end.	el ákher.
The end, its end	e' terf, ter'foo, ákheroo.
The enemy	el ádoo, addoo.
English	*Ingléez*, Inkléez.
Enough	bess, bizeeádeh.
It is enough	ik'feh, yikfeh, ikef'fee.
Enquire, *v.*	istuk'see.
Enter, *v.*	id'-khol, khosh.
Entering	dákhil.
Entire	koolloo, kámel.
Entrails	mussaréen.
Envy	ghéereh.

Equal to	k̲ud, ála k̲ud.
Equal to each other, alike	k̲ud-e-bād, zaybád.
Escape, *v.*	et'fush, yetfush.
he escaped	tuffush.
he has escaped (with his life).	omroo towéel, neffed be ómroo.
An estate, rented	ard (or belled) eltizám.
—— property, possession	milk.
Europe	Európa, béled(belled), el Frang.
European kings	el k̲óronat el Frang.
European people	Frang, Afrang.
English	*Inglées*, Ink̲leés.
French	Franseés, *sing.* Fransowée.
Germans	Nemsóweeh, *sing.* Nemsówee.
Russians	Mosko, Moskow'eeh, *sing.* Moskow'ee.
Italians	*Italiáni.*
Poland	Lekh.
Hungary	Muggar.
Greeks	Erooam', *sing.* Róomee.
Spain	Beled el An'daloos.
Even, level, equal	mesow'wee, mesáwee.
Even, also	hat'ta.
Good evening; (*see* Morning).	messekoom bil khayr, sal khayr, sād messākoom.
The evening	el messa, el āshéëh.
Every	kool.
On every side	fee kool e' náhia.
Every one	koolle wáhed, koollohom (all).
Every where	fee kool e'-mátrah, fee kool e doóneea.
Every moment	koolle saa.
Evident	bein, bain.
Evil	rádee.
Exaction	bal'sa.
Exactly	temám, *i. e.* perfect.
Exactly so	bizátoo.
Exactly like it	zaýoo sow'-a, mitloo sow'-a, bizátoo.
For example	mus'salen.
To excavate	efāt, fāt.
Excavation	fāt, fāāt.
Excellent	āzeém.
Your Excellency	genábak, hádretak (your presence), sādtak, (—highness), *pl.* genábkoom, hádratkoom, sādetkoom.
Except, *adv.*	illa.
Exchange	bed-del, ghéier.
Excuse	heg'geh, *pl.* heg'geg, ōz'r.
Excuse me, I beg pardon	ma takhoznásh, el ā'foo.
Execute, decapitate	dya, deia, deí-ya.
Expend, *v.*	deía, deí-ya.
Expense	kool'feh.
Expenses (of a house)	masróof.
Explain, expound	fusser.
An extraordinary thing	shay āgeéb, agéiib, shay gharéeb.
The eye	el ayn, *pl.* el aíóon.
Eyeball	habbet el ayn.
Eyebrow	há-geb, *pl.* howá-gib.
Eyelash	rimsh.
Eyelid	k̲obbet el ayn.

F.

The face	el wish (el widj).
Faint, *v.*	dookh.
A fair price	temn hallál, temn menáseb.
Very fair, tolerable	menáseb.
A fairy	gin.
Faith (creed), testimony of	shahāda.
Fall, *v.*	uk̲a, yoók̲a.
False	keddáb.
His family	ah̲l baýtoo, áh̲loo.
Fan	mérwáh̲a.
Far	bay-ít.
How far from this?	k̲ud-aý min hénnee.
A farce or absurdity	*mús-khera.*
Farrier	beetār.
Farther	abbād, ábād.
Fat, *a.*	seméen, ghaleét.
Fat, *s.*	semn, shahm, dehn.
Father	ab, abóo, abée.
Fatigue	tāāb.
Fault	zemb.
It is not my fault	mā'leesh zemb, mā'leesh daw'a.
Do me the favour, kindness (favorisca, *Ital.*)	ā'mel mároof, tefod'thel, tefod'-del.
Fear	khōf, khófe.
A feast	azoómeh.
Feather	reesh.
Feel, *v.*	hassus.
Female	netái, netéieh, netý, oónseh.
Ferry-boat	mādéëh.
Field	el ghayt.
Fig	tin.

Fight, *v.*	kátel, háreb.
A fight	ketál, harb, shémmata.
File	mub'red.
Fill, *v.*	em'la.
Find, *v.*	el'k̲ah.
Finger	subā, soobá.
It is finished	khalás, khá-les, khul'les, khólset, *f.*
Fire	nar.
Fire, live coal	bus'sa, bus'set nár, gumr, gum'ra.
Fire a gun	id'rob (or sýeb), el bendookéëh.
The first	el ow'-el, el owelánee.
When first I came	ow'el ma gaýt.
At first	ow'elen.
Fish	semmuk.
Fisherman	sý-ád, semmák.
Flag	baýrek, *banday'ra*, san'*gak*
Flat	mebuttut.
Flax	kettán.
Flea	berghoót.
Flesh	lah̲m.
Flint	sowán.
Flour	dak̲eék̲.
Flower	zahr, nowáh.
A fly	debán, debbán.
Fly-flap	menash'eh.
Fly, *v.*	teer.
Fog	shaboór.
Fool	magnoón.
Foot	k̲úddum (gudm).
Footstep	at'ter, attar.
For	me-shán, ali-shán.
Force	ghusb.
By force, in spite of him	ghusbinánoo, ghusb āláy.
Forehead	k̲oóreh.
——, lower part of	gebeén.
Foreign	barránee, gh̲areéb.
To speak in a foreign language	értun; *subst.* rotán.
Forget, *v.*	in'sa.
I forgot	ana neseét.
Do not forget	ma tinsásh.
Forgive me	sud, máléah.
Forgive, *v.*	se-máh.
Fork	shōk, shoke.
Formerly	zemán.
Good fortune	bukht, neséeb, *risk̲.*
Fountain	fesk̲éëh.
A fowl	fur'-kher, faróog.
Fox	abool-hossaýn, táleb.
Free	horr.
Frenchman	*Franzówee*, *pl.* Franzées. *Fran'gee* is a corruption of Français; it is frequently used as a term of reproach, but never as *freeman.*
Fresh, new	gedeét.
Fresh (fruit)	tar'ree; *f.* t̲aréëh.
Fresh water (sweet)	moie hélweh.
Friend	sáh̲eb, h̲abéeb, reféek̲, *i. e.* companion.
From	min.
Fruit	fowákee.
Fuel	wek̲eéd.
Full	melán, melián.
Fur	furweh.
Further	ábád.

G.

Gain, profit	muk'seb.
Gallop, *v.*	er'mah̲.
Game	sayd.
Garden	ginnaýneh, bostán, *plur.* ginneín, bussateén.
Gardener	genaynátee.
Garlic	t̲ôm.
Gate (door)	bab, *pl.* bibán, or aboáb.
Gather up, *v.*	lim.
Gazelle	ghazál, d̲ubbee.
A general	*sáree-ásker* (*sar-asker*), saree-shishneh.
Generosity, good	kar'rem.
He is generous	éedoo maftoóh, *i. e.* his hand is open.
Gentlemanly man	rágel lateéf, rágel zereéf.
Gently	be-shwō'-esh, ála mah̲lak.
Get up	k̲oom.
Gift	hadéëh, bak-shéesh, bakshish.
Gilt	medá-hab, mútlee be dáhab.
Gimlet	bereémeh.
Gold	dá-hab, dtháhab.
Ginger	genzabeél.
Gipsey	ghug'ger.
Gird, *v.*	haz'zem, it-haz'zem.
Girl	bint.
Give, *v.*	id'deẹ, ā'-tee.
Glad	fer-h̲án.
To be glad, *v.*	éf-rah or effrah.
Glass	kezáss.
Globe	k̆óra.
Glove	shuráb.
Glue	gher'reh.
Gnat	namoós.
Go, *v.*	rooh̲.

Go, get away, *v.*	im′shee, foot.
Go in, *v.*	id′-khool, hōsh′.
Gone	rah̲.
Going	rýeh.
Going in, *p.*	da′khel.
Going in, *s.*	dokhóol.
I am going	ana rye
He is gone	hooa rah̲.
I went	ana rōh̲t.
Go out, *v.*	ekh′roog, étla, étla bar′ra.
Do not go out	la-tétla, ma tetlash bar′ra.
Goat	maý-zeh.
She goat	an′zeh.
Kid	*gíddee.*
God	Alláh, e′ rob′boona (our Lord).
A god or deity	Illah, as la illáh il′ alláh, "there is no deity but God."
Good	t̲eieb, t̲ýeb, me-léëh.
Good, excellent	mádan.[*]
Good for nothing	bat-tál, ma es-wash hágeh.
Pretty good, fair	manáseb.
Goose	wiz.
Gossip, *v.*	dur′dish.
Govern*or*, *–ment*	hákem, hōkmeh.
The government	el bayléek̲, el wes̲éëh.
Gradual, little by little	shwō′-ya be shwō′-ya.
A grain	hab.
— weight	k̲umh
Grand	ā-zeém.
Gratis	bellésh.
Gratitude	mā′refet e′ gemeél.
A grave	toórbeh, *pl*, toórob.
Grease	ziffr.
Great	kebéer, *pl.* koobár.
Greek	*Roómee,* borrowed from Romanus.
Ancient Greek	*Yoonánee, i. e.* Ionian.
Grieved	hazéën, sāb āláy.
Grind, *v.*	ís-han.
A mortar	mús-h̲an, h̲ōn (hōne).
Grind (in a mill), *v.*	ít-h̲an.
Groom	sý-is, seĩis.
Grotto	ma-ghára.
The ground	el ard.
A guard	ghufféer, *pl.* ghúffara.
Guard of a sword	bur′shuk.
Guard, *v.*	istah̲′rus.
By guess	be tekh-meén.
A guide	khebeéree.
He is not guilty	má loósh zemb.
Gum	sumgh.
Gun	*bendook̲éëh* (being originally brought from Venice by the Arabs), baroót.
Gunpowder	baroót.
Gypsum	*gips*, or gibs.

H.

Hair	shar.
Half	noos, noosf.
In halves	noosaýn.
Halt, *v.*	wuk̲′kuf (wugguf).
Hammer, axe	k̲adoóm.
A hand	eed, yed.
Handful	keb′-sheh.
Handkerchief	mandéel, máh̲-rama.
Hand, *v.*	now′el.
Happen	eg′ra[†], yig′ra, yes̲éer.
Happened	gerra, s̲ār.
Happy	fer-hán, mabsoót.
Harbour	mer′seh, *scála.*
Hard	gámed, yábes.
Hare, rabbit	er′neb.
Harm	dur′rer, doróora, zurrer.
To do harm, *v.*	door, idóor.
There is no harm (*see* never mind)	ma feesh durrer.
In haste	k̲awám, belággel.
A hat	*bornaýta* (from Ital.).
Hatchet	bal′ta, k̲adoóm.
Hate, *v.*	ek′rah, yek′rah.
I have	an′dee.
Have you?	an′dak?
Hawk	suk̲r.
Hay	drees.
He, it	hoóa; (*she* —), héea.
Head	rās, demágh.
Heal, *v*	itéeb.
Heap	kôm, or kóme.
Hear, *v.*	es′-ma.
Heart	k̲ulb.
Heat, *v.*	sa′khen, ham′mee.
Heat, *s.*	h̲ar, sōkhnéëh, h̲am′moo.
Heaven	semma.
—, paradise	gen′neh.
Heavy	tek̲éel.
Hebrew	*Hebránee, Yahóodee.*
The heel	el kāb.
Height	él-oo, elloo, ertifáh.
High ground	elwáieh.
Hell	gohen′nem.
Herbs	ha-shéesh, khō-dár.
Here	hennee, hen′i.

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[*] That is, "a mine."

[†] Taken from the word "to run."

Here it (he) is	a-hó, a-hó hennee.
Come here	taal hennee.
Hereafter	min de'lwáḵt, min el-yōm, min-oo rýe.
Hide, *v.*	khub'bee.
Hidden	mista-khub'bee.
High	álee.
Hill	kôm, gébel, gebbel.
Hinder, *v.*	hôsh.
Hire, *s.*	kerree, ar'ruḵ, ógera; *v.* ek'ree.
His	betá-oo; betáhtoo, *fem.*
Hold, *v.*	im'sek.
Hole	kherḵ.
Bored, pierced	makhrooḵ.
Hollow	fargh.
His home	báytoo.
At home	fil bayt.
Honest man	rágel mazboót.
Honey	assal ab'iad, assal e' nahl.
Hook (fish)	sunnára.
Hooks (and eyes)	khobshát.
Hooka	sheésheh, *narḵileh* (*Turk.*).
—— snake	ly, lei.
I hope, or please God	Inshállah.
Horn	*ẖorn*; *pl.* ḵoróon.
Horse	hossán; horses, khayl.
Mare	farras.
Colt	mōẖ'r.
Horseman	khý-ál, fá-res.
Hot	ẖá-mee, so'khn.
—— weather	ẖar.
House	bayt, men'sel, mes'-kun.
Hour	sāā.
How	kayf.
How do you do?	kaýfak, zaý-ak, kayf-el-kayf, týebéen.
Human	insanéëh.
Humbug, prevaricator	sheḵlebán (sheg-lebán), khab'bás.
Humidity	rotóobeh, taráweh, neddeh.
Hundred	méea.
Two hundred	meetáyn.
Three hundred	toólte-meéa.
Hungry	gayā'n, jayán.
Hunt, *v.*	s̱eed, is̱ṯád, ét-rood e' s̱áyd.
Hunter	s̱yád, ghunnás, bōúrdee.*
In order that you may not hurt his feelings, or disappoint him	leg'leh ma teksérshee khátroo.
Husbandman	fel-láẖ; *pl.* fellaẖéen.

Husband	gôz, zōge.
Hyena	dob'h, dobbh.

I.

I	ána.
Jackal	ṯáleb.
Jar	*jar'ra*, ḵiddreh.
Javelin	*har'beh*, khisht.
Ice	telg.
Identical	bizátoo.
Idle	tum'bal, battál.
Idol	sóora, mas-khóota.
Jealousy	gheéreh.
Jerusalem	el *Ḵotts* [*Cadytis*].
Jessamine	yesméen.
In jest	bil dehek; *see* Joke.
Jew	*Yahóodee.*
Ancient Jews	Béni *Izraéel.*
If	in-kán, izakán, ízza, lo-kán, mut'tama.
Ignorant, novice	gha-shéem.
Ill, *a.*	me-show'-esh, aián, ai-yán.
Illness	ta-showéesh.
I imagine, *v.*	tekh-méenee, ana a-zóon
It is impossible	ma yoomkin'sh, la yoómkin ébeden.
Impudence	koot'r el kalám.
In, within	goóa; *at*, fee.
Incense	bokhár.
Income	erád.
Indeed	hatta.
Indigo	néeleh.
Infidel	káfer, *pl.* koofár, kaferéen.
Ingratitude	khusséëh, khussáseh.
Ink	heb'r, hebber.
Inkstand	dowái, dowáieh.
Inquire, *v.*	sāāl, es'sāāl.
Inside	góoa, fee ḵulb.
——, *s.*	el ḵulb.
For instance	mus'salen.
Instead	bedál.
Instrument	dooláb, *i. e.* machine.
—— tools	ed'deh.
Interpret, translate, *v.*	ter'gem.
Interpreter	tergimán, toorgimán.
Intestines	mussaréen.
Intoxicated	sakrán.
Intrigue, plot	fit'neh, khábs.
Intriguer	fettán, khabbás.
Joke	layb, *mús-khera*, daý-hek, mézh.
Journey	saffer.
Joy	ferrah.
Joyful	fer-hán, mabsóot.
Iron	hadéet.
Irrigate, *v.*	is'ḵee.

---

* With gun.

Is there? there is	fee.
There is not	ma feéah.
Island	gezéereh.
Judge	ḵádee.
Its juice	móietoo.
Just	haḵeeḵ, sedeeḵ.
Just now	tow.

K.

Keep, take care of	istaẖ'rus, aẖ'foḏ, aẖ'-fuz.
Keep, hold, *v.*	im'sek, hōsh.
Kettle	buk'-rag.
Key	muf-táẖ.
Kick, *v.*	er'fus.
Kidney	kaýlweh, kílweh.
Kill, *v.*	mow'-et, mow'wet.
Killed	mat, mý-it.
Kind, *s.*	*gens.*
Kind, *a.*	sáhab maróof, hinéiin.
Kindle, *v.*	ḵeed (geed).
King	mélek, or mellek, sōlṯán.
Kingdom	mem'-lekeh.
Kiss	*bos'sa.*
Kitchen	mud'-bakh.
Kite, *miluus*	hedý, or hedéi.
Knee	rook'-beh.
Knave	ebn ha-rám.
Knife	sekéen; *pl.* sekakéen.
Penknife	mátweh.
Knot	ōḵ'-deh.
Know, *v.*	áref.
I do not know	ma aráfshee, ma má-ish khábber.
Knowledge	maý-refeh, maýrefeh.

L.

Labor	tāāb.
Ladder	sil'lem.
Lady	sit, sit'teh.
Lake, pond, pool	beer'keh.
Lame	ā'rug.
Lamp	ḵandéel, mus'rag.
Lance	*h̄árbeh.*
Land	ard, bur (opp. to sea).
Lantern	fa-nóos.
Large	kebéer, aréed, wá-sa.
Lark	koomba.
The last	el á-kher, el akhránee
Last, *v.*	ō'ḵut ketéer, istáh-mel
It is late	el waḵt ráẖ.
Laugh, *v.*	it'-hak.
Laughter	déhek.
Law, justice	shúrrā.
Lay, *v.*	er'ḵoot.
Lay, *v. a.*	ruḵḵet.
Lazy	tum'bal.
Lead, *s.*	rossáss.
Leaf (of book)	wáraḵeh, war'raḵ.
Leap, *v.*	noot, nut.
Learn, *v.*	itaálem, álem.
Lease (of a house)	ō'gera, kérree.
Leather	gild matboók (mat-boóg).
Leave, *s.*	ez'n, egázeh.
Without leave	min ghayr egázeh.
Leave, *v.*	khal'lee, foot.
Leaven	khumméer.
Ledge	soffa.
Leech	áluḵ.
Leek	kōrát.
Left, *a.*	shemál, yesár.
Leg	rigl.
Lemon	laymoon, laymoon málẖ.
——(European kind)	laymoon Adália.
Lend, *v.*	iddee-sellef, éslif.
Length	tool.
Lengthen, *v. n.*	it'-wel.
——, *v. a.*	tow'-el.
Lentils	atz, ads, addus.
Leopard	nimr.
Less	as'-gher, aḵúll.
Let go, or alone, *v.*	sý-eb, khallee.
Letter	harf, *pl.* haróof.
——, epistle	maktóob, gow-áb, warraḵeh.
Level	mesow'wee.
Level, *v.*	sow'wee.
Liar	keddáb.
Lie	kidb.
Liberate, enfranchise, *v.*	á-tuḵ.
Liberated	matóo.
Life	om'r, hý-a.
Lift, *v.*	sheel, er'fa, ayn.
Light, *a.*	khaféef.
—— colour	maftóoh.
Light, *s.*	noor.
Light the candle	wúlla e' shem'mā.
Give light to, *v.*	now'-er.
Lightning	berk.
As you like	ala kaýfak, ala mezágak, ala ḵúrradak.
Like, *a.*	zay, míttel, mitl, kayf.
In like manner	gazálik el omr, gathálik.
I like	yagébnee.
I should like	fee khátree, biddee.
Lime	geer.
Lime fruit	laymoón hélw(hel'oo).
Line or mark	khot, suttr (of a book).
Linen-cloth	gōmásh ḵettán.
Linseed	bizr ḵettán.
Lion	as'sad, sába.
Lip	shiffeh.

Listen, *v.*	sen'ned.
Listen, hear	es'mā.
Listen to, take advice	tow'wā.
Little, small	sogheer, or zwýer.
Little, not much	shwōya.
Live, *v.*	äésh, esh.
Liver	kib'deh.
Lizard	boorse, sahléeh.
Load	hem'leh.
Load, *v.*	ham'mel.
Loaf of bread	raḵeéf esh.
Lock	kaylóon.
—— wooden	dob'beh.
Padlock	ḵufl.
Lock, *v.*	ék-fel.
Lofty	ál̄ee.
Long	tow-éel.
Look, *v.*	shoof, bōss, *óndoor.*
Loose, *a.*	wása.
Loosen, *v.*	sý-eb, hell; *see* Undo.
At liberty	me-sý-eb, meséieb.
Lose, *v.*	dý-ah.
Love	hōb.
Love, *v.*	heb.
Low	wátee.
Lupins	*tirmes, tur'mis* (*Copt.*).

M.

Machine	dooláb.
Mad	magnoón.
Madam	sittee.
Magazine.	ẖás̲el, shôn, shóona, *mákhzen.*
Maggot	doot.
Magic	saýher or sayhr.
Male	dthúkker.
Female	netý-eh, netý, oon'seh.
Make, *v.*	aámel.
Made	mamóol.
Mallet	doḵmáḵ.
Man	rágel; *pl.* regál.
Mankind	insán, beni *ádam* (sons of Adam).
Manufactory	wer'sheh.
Many	ketéer.
Marble	ro-khám.
Mark, *v.*	álem.
——, *s.*	a-lám; *see* Line.
Market	sooḵ, *bazár.*
Marrow	môkh.
Marry, *v.*	gow'-es, zow'-eg.
Mast	sá-ree.
Master	sid, seed.
Mat, *s.*	hasséereh, hasséera; *pl.* hossor.
What's the matter?	khabbar áy, gerra áy.
—— with you?	málak.
Matters	omóor.
—— things	asheeát.
Mattrass	mar'taba.
Measure	meezán.
— —of length	ḵeeás.
Meat	lahm.
Meet, *v.*	ḵabel.
Medicine	dow'-a, dow'eh.
Memory	fikr, bāl.
Merchant	tá-ger, hawágee*, mesébbub.
Mercury	zaýbuḵ.
Messenger	sýee, sáī.
Metals, mine	má-dan.
Middle	*woost* (Engl. *waist*).
Middle-sized	woostánee.
Mighty, able	káder.
Milk	l̄ub'ben, lub'bun, haléeb.
A Mill	ta-ẖóon.
Press Mill	mā's̲arah.
Minaret	madn̄eh.
Never mind	*See* Never and Harm.
A mine	mádan; *pl.* maádin.
Mine, of me	betáee; *f.* betáhtee.
Minute, *s.*	daḵéeḵeh; *pl.* daḵý-iḵ.
Mirror, *s.*	*miráëh, mōrái.*
Mix, *v.*	ekh'-let.
Mixed	makhlóot.
Modest	mestaýhee.
Moist	táree; *see* Humidity.
Monastery	dayr.
Money	*floos* (from obolus?).
Monkey	nesnás.
Monk	ráhib; *pl.* rohbán.
Month	shaẖr; *pl.* shoẖóor, ésh-ẖoor.

Names of the Arabic Months.

1. Moẖarrem.
2. Saffer.
3. Rebéëh 'l-ówel.
4. Rebéëh 'l-ákher.
5. Goómad owel.
6. Góomad akher
7. Reg'eb.
8. Shábán.
9. Ramadán.
10. Showál.
11. El Ḵádeh, or Zul-k̄ádeh.
12. El H̄ō'g-h, or Zul-Heg (Hag).

Moon	ḵumr (*masc.*)
Moral, *a.*	mazboót.
Morning	soobẖ, sabáẖ.
Dawn	feg'r̄ or fegger.
Sunrise	télāt e'shems.
Forenoon	dá-h̄ah.
Midday	dōh̄r.
Afternoon	ásser.
Sunset	múgh-reb.
1½ hour after sunset	esh'a, ash'a.
Evening	messa, ashéëh.

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* Hawagee, a Christian; Khowagee, a Moslem.

The plague	el kóobbeh, e'tāóon.
Plank, pane (of glass)	lōh.
Plate	sáhan, tub'buk, hángar.
Play, *s.*	leb, or layb, *plur.* gem'mā.
Play, *v.*	ílláb.
Plot	fit'neh.
Plough	mahrát.
Ploughing	hart̲.
Pluck a fowl, *v.*	en'tif el fúr-kher.
Pluck, pull out, *v.*	en'ṭish.
Plunder, *v.*	*ínhab, ná-hab* (*to nab*).
Pocket	gayb.
Poetry	shāȳr, nusm, dárek̲.
Poison	sim.
Point, end	turf.
Pole, stick	middree, nebóot.
Pomegranate	roomán.
A poor man	mes-kéen, fe-k̲eér.
Potatoes	*k̲ōlk̲ás frángee.*
Pottery	fokhár.
A pound	rotl.
Pour out, *v.*	soob, koob.
—— throw away, *v.*	koob.
Powder	trob; (gun—) baróot.
Power	k̲ōdr or k̲udr.
Pray	sellee.
I pray for	fee ar'ḍak.*
Press, *v.*	dooss.
——, squeeze, *v.*	aás̲er, ās̲er.
Pretty	k̲uei'īs, k̲ouejis.
Prevaricator	shek̲lebán.
Price (*see* What, and Worth)	tem'n, temmen, sayr.
Agree about price of	uf's̲el, fus̲sél.
Pride	kōbr e' néfs.
Prison	habs, hásel.
It is probable	gháleben.
Property, possessions	milk.
Prophet	nebbee.
Prose	nuthr, nus̲r.
Prosper, *v.*	éf-lāh.
Provisions	zowád, ákul oo sherb.
Pull, *v.*	shid.
Pull out, *v.*; pull off (clothes)	ek̲'-lā; *see* Pluck.
Punishment	azáb.
Pure	t̲áher.
On purpose	bilánieh; in a bad sense, bilāmed.
Push, *v.*	liz.
Puss! puss!	*biss! biss!*
Put, *v.*	hot.
Putrefy, *v.*	āffen.
Pyramid	háram, āhram.

Q.

A quail	soomán.
What quantity?	k̲ud-dáy, *i. e.* how much.
Quarrel, *v.*	hánuk, ámel kalám.
Stone quarry	muk̲'ta-hag'gar.
A quarter	roob.
Quench (fire)	itfee.
Quince	safer'gel.
Quickly	k̲a-wám, belággel (*i. e.* on wheels), yálla.
Quiet	sáket.

R.

Race	*gens* (*gense*).
Raft	ramoóee, ramoós.
Rag	sharmóota, khállak̲a.
Rage	zemk̲, k̲udb.
Rain	mattar, nuttur.
It rains	be-un'tur.
Ramrod	harbee, kabbás.
Rank	mak̲ám.
Rare	gharéeb.
A rascal	ebn harám.
Rat	far.
Raw	ny, nye.
Razor	moós.
Reach, *v.*	tool, élhak̲.
Read, *v.*	ek̲'rā.
Ready	háder.
Real	sahéh, sáduk̲.
Really, truly	min hák̲, hak̲éek̲eten, hak̲'k̲a.
The reason	e' sebbub.
Rebellious	aásee, *pl.* āāsīī'n.
Receive money	ek̲'bud floos.
Reckon, *v.*	ah̲'seb.
Recollect, *v.* (—ion)	iftek'r (fikr).
A reed	boos.
A relation	k̲aréeb, áh̲l.
Relate, tell, *v.*	ah'kee.
Remember	khallee fee bálak.
I remember, *v.*	fee bálee.
Reply, *v.*	rood (roodd).
Reside, *v.*	is'koon.
Return, *v.*	er'ga.
——, give back, *v.*	reg'ga.
Rhinoceros horn	k̲orn khartéet.
Ribs	dullóoā.
Rich	shebán, ghúnnee.
Riches	ghunna, ghena.
Rid, *v.*	khal'lus.
Ride, *v.*	er'kub.

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* "On your honour." Used to deprecate punishment, and on other pressing occasions.

Riding, *s.*	rōkoób.
A rifle	bendook̲éĕh sheshkháneh.
Right, *a.*	dōghree.
Right, *s.*	hak̲, or hak.
Right (hand)	yeméen.
Rim	harf, soor.
Ring, annulus	hallak̲ah, hallak̲.
Finger ring	dib′leh; *see* Seal.
Rise, *v.*	k̲oom (goom).
River	náhar; bah̲r, *i.e.* ocean (*applied to the Nile*).
Road	derb, síkkah, tareék̲.
Robber	harámee.
Roof	suk̲f.
A room	ōda.
Root	gidr, gidder.
Rope	habbel, habl.
Hemp rope	habl teel.
Palm ——	habl leef.
Rose	werd.
Rose water	moie-werd.
—— otto of	h̲etter el werd.
Round, *a.*	medow′-er, mekúbbub.
Around	howaláyn, deir ma idóor.
Rouse, *v.*	k̲ow′em, k̲owwem
Royal	soltánee.
Rudder	duf′feh.
Ruins, remains; *see* temple	benái k̲adeém, kharý-ĭb, kharábeh.
Run, *v.*	ig′geree.
——, as a liquid	khōr.
Rushes	soomár, sumár.
Rust	suddeh.

S.

A Sack	sekeébeh.
Saddle (of horse)	serg.
—— (donkey)	bérda.
—— (dromedary)	ghabéet.
—— (camel)	witter, howéĕh, shák̲er, basóor.
—— bags	k̲hōrg.
Sail, *s.*	k̲illa, k̲ōmásh, *i. e.* cloth.
For his sake	leg′leh̲ khátroo.
Salad	*sálata.*
for Sale	lel-báyā.
Salt, *a.*	máleh̲
Salt, *s.*	melh̲.
Salts	melh̲ *Ingléez.*
The same	bur′doo, bizátoo, *pl.* búrdohóm.
Sand	ruml.
Sandal	nāl.
Sash, girdle	hezám.

Saucer	*tása.*
A saw	minshár.
I saw, *v.*	ána shóoft; he saw, hooa sháf.
Say, *v.*	k̲ool.
What do you say?	betk̲óol ay.
Scabbard (of sword)	bāyt.
Scales	meezán, k̲ubbáneh.
School	muk′tub.
Scissors	mékúss.
Scold, *v.*	ʽhánuk, it-hánuk.
Scorpion	ak̲′raba (ag′raba).
Scribe	káteb.
Sea	bah̲r, bah̲r el malh̲, el máleh̲.
See, *v.*	shoof; I see, ana shýfe, sheif, beshóof.
A seal	khátōm, worn as a ring.
—— impression	khítmeh.
Search, *v.*	fettesh.
Search	tefteésh.

Four Seasons.

Winter	shittah.
Spring	khareéf.
Summer	sayf.
Autumn	deméereh.

A second of time	sánee.
The second, other	e′tánee.
Secondly	tánién.
Seed	bisr, hab, tek̲ow′ee, ghúlleh.
Seek for	dow′r ālày.
Send, *v.*	ébaát, sháyā, érsel.
Separate one from the other	fur′red.
Servant	khuddám, subbee (lad).
Serve, *v.*	ikh′-dem.
Shade, *s.*	dooll, dool, dill.
Shadow	kheeál.
Shame, disgrace	eb, āeb.
Shave, *v.*	áh̲-luk̲.
Sheep, *pl.*	ghunnum.
Ram	kharóof.
Ewe	nágeh.
Sheet, *s.*	foota, malýa.
Shell	woddā.
Shield	dar′rak̲a.
Shine, *v.*	íbrook̲.
Ship	mérkeb.*
Shirt, *s.*	kamées: *pl.* komsán.
Shoe	merkóob, *pl.* marakéeb.

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* The camel is sometimes called mérkeb (as a shoe merkóob), not because it is the "Ship of the Desert," as some have supposed, but because merkeb

Horse shoe	nāl.
Yellow slipper	must, mez, muzh.
Short	k̲ōseír, k̲ossý-er.
Small shot	rush.
Shoulder	kitf.
Show, *v.*	wer'ree.
Show me	wereénee.
Shut, *v.*	uk'-fel.
Shut the door	rood, étrush, úk̲fel el bab.
Shut, bolt the door	sook el bab.
Shut, *p. p.*	merdóod, matróosh, maskóok, makfool.
Sick, to be	istuf'rugh.
Side	gemb.
Sieve	ghōrbál.
Silk	haréer.
Sight, *s.*	shoof, nudr.
Silent, *a.*	sákut.
Be silent, *v.*	ōs'-kut, ōs'koot.
Silver	fod'da.
Simple	mokhtus'surah.
Single	mooffrud, ferd.
Sing, *v.*	ghun'nee.
The singular	mooffrud.
Sir	séedee ! sidi !
Sister	okht.
My sister	okhtee.
His sister	okhtoo.
Sit, *v.*	ō'-k̲ut.
Size	kōbr.
Skin, *s.*	gild.
Water skin	k̲eérbeh.
Sky	sémmā.
Slave	abd, khádem.
Female	gárreea, járeea.
Slaughter	k̲etál.
Sleep, *s.*	nôm, *v.* nàm.
Sleeping	neim.
Slowly	be-shwō'-esh.
Small, *see* Little.	
Smell, *v.*	shem.
Smell, *s.*	shem, reëh.
Sweet smell	reëh (reht) helwa.
Blacksmith	haddát.
Smoke, *s.*	dō-khán.
Smoke, *v.*	ish'rob dō-khán.
Smooth *v.*	ef'red ; *adj.* nām.
Snail	hala-zō'n, hala-zōn.
Snake	tábán, han'nesh, dood.
Horned	hei bil-k̲oróon.
Asp	na'sher.
Snare	fukh.
Snuff	neshō'k, neshóke.

Snuffers	mak̲úss (mekúss), e'shem'má.
So	keddee, kéza.
Soldier	ás-karee, *pl.* asáker, asker.
Disciplined	nizám.
Some of it	mínoo, minnoo.
Something	hágeh, shay.
Some few things	bād-shay.
Sometimes	wáhed-wáhed-nóba, bād-ōk̲át.
Son	ebn, welled.
Song	ghō'na.
Sorry	hazéën.
I am sorry, *v.*	isāāb'-aláy.
Sort, *s.*	*gens*, shikl.
Sound, voice	hess.
Sour, acid	há-duk̲, há-mood.
South	genóob, k̲ub'lee, k̲ib'-lee.
—— wind	now.
Sow (seed) *v.*	ez'ra.
—— (cloth) *v.*	khý-et.
Span	shibr.
—— with fore-finger	fitr.
Speak to one about, bespeak	wessee (wussee).
Speak, *see* Talk.	
Spear	hārbeh.
Spend (money)	dý-ā, és-ref.
Spider	ankabóot.
—— web	ankabóot.
Spill, *v.*	koob.
Spirit	rōh.
A spirit	*āfréet*, *pl.* afaréet, *gin-nee*, *pl.* *gin.*
A good spirit, *see* Angel.	
Split, *p. p.*	mafloók̲.
Spoon	málak̲a.
Sportsman	sy-ád.
Square	mōrub'bāh, mōrub'bā.
Stable, *s.*	*stabl.*
Stand up	k̲óom āla haýlak.
Stand, *v.* Stop	yoók̲uf, wuk̲k̲uf.
Star	nigm ; *pl.* nigoóm.
Statue	mas-khóot.
Stay, wait, *v.*	us'boor.
Steal, *v.*	*es'rook*, *es'ruk* [*to sherk*].
Stealth, *s.*	seérk̲ah.
By stealth	bil-dūss.
Steel	soolb.
A steel	zeenád.
Stick	nebóot ; assaía, assýeh, shamroókh.

---

signifies something to mount upon (Fr. *monture*), so that the ship is rather the camel of the sea than the converse, and the Arabs had camels or *montures* before they had ships or shoes.

Stick of palm	geréet.
Still	sákut.
—— yet	lissa.
Sting	shôk.
He is stingy	eédoo másek.
Stirrup	re-káb.
Stone	hággar.
Stop, *see* Stand and Wait.	
Stop up, *v.*	sid.
Stopped, closed	masdóod.
Straight	dōghree.
String	doobára.
Strong	shedeét, gow'ee.
Straw	tibn.
Street	derb, sikkeh.
Stumble, *v.*	áẖ-ter.
He struck	dérreb, (*see* Beat).
Strike a light	eḵ'da (égda).
Style	kesm, tertéeb, shiḵl.
Such a one	foolán.
Suck, *v.*	mooss.
Sugar	sook'ker.
Sun	shems (*fem.*).
The sun has set	e'shems ghábet.
Begin the subject	éftaẖ séeratoo, éftaẖ e'séera.
Sulphur	kabréet.
Summer	sáyf.
Suppose, *v.*	zoon' (zoonn), khum'men.
Swell, *v.*	yóorem.
Swollen	warm.
Swear, testify, *v.*	ish'-ẖad, áẖlif.
——at, abuse, *v.*	ish'tem.
Swallow, *v.*	eb'lă.
Sweet	hel'wa.
Swim, *v.*	sōm.
Sword	sayf.
Syria	e'Sham.
System	tertéeb, nizám.

T.

Table cloth	foóta e'sō'ffra.
Table	sōffra.
—, Turkish	koórsee.
Tail	*dayl.*
Tailor	khyát.
Talk, *v.*	itkel'lem, it-had'det.
Take, *v.*	khod.
Take away, *v.*	sheel.
Take in, cheat	ghush, ghush'em.
Tall	toweél, towwéel.
Tamarinds	*támr híndee.*
Tamarisk	tur'fa.
Tan, *v.*	ed'bogh.
Tax	fer'deh, méeree.
Tea	shy.
Teach, *v.*	álem.
Tear, *v.*	sher'mut.
A tear	dim'moo.
Telegragh	e-shára.
Telescope	nadára.
Tell, *v.*	ḵool, áh-kee.
Temple	*béerbeh.*
Tent	khaym, kháymeh.
Tent peg	wat'tat.
Than	min, an
We thank you for a present	nish'koor el fódl.
—— for inquiry	allah ibárak féek.
——for a great favour, I am much obliged to you! also ironically	ḵet'-ther kháyrak.
Thank God	el ham'doo lilláh.
Then	somma, badén.
There	henák.
They, their	hoom, beta'-hoom.
Thick	te-kheén.
Thief (*see* Robber and Steal).	
Thigh	fukhd, werk.
Thin	roofýā, rooféiā, reféeā.
Thing	hágeh, shay.
Things	asheeát.
——— matters	omoór.
Think, *v.*	iftekker, khum'men.
I think, suppose	ana azóon.
Third	thálet.
This	dee, háza.
That	deéka, dikkái, da.
Those	dōle, dôl.
Thirst	at'tush.
Thirsty	ăt-shă'n.
Thorn	shōke, shôk.
Thought	fikr.
Thread	khayt.
Threshold	at'taba.
Thrive, *v.*	éf'la.
Throw, *v.*	ér-mee.
Thunder	rāăd.
Tickle, *v.*	zuḵzuḵ (zugzug).
Tie, *v.*	er'boot.
Tight, drawn	mashdóot.
———, narrow	dý-iḵ, déi-uḵ, masnóok.
Time, *tempo*	wakt; time *volta* nōba.
Tin	*ḵazdeér.**
Tin plate	saféēh.
Tin, *v.* whiten	béiad, býad.
Tinder	soofán.
Tired	bat-lă'n.

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* This is the *κασσιτερον* of Homer.

To	illa, eéla.
Toast	esh meḵum'mer.
Tobacco	dō-khán, *i. e.* smoke *
Together	sow'a sow'a, weéa bād.
To-morrow	boókra.
Tongs	māsheh.
Tooth	sin, *pl.* sinnán, sinoón.
Top	ghuṯṯā (cover).
Torch	mash'al.
Tortoise	sah'lifeh.
Torture	azáb.
—— *v.*	ázeb, aḏḏab.
Touch, feel, *v.*	has'sua.
Do not touch that	la tehót eédak āláy.
Tow	meshák.
Tow (a boat)	goor e' lebán.
Towel, napkin	foóta, máh-rama.
Tower	*ḅoorg.*
—— fort	ḳálā.
Town †	bel'led (bel'ed), *pl.* belád.
Large town	ben'der.
Treachery	khyána.
Treacherous; (*see* Betray and Perfidy).	kheín.
Tree	seg'gereh, sheg'gereh.
Trickery, machination	dooláb, doobára, haýleh.
Trouble	taab.
True	sáheh, dō'ghree, sáduḵ, sahéëh.
Try, prove, *v.*	ḵur'reb.
Turban	*shall*, em'meh.
Turk	Toork, Ozmánlee, Osmánli.
Turn, *v.*	dow'er.
Turquoise	faroo'see.
Twice	marrataýn, nobataýn.
Twist, *v.*	ib'room.
Tyrant Tyrannical	za'lem.
Tyranny	zoolm.

U. V.

Valley	wádee.
Value, price	temn, témmun.
Vapor	bō-khár.
Vase	*ṭáṣa.*
Vegetables	khōdár.
Very	ḵow'ee; very large, kebeér ḵow'ee.
Ugly	wáhesh, bil-hám. ‡
Violent	ḳow'wee, kow'ee.
Violet	benef'sig.
Virgin	bikr.
Umbrella	shemséëh.
Undo, untie, *v.*	fook', hell.
Uncle	am.
—— (mother's brother)	khāl.
Until	illa, le, fillama, lóma.
Under	takht.
Vocabulary	sillemee, ketáb sillemee.
Voyage	saffer.
Up, upon, over	fōke, fôk.
Upper	fokánee.
Use, utility	néffa.
It is useful	ínfā.
—— of no use	ma infásh.
Used, worn, second-hand	mestaẖ'mel.
Usury	ribh.
Vulture	nisser, nisr.
—— percnopterus	rákham.

W.

Wafer	berahám.
Wager	ráhaneh.
Wages	gemkéëh.
Waist	*woost*, *i. e.* middle.
Wait, stop, *v.*	us'boor.
Wake, *v. a.* & *n.*	es'-ẖur or es'-ẖer.
Walk, *v.*	im'-shee.
Walking	má-shee.
Wall	*ḥayt.*
Walnut	gōz.
I want, *v.*	ana ow'es (owz), ana aréed, ana táleb.
What do you want?	ow'es-ay, ow'z-ay; *by the Arabs*, Eeh teréed.
I want	ow'es, ow'z, lázem-lee, aréed.
I want nothing	moosh ow'es hágeh.
War	harb, shemmata.
Warm	sōkhn.
Lukewarm	dáfee.
I warned you	ana wusáytak.
I was	koont.
He, it was	kan.
She was	kan'net.
We were	koon'na.
You were	koóntum, koóntoo.
They were	kánoo.
Wash, *v.*	ugh'-sel.
Waste	khō-sá-ra.

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* Some pretend to derive it from Diwa Khan.

† See names of towns in Vol. II. p. 17.

‡ A strong expression, mostly used by women.

A watch	sāā.
Water	mō'ie, ma, mō'ieh.
Water, *v.*	is'-k̲ee.
—— sprinkle	roósh, rush.
Fresh water	móie hel'wa.
Spring (of water)	ain, ayn (*i. e.* eye), ed.
Water, torrent of (*in the desert*)	sayl.
—— basin of (in a rock)	kháraza, mesék.
—— small basin of	mesáyk.
—— basin or natural reservoir, when filled up with sand or gravel	theméeleh.
—— well of	beer.
—— reservoir (built)	hôd.
—— pool of rain water	magára, mak̲ára.
—— river or stream	nahr.
—— channel or conduit	mig'gree.
Water melon	ba-téekh.
Wax candles	shemmā skanderánee.
Way	sikkah, derb.
We	ah̲'na, nah̲'-na.
Weak	bat-lán, d̆a-eéf.
A week	goó-ma wá-hed.
Weigh, *v.*	yoó-zen.
Weight	tōk̲l, wézzen.
A well	beer.
Well, good.	tý-eb.
Wet	mabloól.
Wet, *v.*	bil.
What	ay, esh.
What do you say?	betk̲oól-áy, tek̲ool-áy.
What's the matter?	khabbar-áy, géra-áy, el khabbar-áy.
What's the price of this?	be-kám dee?
What is this worth?	eswa áy dee?
What are you doing?	betámel áy; *by the Arabs*, esh tesow'wee.
What o'clock is it?	e' sā'ā fee kám?
Wheat	k̲um'h̲.
A wheel	aggeleh.
When	léma, lemma, émte.
At the time that	wak̲t ma.
Where?	fayn.
Where are you going?	enti rye fayn.
Where did you come from?	enti gayt min ayn.
Which?	an'-hóo.

That which	el-azée, élee.
Whip of hippopotamus hide	korbág.
Whiten, *v.*	bý-ed (in colours).
Whitening	tabeshéer.
Why?	lay? leah?
Who	min.
Who is that?	da mín?
Who said so?	mín k̲al (gal) kéddee?
Whose	beta mín.
The whole	el kool, kool'loo.
Widow	az'beh, er'meleh.
Widower	ázeb, er'mel.
Wife	marra, zōg, hōrmah.
Wild animal	wáhsh, wáhesh.
I will, *v.*	ana ow'es, aw's.
Wind, *s.*	réëh̲, how'a.
North wind	e'ty-áb.
Window	shu-bák.
Wine	nebéet, *sharáb.*
Wing	ge-náh.
Winter	shitta.
Wipe, *v.*	em'sah̲.
Wire	silk.
Wish	t̲ool'beh.
Wish, *v.*	et̲'loob.
I wish, *v.*	bīd'dee, fee khátree.
I had wished	eráýt, kán fee khátree.
With	má, wée-a.
Within	goóa.
Witness	sháḫed.
Wolf	deeb, deep.
Woman	marra, nissa, h̲ōrmeh.
Women	nis-wán.
I wonder at	ana as-tá-geb.
I wonder if, or wish to know	ya tárra, hál toora.
Wood	khesh'-ob.
Firewood	hattob.
Wool	soof.
Word	kilmeh, kalám.
Work, *v.*	ishtōghl, faal.
World	doōneea.
Worm	dood.
Write, *v.*	ik'tub; writer, káteb.
Wrote	ket'teb.
Writing	ketá-beh.
Written	maktoób.

Y.

A yard, court	hôsh.
Year	senna, senneh.
Yesterday	embā'ra.
The day before yesterday	owel embāra.
Yes	íwa, eíwa, nām.
Not yet	líssa.

You	en'te; entee, *fem.*; éntoom, *pl.*	Young man	sheb, geddā.
		Your	betāk; betáhtak, *f.*
Young	soghéier; *vulgo* swéir.	Youth	shabáb, sheboobéëh.

And in order to encourage beginners, and to do justice to the Arabs and Turks, I ought to observe that they never laugh at, or even notice, a mistake made by a foreigner in their language; and indeed they carry their indulgence so far, that, in conversing with Europeans, they frequently adopt the erroneous expressions accidentally made use of by them, with a view, as they suppose, to facilitate their comprehension.

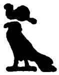
D.

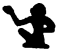
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HIEROGLYPHICS AND ALPHABET.

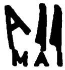
The Ancient Egyptians used three modes of writing: the Enchorial (language of the country), Hieratic (peculiar to the priests), and the Hieroglyphic.

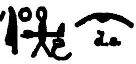
Hieroglyphics are of three kinds:—

Phonetic. When the hieroglyphic stands for a letter; as , for a; &c.

Emblematic. When it is an emblem or symbol of the thing represented, as , for the sun.

Figurative. When it is a representation of the object itself, as , a man.

In the phonetic style, words are formed of a number of these hieroglyphics, in the same manner as in every other alphabetic mode of writing; thus, ⲙⲁⲓ, "beloved," is written 

; ⲓⲟϩ, "the moon," 

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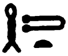
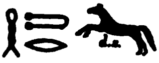
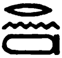
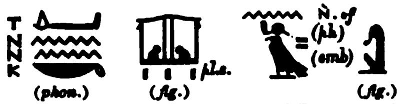
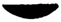
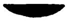
Generally, however, the vowels are less carefully made out, sometimes totally omitted; thus, ϯϩⲱⲣⲧ is written ϩⲧ ; the being merely the female sign ϯ, which is placed *after* the word. In the names of objects, the characters forming them are often followed by a figure of the object itself (marked *d. s.* the demonstrative sign); thus, ϩⲑⲱⲣ, 

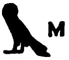
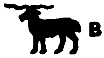
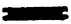
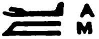
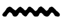
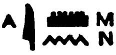
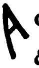
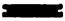
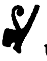
, "a horse," is followed by the figure of that animal; Ⲣⲁⲛ,

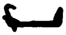
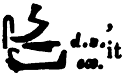
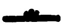
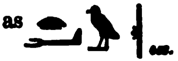
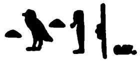
, "a name," by the oval of kings' names. The emblematic and figurative styles are too simple to need any remarks; an example of the three will answer better:



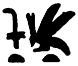
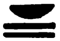
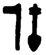
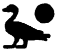
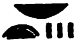
"We give you the assemblies of Re, the God."

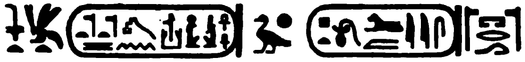
When two words resembled each other, the same hieroglyphic often stood for either of them; as,  "lord," ⲛⲉⲃ; and  "all," ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ.

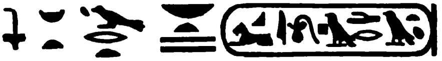
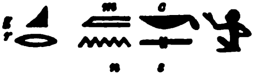
The force of different signs is derived from the initial of the object they represent; thus,  is taken from ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁϫ, "an owl;"  from ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ, "a goat;" ⁎s, from ⲥⲓⲟⲩ, a "star." This accounts for the number of characters given for the same letter; for, as "an owl" stands for ⲙ, so also , ⲙⲁ, "water," has the same force, from its beginning with the same letter, and so on with the rest. This might seem to cause great confusion, from the miscellaneous use of different signs; but the Egyptians confined themselves to particular characters in writing particular words; thus, "Amun" would never be formed of , though the letters agree with that word, but  of . Some few variations are, however, met with in the mode of writing the same word; as  or , for ⲙⲁⲓ, "beloved;"  or , for ⲛ, "of," &c.; but these are very limited, and used with great discretion. Besides, many objects are excluded from the phonetic alphabet, as a camel, &c.

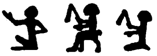
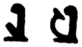
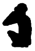
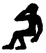
The next material point is the expletive sign. This is put after words, to denote their grammatical force: thus,  denotes an active sense, as , "cuts;"  shows that the word preceding it is a noun; as , "great;" , "honour" (see the vocabulary of my Materia Hieroglyphica). In those groups, which are of common occurrence, or whose sense is unequivocal, these signs are often omitted.

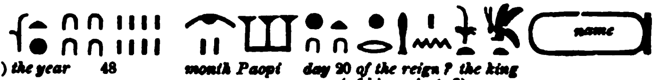
The plural number is known by three lines following the object, or by that object being thrice repeated.

The names of kings are contained in two ovals, the first of which is the prenomen, presenting titles derived chiefly from the names of the gods; the second, the nomen or phonetic name of the king, as Amasis, Ptolemy; the former preceded by the title "king of men" ; "Lord of the world" ; "good god"  (Divus bonus); the latter by "son of Re" ; "lord of the strong" ; thus,


Ptolmeos.

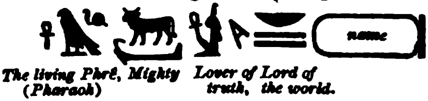
The queens have only a phonetic oval, preceded by "royal wife," "the potent (or beautiful)," "queen of the world,"  *Cleopatra.* The names of individuals are followed by the figure of a man, and not enclosed in an oval; as 

"Germanicus, man." Hieroglyphics are always to be read towards their faces; thus, if they front to the left (as the above) we must read from left to right; if to the right, from right to left; perpendicular lines from the top downwards. signifies "a god;"  "a man;"  "a woman;"   "a child." Historical tablets begin with the date of a king; but the Egyptians admitted no date of any era into their sculptures:


name
(In) the year
48
month Paopi
day 20
of the reign? the king
(of his majesty?)

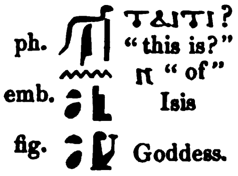
(See the twelve Months in my "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 14.)

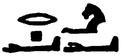
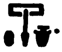
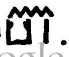
Dedications on architraves generally begin thus,


name
The living Phrê, (Pharaoh)
Mighty
Lover of truth,
Lord of the world.

Here the king's name is preceded by a title usually enclosed in a square; as those in woodcuts of pp. 429 and 436. The foregoing sentence answers to Hermapion's "αιωνοϐιος Φρη κρατερος Φιλαληθης δεσποτης οικουμενης."

Sentences placed over the gods, beginning "this is (the figure) of," have this form,


ph.
ⲦⲀⲒⲦⲒ?
"this is?"
ⲛ "of"
emb.
Isis
fig.
Goddess.

A memorial μνημα, or commemorative inscription, begins . Offerings occur thus . Adoration .

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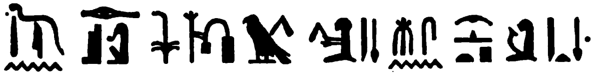
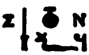
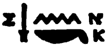
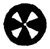
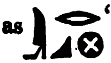
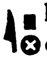
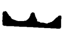
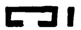
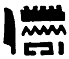
Funereal inscriptions frequently have this form,



This is of Osiris, royal scribe, Horus, man, deceased, born of Aftep, woman, deceased.

In historical subjects the kings' names are preceded and followed by a profusion of titles relating to power, victory, &c.; as, "like the sun," "like Atmoo," "lord of the assemblies, like his father Pthah," "like Horus," &c. Pronouns *follow* the groups: as  ⲥⲟⲛϥ (Copt. ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ), "his brother;"  ⲥⲟⲛⲕ (ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲛ) "your brother."

In the names of districts and towns, the sign  "land" is placed after them; as  "Philæ or Ailak" land of;"  land of Ap, or ⲧⲁⲡⲉ *i. e.* Thebes. The  signifies "foreign land," and may also apply to "country" in *general*, in opposition to the *particular* sign .

Town, or abode, is also  ⲏⲓ, "house;" as , Amunei, "Abode of Amun," or "Diospolis."

These are the principal points in the construction of hieroglyphics; to which I shall add an alphabet of the characters already ascertained, and some whose force is either probable, or doubtful. Those who wish to prosecute their researches on the subject, will find every information in the valuable works of Champollion, particularly in his Grammar and Dictionary, which every one must regret he did not live to complete and publish himself. For, though edited by his brother, a posthumous work of this kind cannot be so perfect as he would have made it.

PHONETIC ALPHABET.

In this alphabet the characters are arranged under three different heads: 1. Those proved; 2. Those of which the force is probable; 3. Those which are doubtful.

The upper set I have verified from the names of the Cæsars, or from other authorities, which I proceed to give. This method appears to me to be the most useful, as it prevents misconception; and if there is any doubt or error in the force of the character, it may at once be set right. I do not, however, pretend to claim any discovery in this alphabet, the merit of which rests with Champollion; and all that others can do is to verify and occasionally to make some slight addition to what he has left us.

I now proceed to give the authorities; the letter used for each character being marked by a dot or line below it.

A. E. I.

1.	In Autocrator.
2.	Cleopatra. Autocrator.
3.	Adrianus.
4. 5. 6.	Antoninus.
7.	Adrianus. Antoninus
8.	Cleopatra, &c.
9.	Tiberius. Antoninus.
10.	Autocrator.
11.	Adrianus. Antoninus.
12.	Antoninus.
13.	Antoninus.
14.	Isis.
15.	Antoninus.
16.	Osiri.
17. 18.	Apis.
19.	Ioh. Amasis.

B. OU. V.

1.	Severus. Sebastus. Tiberius.
2.	Tiberius. Berenice.
3.	Eusebes.
4.	Sebastus.
5.	Sebastus. Eusebes. Tiberius.
6.	Sebastus.
7.	Sebastus.

Δ. T. Θ. D. Th.

1.	Tiberius. Autocrator. Adrianus, &c.
2.	Tiberius. Domitianus.
3.	Domitianus.
4.	Domitianus.
5.	Adrianus.
6.	Domitianus.
7.	Autocrator.
8.	Autocrator. Pthah, &c.
9. 10.	Autocrator.
11.	Adrianus.
12.	Tirhaka.
13.	Put for 8.
14.	Ϯⲁⲓ (may be doubted).
15.	Trajanus.
16.	Sebastus.
17.	Put for 1.

O. AU. OΥ. Υ. Ω. Ϥ.

1.	Osiris.
2.	Mandoo (may be doubted).
3.	Mandoo.
4.	Autocrator. Eusebes.
5.	Ⲛⲁϥ, &c.
6.	Ptolemæus, &c.
7.	Ptolemæus. Cleopatra.
8. 9. 10.	Autocrator.
11.	ⲟⲩⲱⲛ, and ⲟⲩⲱⲛϣ.
12.	ⲱⲛϩ.
13.	ⲟⲩⲏⲃ.
14.	For 1.
15.	For 3.
16.	Autocrator. Aurelius.

Probable.

2.	Oni, "an image."
3.	Aroeris.
5.	For 1.

Γ. K. X. G. C. K.

1.	Caius Claudius Cæsar.
2.	Cæsar, &c.
3.	Germanicus.
4.	Claudius.
5. to 9.	Cæsar.
10. 10a.	Cæsar.
11. 12. 13.	Cæsar, &c.
14.	Χημι, or Egypt.
15.	Ⲕⲟⲃⲧⲟ, Coptos.

Probable.

3.	Ⲕⲟⲓ, a field.
4.	Ⲕⲁϩⲓ, land.
5.	Marcus?

M.

1.	Domitianus. Ptolemæus.
2.	Domitianus. Mai, &c.
3.	Maut, &c.
4.	Ptolemæus.
5.	Amun, &c.
6.	Mai, Mes, &c.
7.	Mes.
8. 8a.	Ptolemæus. Commodus.
9.	Germanicus.

Probable.

1.	Amenti.
4.	Mbo, Ombos?
5.	Moui, a lion, and Amset.

N.

1. 2. 3.	Antoninus. Nero, &c.
4.	Antoninus. Adrianus.

5. Adrianus.
Antoninus.
6. Ionien, &c.
7. For 3. ⲛ, "of."
8. Ionien.
9. Ⲛⲟϥⲣⲓ.
10. For 4.
11.
12. Neith.
13.

P. Ph. Π. Φ.

1. Ptolemæus.
2. Cleopatra.
3. Cleopatra.
4. Vespatianus.
5. For 1.

R. L. P. Λ.

1. Cæsar.
Cleopatra.
2. Arsinoë.
3. Arsinoë.
Ptolemæus.
4. Nero, Claudius
5. Cæsar.
6. Cæsar.
Aurelius.
7. Autocrator.
Germanicus.
8. Re, "the sun."
9. Trajanus.

Probable.

2. Ⲕⲣⲟⲩⲣ, a frog?

S. Σ. C.

1. Kaisaros (Cæsar).
2. Ptolemæus.
3. Ptolemæus.
Severus.
Sebastus.
4.
5. Kaisaros.
6. Antoninus.
Sebastus.

7. Antoninus.
8. Kaisaros.
9. Antoninus.
10. Kaisaros.
11. Sebastus.
12. Adrianus.
Antoninus.
13. Sebastus.
Kaisaros.
14. Antoninus, Isis.
15. Remeses, and for 3.
16. Sebastus, Se.
17. Kaisaros.
18. Ⲥⲟⲛ, "brother,"
and for 1.

Doubtful.

8. Sâté ?

H. ϩ.

1. Pthah.
2. Tirhaka.
Hadrianus.
3. For 1.
4. ϩⲓ.
5. Tirhaka.

Probable.

2. ϩⲓⲙⲉ ?
3. Horus ?

Sh. X. Ϣ.

1. Xerxes, or
Kshershes.
1a. For 1.
2. Darius, or
Ntariosh.
3. Xerxes.
3a.
4. For 1.
5. Shebek.
Ȣⲁϣⲓ, &c.
and for 1.

Probable.

2. Shopsh.
Shop.
3. Shne.
4. ϣⲟⲧ, "hard."
5. Darius, or
Ntariosh.
6. ϣⲁⲩ, "a cat."
and for 1.

Kh. ϫ. ϧ.

1. ⲥⲁϧ, "writing or letters."
2. Khonso.
3. ϧⲉⲙⲥ, "ear of corn."
4. ϫⲏⲙⲓ, "Egypt."

ϭ. Sh.

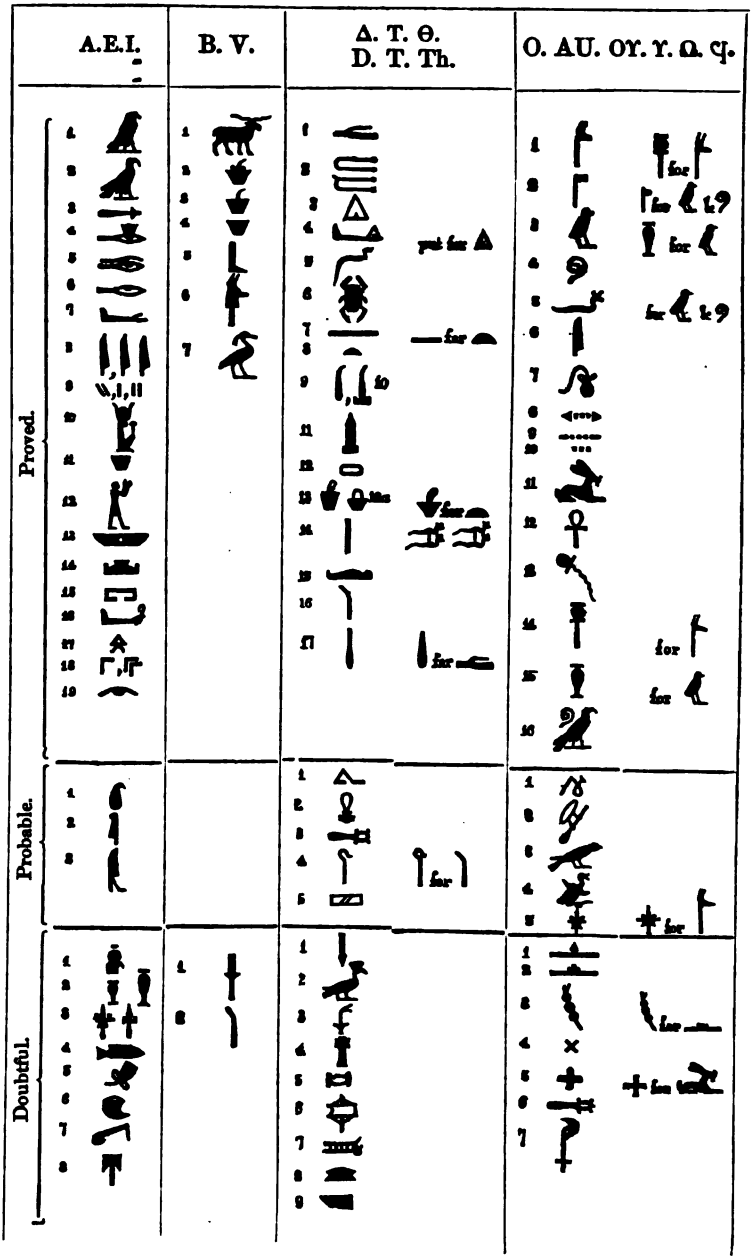
1.
2. ϭⲁϩⲥⲓ, "a gazelle."

X. Ξ.

1.
2. Alexandros.

Ps. Ψ.

1.
2. Psamaticus.


A.E.I.
B. V.
Δ. T. Θ.
D. T. Th.
O. AU. OY. Y. Ω. ϥ.
Proved.
Probable.
Doubtful.
put for
for
for
to
for
for
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for
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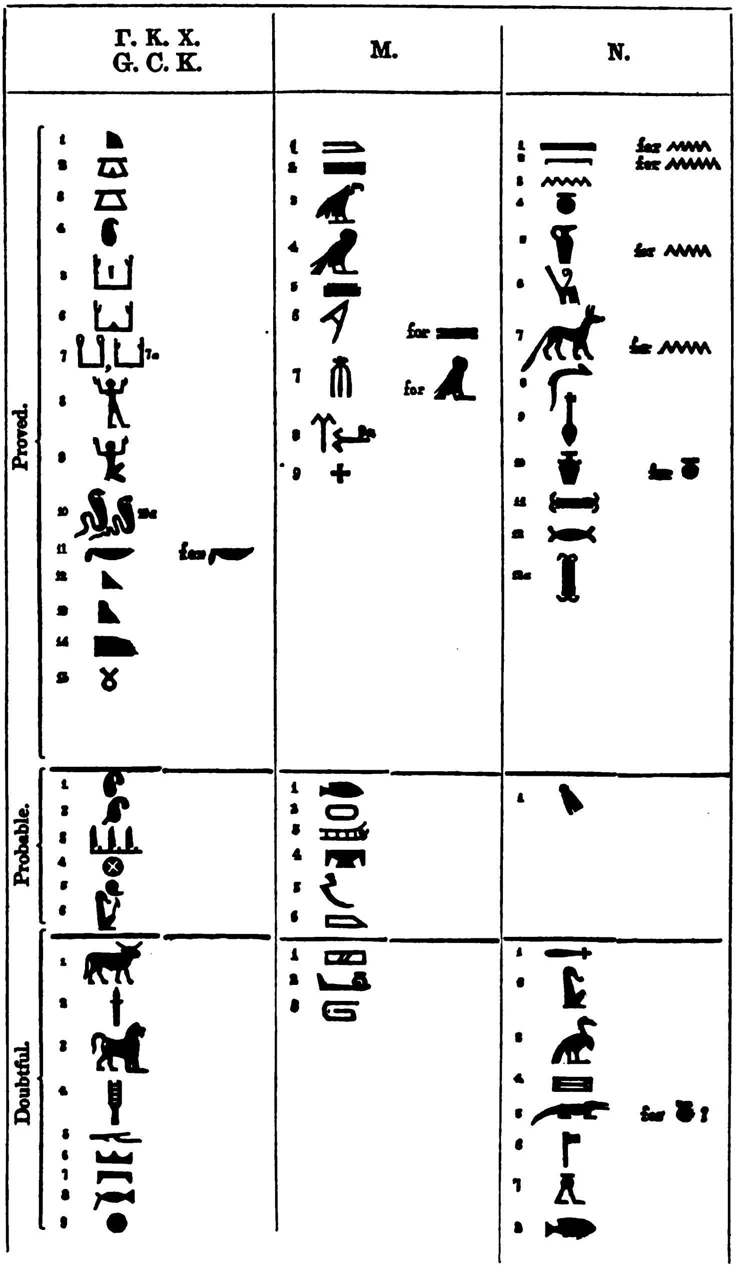
for


Γ. K. X.
G. C. K.
M.
N.
Proved.
Probable.
Doubtful.
for
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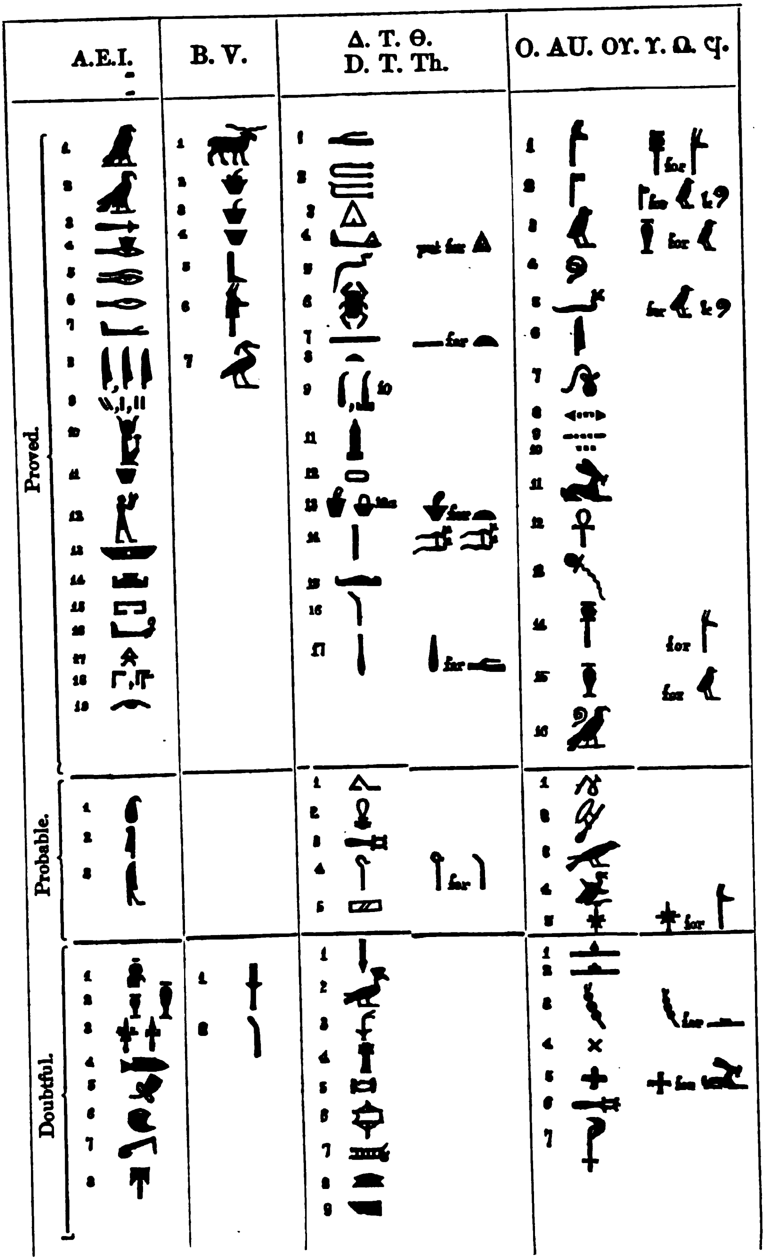
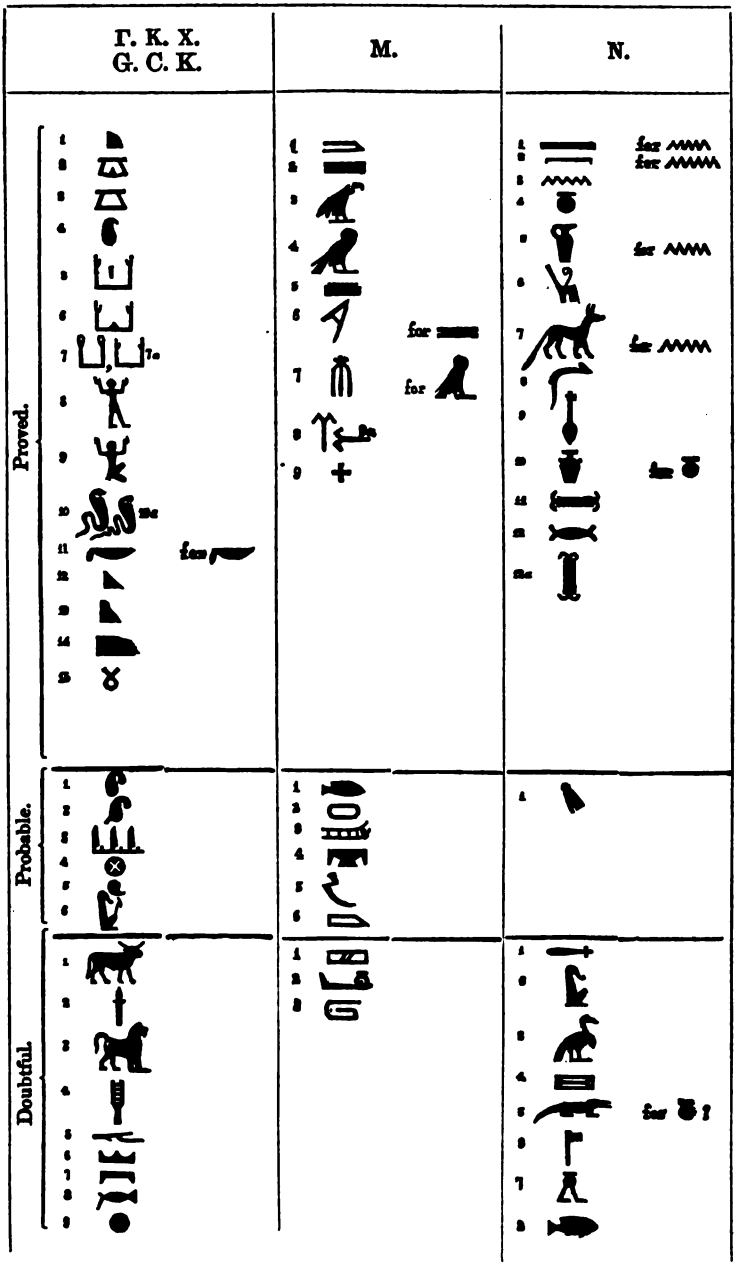


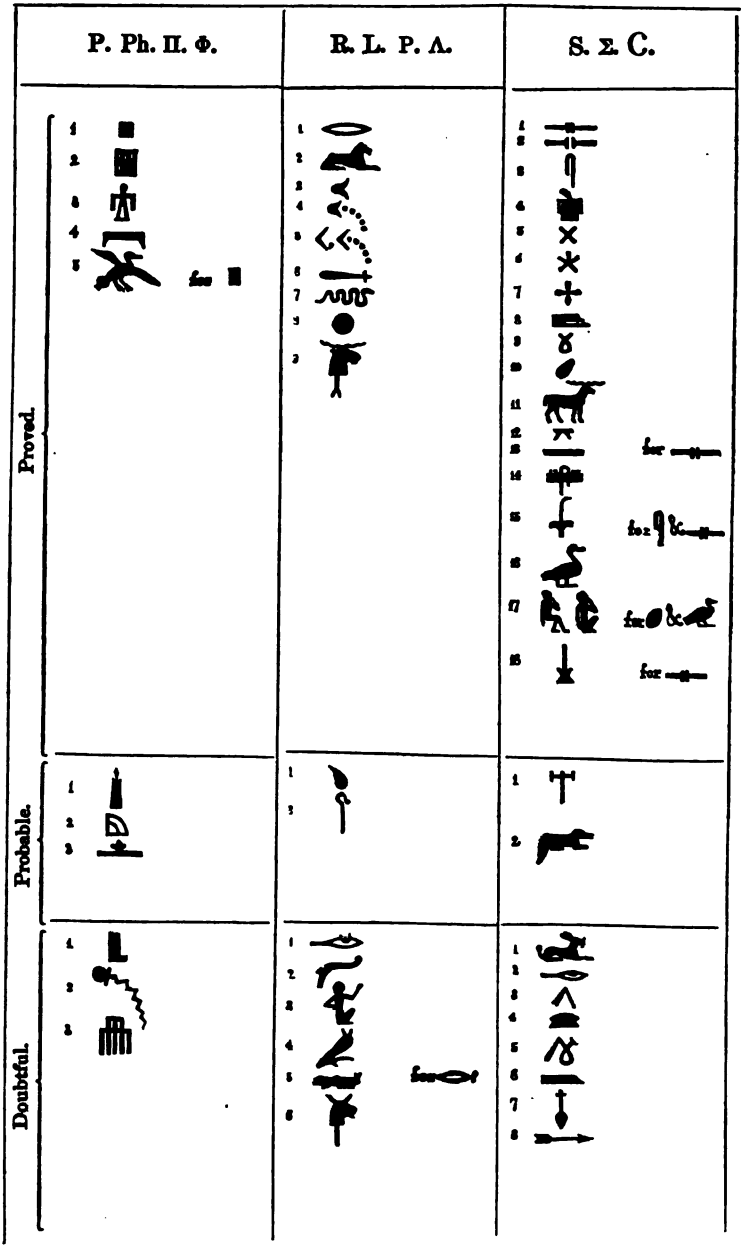
A.E.I. | B. V. | Δ. T. Θ. D. T. Th. | O. AU. OY. Y. Ω. ϥ.

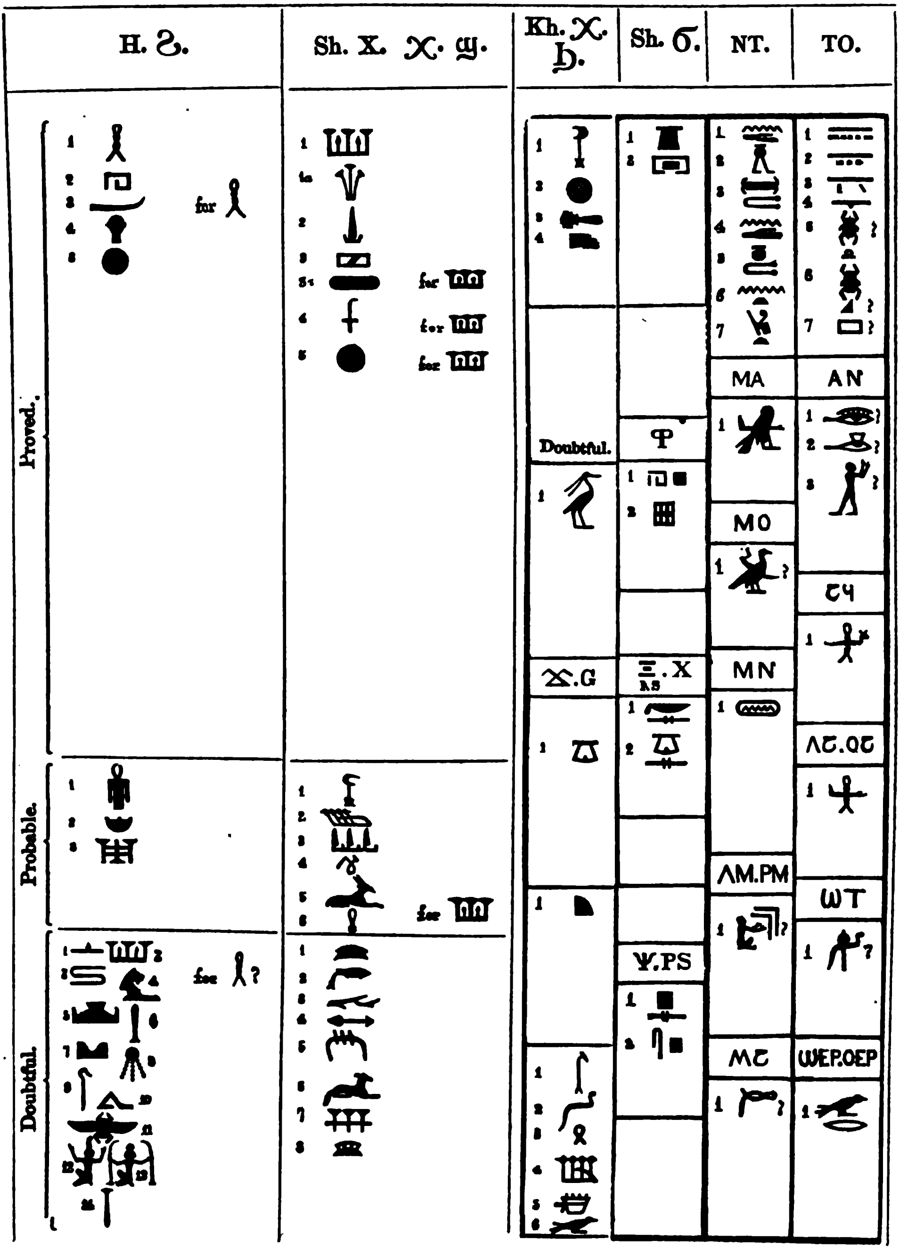
Proved.

Probable.

Doubtful.


Γ. K. X.
G. C. K.
M.
N.
Proved.
Probable.
Doubtful.
7a
10a
for
for
for
for
for
for
for
for
for ?


P. Ph. Π. Φ.
R. L. P. Λ.
S. Σ. C.
Proved.
Probable.
Doubtful.
1
2
3
4
5
for
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
for
for
&
for
&
for
1
2
3
1
2
1
2
1
2
3
1
2
3
4
5
6
for
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8


H. ϩ.
Sh. X. ϫ. ϣ.
Kh. ϫ. ϧ.
Sh. ϭ.
NT.
TO.
Proved.
Probable.
Doubtful.
for
Doubtful.
ϫ.G
Ξ.X KS
Ψ.PS
MA
AN
MO
ϭϥ
MN
ΛϬ.ΟϬ
ΛΜ.ΡΜ
ⲰΤ
ΜϬ
ⲰΕΡ.ΟΕΡ

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